HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE

HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE

M. WINTERNITZ

VOLUME III

PART ONE: CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE
PART TWO: SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE

Translated from German into English by
SUBHADRA JHA

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DATESLIP

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

The first two volumes of the famous *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur* of the Late Dr. M. Winternitz were translated into English during the life-time of the author, and these two volumes, both in German and English, had been well received by orientalists throughout the world.

Even after a lapse of decades, when nothing of vol. III appeared in English from the ten of brilliant scholars, I took upon myself the task of studying in German itself the said volume, and undertook to translate it into English for my own use. But Shri Sundarlal, the enterprising proprietor of the firm Messrs Motilal Banarsidass, insisted that this translation should be got printed and published I could not help but accede to his demand I have for some years been collecting materials for writing an exhaustive and up-to-date history of Sanskrit Literature and here I have utilized some of the materials so collected by putting them within parentheses. I have provided original Sanskrit text in most of the cases to facilitate better appreciation

I am grateful to several recent writers on this subject whose essays and books I have unsparingly used and have acknowledged in the body of the work.

Since the book is a work of reference, my friend Shri D. Satyanārāyana has taken great pains in preparing an index that is more detailed than that in the original German to help the readers in its easy utilization

I am fully aware of my poor knowledge of German and no claim is made that the present volume is so good as the two preceding ones, that were translated by an eminent German scholar Mrs S Ketkar. So my effort, in the terms of Kālidāsa, is like that of a dwarf raising up his arms in the fond hope of getting something that is beyond his reach and I, therefore, crave indulgence of the readers.

SUBHADRA JHĀ

प्राकृत भारती अकादमी
क्रमांक 15383

FOREWORD

When 23 years ago I undertook to write a "history of the Indian literature" and had begun to work on its preliminaries, I hoped to be able to complete the work in one volume in about three to four years. But the more I dived deep into the subject, the mass of available materials heaped up the more and this increased the difficulties of shifting them. And thus the work, that was planned to cover a single volume, has now become one of three volumes, and parts of this book appeared at considerable intervals : 1904, 1908, 1913, 1920 and here is the last volume at the end. Now after the work is concluded, nobody can be aware of its shortcomings and imperfections more than its author himself. But in case I had wished to let it go into the world, these faults were mended, I would have to wait still for not less than 20 years. In particular I feel and have always felt the obvious deficiency that I have prepared a history of the Indian literature in a very limited measure. But the hard fact remains that we do not possess any trustworthy information about the oldest and most important works of Indian literature, and whatever we can say with regard to the antiquity and origin of the earliest religious and secular poetry as well as about the beginning of the scientific literature is nothing but hypothetical, and naturally many readers will be disappointed to find in *my history of literature* so few definite statements on chronological topics. In fact, I have been accused by a critic of having used expressions like "probably", "perhaps", "apparently", etc. at too many places. In case everything in the history of Indian literature had been fully clear it would have been easy to create an impression with discussions supported by more or less definite figures with regard to dates. But I believe that even a layman derives more benefit when he comes to know about the meagreness of chronological data in Indian literature than when one leads him into the hamlet of Potemkin. And for the beginners, who may choose to undertake research in Indology—they will need consulting this book the most, since it is of

great importance [at this stage of study] to be able to distinguish accurately between definite and indefinite statements in order to arrive at the points at which further researches have to be carried. For this very reason, I have stated in the footnotes the views that I do not participate in.

Since in respect of the history of literature I was obliged to keep myself within the limits of possibility, I have most vigorously exerted my efforts to provide the reader with most unambiguous representations of every type of literature and literary works and to introduce him assuredly of an insight into the spiritual creations of India. In order to check the work from becoming still more voluminous I had to keep myself within the limits of literature, though at times it is equally difficult to separate the history of religious literature from religion and to associate the history of culture with the history of literature. Likewise the history of scientific literature, treated in the last section, can hardly become a history of the sciences.

It is natural that during the period of several years that have gone by after the publication of the first part of this work our knowledge has advanced further. So I have tried to make the work up-to-date with the addenda and corrigenda given at the end of this book.* Since a greater part of the third volume was already printed by the end of 1920 it has become necessary to add even to this part the addenda and corrigenda, especially when for the first time quite a large number of works, so particularly the last volumes of the "Harvard Oriental Series", and the "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics" and the "Indian Antiquary" for the years 1914-1922 became available to me at the last moment of completion of my work.

One of my most pleasant duty is to thank all those with whose assistance it has been possible for the work to reach the stage of at least some form of completion. His Highness the Raja of Travancore and Pandit T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī Trivendrum, the fortunate discoverer and the talented editor of the dramas of Bhāsa, to whom we owe the

* The portion of the addenda and corrigenda relevant to volume III has been, in appropriate places, included in the main work itself and the foot notes.

first edition of a series of hitherto unknown and new editions of important known texts, have laid me under special obligations by presenting all the volumes of the Trivendrum Sanskrit Series that appeared till 1919. Professor Charles Rockwell Lanmann, the highly gifted editor of the splendid "Harvard Oriental Series" had the favour of sending me its volumes that have appeared during the period of the war, deserves my most cordial thanks. To Professors Johannes Hertel, Eugen Hultzsch, Hermann Jacobi, Julius Jolly and Theodor Zachariae I am grateful for several suggestions, supplements and improvements. Mr. Privatdozent, Dr. Otto Stein, has helped me in the work of proof-correction and in preparation of the index for the present volume, and I thank him for this.

Lastly, I thank also Mr. Johannes Ziegler, the Publisher and Bookseller (Messrs C. F Amelangs Verlag), who in spite of the times being so hard for book trade, has taken scientific rather than business-like interest and has consented to extend the work into three volumes.

In the foreword to the second-half of the second volume I have mentioned the names of the researchers who have passed away in recent years : H. Kern († 1917), E. Windisch († 1918), P. Deussen († 1919), H Oldenberg († 1920) and L. Von Schroeder († 1920), whose works have been mentioned so often in this book. This list was unfortunately even then incomplete and has since then become larger. Through the departure of Auguste Barth († 1916), Mabel K. H. Bode († 1922), Julius Eggeling († 1918), John Faithful Fleet († 1917), A. F. Rudolf Hoernle († 1918), Colonel G. A. Jacob († 1918), Joh. Kirste († 1920), Ernst Kuhn († 1920), Karl Eugen Neumann († 1915), Vincent A. Smith († 1920), George Thibaut († 1914) and Satis Chandra Vidyābhūsana († 1920) the band of Indologists has become thinner. A glance at the Index will demonstrate the extent to which the present work owes to them.

With melancholy I thank the always helpful friend Śāstraviśārada Jainācārya Vijaya-dharmasūri, who did me the favour of procuring

for my work many rare and hardly available Indian publications. In his last letter of July 21 from Śivapurī, Gwalior State, where he was spending the rainy season, he had written that he was ailing but was feeling better and hoped to be well soon. He was pleased at my visit I had paid to him last autumn. I too was happy on my arrival in India to call at his place and I thank him for his kindness. Now when I am writing this foreword, I get the sad news that the venerable Jaina priest expired on September 9 of this year. The promotion of European learned work had always been dear to his heart May the collaboration of the Indian and European scholars continue in the manner and extent he had wanted ! This has certainly already reached the cross-word of knowledge of India.

Prague,
October 1922

M. WINTERNITZ

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

[USED IN THIS VOLUME]

ABA=Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philol.-histor Klasse.

ABayA=Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Phil. Klasse.

AGGW=Abhandlungen der Konigl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Philol.-histor. Klasse.

AKM=Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausg. von der Deutschen Morganländischen Gesellschaft.

ĀnSS=Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (Poona).

AR=Archiv fur Religionsgeschichte.

ASGW=Abhandlungen der philol.-histor Klasse der Köngl. Sachs Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften

Aufrecht, Bod. Cat=Th Aufrecht, Catalogus Codicum MSS. Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae, Oxonii 1859—64.

Aufrecht CC=Th. Aufrecht, Catalogus Catalogarum. Leipzig 1891, II, 1896; III, 1903.

Aufrecht, Leipzig=Katalog der Sanskrit-Handschriften der Universitatsbibliothek zu Leipzig 1901.

BEFEO=Bulletin de l'ecole française d'Extrême Orient.

Benfey=Pantschatantra aus dem Sanskrit ubersetzt mit Einleitung u. Anm by Th. Benfey, Leipzig 1859.

BenSS=Benares Sanskrit Series

Bezz. Beitr.=Beitrage zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen herausg von A Bezzenberger.

Bhandarkar, Report 1882/83=R. G Bhandarkar, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1882-83, Bombay 1884.

Bhandarkar, Report 1883/84=R G Bhandarkar, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883/84, Bombay 1887.

Bhandarkar, Report 1884/87=R. G. Bhandarkar, Report etc during the years 1884-85, 1885-86 and 1886-87, Bombay 1894.

Bhandarkar, Report 1887/91=R.G. Bhandarkar, Report etc. during the years 1887-88, . . 1890-91, Bombay 1897.

S. R. Bhandarkar, Report II=Shridhar R. Bhandarkar, Report of a Second Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Rajputana and Central India in 1904-5 and 1905-6. Bombay 1907.

Bhandarkar Comm. Vol.=Commemoration Essays presented to Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Poona 1917.

Bibl. Ind.=Bibliotheca Indica.

BSGW=Berichte uber die Verhandlungen der Konigl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philol.—histor. Klasse.

BSOS=Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution.

BSS=Bombay Sanskrit Series.

Bühler, Hemacandra=G. Buhler, Über das Leben des Jaina-Monches Hemacandra : Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie 1889.

Buhler, Report=G. Buhler, Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Kaśmir, Rajputana, and Central India. Extra Number of the JBRAS 1887.

Burnell, Tanjore=A.C. Burnell, A classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS in the Palace at Tanjore, London 1880.

ChSS=Chowkhambā Sanskrit Series (Benares)

CUIS=Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, ed. by A.V.W. Jackson.

Deussen, AGPh=P. Deussen, Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie 1, 1—3. Leipzig 1894 (2. Aufl. 1906)—1908.

DLZ=Deutsche Literaturzeitung.

Duff=C. Mabel Duff. The Chronology of India, Westminster 1899.

Ep Ind.=Epigraphia Indica

ERE=Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics, edited by James Hastings.

Festschrift Kuhn=Aufsatze zur Kultur-und Sprachgeschichte vornehmlich des Orients Ernst Kuhn...gewidmet... Munchen 1916.

Festschrift Windisch=Festschrift Ernst Windisch zum 70. Geburtstag .. dargebracht .Leipzig 1914.

GGA=Gottinger Gelehrte Anzeigen.

Grundriss=Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde.

GSAI=Giornale della Società America Asiatica Italiana-

Haeberlin=Kāvyasamgraha by J. Haeberlin, Calcutta 1847.

Harprasād, Report I, II=Haraprasād Śāstrī, Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS (1895-1900). Calcutta 1901 and (1901-02 to 1905-06` Calcutta 1905.

HOS=Harvard Oriental Series, ed. by Ch. R. Lanman.

Ind. Ant =Indian Antiquary.

Ind. Off Cal.=Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, London 1887 ff.

Ind. Stud.=Indische Studien, herausgegeben von A. Weber.

JA=Journal Asiatique

JAOS=Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JASB=Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBRAS=Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JPTS=Journal of the Pāli Text Society.

JRAS=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Kathavate, Report=A. V. Kathavate, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency . 1891-92 .1894-95. Bombay 1901.

Keith, HSL=A.B. Keith, History of Classical Sanskrit Literature.

Keith, SD=A. B. Keith, Sanskrit Drama.

Km.=Kāvyamālā (Bombay).

Krishnamachariya=M. Krishnamacharya, A History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature, Madras 1906.

Lévi=Sylvain Lévi, Le Théatre Indien, Paris 1890

LZB=Literarisches Zentralblatt.

Mélanges Lévi=Mélanges d'Indianisme offerts par ses élèves á M. Sylvain Lévi Paris 1911.

NGGW=Nachrichten von der Kgl. : Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Gottingen, Philog.-histor. Klasse.

NSP=Nirnaya Sāgara Press (Bombay).

OC=Orientalistenkongresse (Verhandlungen, Transactions, Actes).

Oldenberg LAI= H. Oldenberg, Die Literatur des alten Indien, Stuttgart u. Berlin 1903.

OTF.=Oriental Translation Fund.

Peterson, Report 1882-83=P. Peterson, Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Circle 1882-83 (JBRAS, vol 16, Extra Number).

Peterson, Report II=P. Peterson. A Second Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit MSS...1883-84. JBRAS, vol. 17, Extra Number).

Peterson, Report IV=P Peterson, A Fourth Report... 1886-92 (JBRAS, vol. 18, Extra Number).

Peterson, Report V=P. Peterson. A Fifth Report ..April 1892—March 1895, Bombay 1896.

Peterson 3. Reports=P. Peterson, Three Reports on a Search for Sanskrit MSS with an Index of Books (JBRAS Vol. 18, Extra Number.) 1887.

Peterson, Subh.=The Subhāsitāvalī of Vallabhadeva, ed. by P. Peterson (BSS 1886). Introduction.

Pischel, KG=R. Pischel, Die indische Literatur, in Kultur der Gegenwart I, 7, 1906.

PTS=Pali Text Society.

RHR=Revenue de l'histoire des Religions, Paris.

RSO=Rivista degli studi Orientali, Rom.

Rückert-Nachlese=Sammlung der zerstreuten Gedichte und Übersetzungen Friedrich Rückerts herausg. von L. Hirsberg, Weimar 1910-11.

SBA=Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften.

SBay A=Sitzungberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wiss., Philol.-histor. Kl

SBE=Sacred Books of the East (Oxford).

Schroeder, ILC=L von Schroeder, Indiens Literatur und Cultur, Leipzig 1887.

Schyler, Bibliography=M. Schuyler, Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama, New York 1906.

SIFI=Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica.

Smith, Early History=Vincent A Smith, The Early History of India. Third Edition, Oxford 1914.

SWA=Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Thomas=Kavīndravacanasamuccaya, A Sanskrit Anthology of Verses, ed. by F. W. Thomas, Bibl Ind. 1912.

TSS=Trivendrum Sanskrit Series.

VizSS=Vizianagram Sanskrit Series (Benares).

Weber, HSS. Verz.=A. Weber, Verzeichnis der Sanskrit- und Prākrit-Handschriften der K. Bibliothek zu Berlin

Weber, LG=A. Weber, Akademische Vorlesungen uber indische Literaturgeschichte, 2. Auflage, Berlin 1876.

Wilson= H.H. Wilson, Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus (Works, vols. XI, XII).

W=Winternitz in places where he has referred to his own view S.

Winternitz-Keith Bodl. Cat.=Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Vol. II begun by M. Winternitz, Continued and completed by A.B. Keith, Oxford 1905.

WZKM=Wiener Zeitschift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

ZDMG=Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

ZII=Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

ZVV=Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde in Berlin.

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PART I

SECTION IV

ORNATE POETRY

Characteristics of Ornate Poetry

By "ornate poetry" the people in the west render the Indian term "kāvya" which, though ordinarily meaning "poetry", in rhetorics has the special connotation—polished expression", the main characteristic whereof, as a poetic piece, is that it attaches more importance to the form than to the subject-matter. It was cultivated particularly, if not exclusively[1], in the courts of Indian princes and, consequently, is often styled "court poetry".

Originally, even the old heroic poetry, that later became so popular, as we learn from the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, was courtly. The bards (sūtas), who were the carriers and propagators of this ballad lore, too, lived in the courts of the princes and sang to make their exploits known. They would accompany their patrons even to battlefields, so that on return they could sing of the exploits of the warriors. These court bards stood closer to the Ksatriyas than to the learned Brāhmanas. Very often they worked as chariot-drivers of the warriors in these campaigns and participated in their ventures. It was, however, a time of unrest in which these heroic songs originated—an age of strifes and crude practices, when hunting, gambling, and competitive contests were favourite recreations of the princes. It was only during hours of rest, at banquet gatherings, victory celebrations, and on occasions of sacrificial performances that bards would recite their ballads[2]. Firstly as life in courts became more refined, in place of these bards there came in more l e a r n e d artisans who were brought up in the schools of the Brāhmanas and competed in

1 Not only the princes, but all high dignitaries and rich people, as a rule, appear as patrons of poets, and literary "saloons" flourished not only in courts but also in Brāhmanical settlements and in big cities Cf F W. T h o m a s, JRAS 1910, 972f

2. Cf above I, 262 (tr p. 315) and H e r t e l, Tantrākhyāyikā, I, pp 10ff Indians call the Mahābhārata too a "kāvya", see above I,267 (tr. p. 312)

scholarly contests with them. These poets described strifes and battles too merely on the basis of heresays in a mechanical manner. They would attach greater importance to the elegance of form and to erudition[1] than to the creative faculty or poetical talent. Writers of panegyrics who could sing in praise of their patrons in artistic verses were past masters in the poetic art. Apparently, panegyric constituted the original theme of this kind of poetry (for being sung publicly in courts). And this explains also the origin of the kāvya style, that is to say—the style of court poetry. The more the poet strained himself, the more he displayed his skill, the more difficult his work, and the prince felt flattered the more[2].

---

1 Even a poet of the eminence of Kālidāsa does not escape this; he too airs his knowledge of grammar occasionally in similes, see Raghuvaṁśa 12, 58 and 15, 9

[2. The other view about the origin and development of the "kāvya" style may be presented as follows "The pessimism of the Buddhistic ideal gradually disappeared, having been replaced by more-accommodating views about the value of pleasure. Even the Buddhist author of the Nāgānanda has thought it fit to weave a love-theme into the lofty story of Jīmūtavāhana's self-sacrifice, and in his opening benedictory stanza he does not hesitate to represent the Buddha as being scolded for his hard-heartedness by the ladies of Māra's train. From Patañjali's references we find that from its very dawn love was recognised as one of the dominant themes of kāvya poetry The Buddhist conception of the love god as Māra or Death makes way for the flower-arrowed god who is anticipated in the Atharvaveda and is established in the epics, but whose appearance, name and personality are revived and developed in the fullest measure in the kāvya

"The dominant love-motif of the kāvya is explained by the social environment in which it grows and from which alone it can obtain recognition It is, however, not court-life alone which inspires this literature At the centre of it stands the nāgaraka, the polished man of the town, whose culture, tastes and habits so largely mould this literature that he may be taken to be as typical of it as the priest or the philosopher is of the literature of the Brāhmaṇas or the Upaniṣads

"It is not impossible to offer a compromise between these two divergent views on the development of kāvya that is neither wholly heroic or courtish, nor completely erotic Poetry developed in courts no doubt, but its background was laid in the society at the same time. Naturally, therefore, whilst the poet would like to sing in praise of his patrons, he would introduce anecdotes from the life of the common man for the development of his theme in a suitable manner. Poetry offers recreations Neither the heroic kāvya nor the erotic alone could be always agreeable; of course in the opinion of the Indian rhetoricians the vīra or the śṛṅgāra could become the dominant sentiment of kāvya

This blending of two different tastes in kāvya is reflected in the writings and legends of the very ancient period Rājā Janaka, the ascetic king of Mithilā, is reported as maintaining a band of courtesans and the Buddha is described as pining in his anxiety for the welfare of the world, for peace, patience and endurance" (S K De, Sans. Lit p 18 ff)]

Earliest evidence traces of "court poetry" is found in the Rāmāyana. Indians themselves call Vālmīki "the first poet (ādikavi)" and the Rāmāyana "the first poem (ādikāvya)", and several sections of this epic, in fact, already exhibit in full characteristics of the kāvya style[1]. The court epic of the classical age of Sanskrit poetry presents this style in full blossom; besides, it has made inroads into lyrical compositions, gnomic poetry, drama, and narrative literature, and has not spared even the religious poetry of the Buddhists and the Jainas.

The essential peculiarities of the kāvya style are:—accumulation of similes and fascination for long, winding descriptions—especially for certain stereotyped representations (e g., of the seasons, the sun-rise, the moonlit night, etc). Descriptions of this sort not infrequently occupy so much space that the subject of the poem disappears into the back-ground so much so that the contents of many cantos of an epic or of books of a romance at a stretch become capable of two distinct interpretations. Not to speak of employing artificial internally rhyming and artistically-constituted metres, the use of rare words and long compounds of words with more than one meanings, strange, play of words, strenuous efforts made throughout to express nothing in a straight-forward way[2], with a desire to conceal as much as possible or to express an idea in a round-about way and

1 See above, I, 404f (tr p 475) The possibility indeed is not always ruled out that here we have a case of later-day interpolation made in an old poem Cf above I,416 A, 417A, 424, 431 (tr pp 489,490,497,505) The places showing the kāvya style are more seldom in the Mahābhārata (ibid I, 308, 320, 393 (tr pp 364,376,461) and the Harivamśa (ibid, I,387A, tr p 452) [Keith, Sans Lit p 43—Vālmīki and those who improved upon him, probably in the period 400-200 B C are clearly the legitimate ancestors of the court epic Although some of its parts showing elegances of style, which mark the poem, are later additions, there is no ground whatever to admit that these additions fall later than the second century B C, and they may be even earlier in date (ibid, p 42) Jacobi, Rāmāyana, pp 119ff The Rāmāyana also shows the development of the sloka metre almost in its classical state, cf SIFI VII, ii, 38ff Love charms of the Atharvaveda attest the beginning of erotic poetry (IS V, 218ff. Keith, ibid)].

[2 This point has been further elaborated by inclusion of poetic conventions in this list by S K De, Sans Lit, p 28 ff There he refers to the following in support of the view Kāvyādarsa I, 14-19, Sāhityadarpana VI, 315-25, Kāvyamīmāmsā XIV, Kāvyakalpalatā I, 5, Sāhityadarpana VII, 23-24 etc, and M Bloomfield Festschrift, Ernst Windisch, Leipzig 1914, pp 349-61, JAOS XXXVI, 1917, p 54-89, XL 1920, p 1-12, XLIV 1924, 202-42), W. Norman Brown, JAOS XLVII, 1927 pp 3-24, etc Here he has further successfully justified the standpoint of the Indian poets (ibid, pp 32 ff)]

that too in the form of a riddle[1]. The climax of artistry is attained when a poet succeeds in making one and the same sentence or verse express two different ideas at one and the same time! This phase of Indian poetry cannot be better described than through these stanzas of Fr. T. Vischer's[2] ridiculing symbolico-mystic poetry :

> " That Poetry above is most valuable
> As has its meaning quite—obscure!"
> " That which a reader understands without much strain
> Comparable to the ordinary home-made bread surely is,
> The finest pastry of his bakery is out
> What the poet projects in a riddle."
> " Poetry radiates its magic light most brilliantly—
> When a reader baffled breaks his head in vain".

"Kāvya" poetry, is not only artificial, it is also learned. The real poet must have studied most of the different sciences. Needs must he master lexicons for the purpose of finding out the rarest possible words and such words as have diverse meanings, with a view to being able to form long compounds analysable in different ways and capable of connoting different meanings. He must learn grammar so that he may not err in verbal structures. He must be adept in treatises on war-craft and politics for introducing in his poem descriptions of wars and political trickeries in appropriate contexts. He must be thoroughly familiar with the science of erotics (kāmaśāstra) to be able to describe love-scenes and sentiments of loving couples in accordance with "prescribed" regulations. Above this he must have made his own the text-books on prosody and poetics in order to introduce into his poem possibly the most difficult metres and a rich variety of the figures of speech (alamkāras, "embellishments"). It is significant to note that Indians designate what in Europe is called poetics as "The Science of Embellishment (Alamkāraśāstra)".

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1 The rhetorician Ānandavardhana says : *prasiddham astyeva vidagdham-* [illegible] *prakāśyate na sākṣād-vācyatvena*, "In the refined society of the cultured people it is a settled practice that one does not speak out what lies in one's inmost heart in a straight-forward manner, rather that one should convey it in the form of a suggestion, (Dhvanyāloka IV, 5, translated into German by H Jacobi, ZDMG 57, 335)

2 In his parody "Faust, der Tragoedie, dritter Teil (6th ed Tubingen [illegible])

In order to achieve a true representation of Indian poetry it is necessary to study Indian poetics along with dramaturgy and prosody as closely associated disciplines Although such a study properly would have constituted a section on scientific literature, even here it will be not out place, since this science itself is originally based on certain master-works that belonged to poetry on the one hand and to the earlier traditions of the Alamkāraśāstra on the other. Moreover, these treatises on poetics always illustrate their rules with examples either composed by the authors of the manuals themselves or cited from (in their opinion) the best poets, or from anthologies, (in which are preserved many pieces of genuine poetry, that otherwise would have been lost).

Indian Poetics, Dramaturgy and Prosody

Poetics (alamkāraśāstra) has been cultivated in India from a very early date as a science. However, we do not possess the earliest work. As is mostly the case with Indian scientific literature, we know about the existence of earlier works only from quotations from them in later manuals. As soon as a more recent scientific work became famous or proved practical, the earlier works, in general, were referred to with respect and there their story ended. Hence they have not come down to us. Even so is the case with the alamkāraśāstra too.

Usually it is assumed that poetics is preserved in its oldest form in the Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra[2], a text

1 Cf P Regnaud, La Rhétorique Sanskrite, Paris 1884, R Pischel, GGA 1885, p 757 ff, G A Jacob, JRAS 1897, 281ff, 1898, 289 ff, Joh Nobel, Beitrage zur alteren Geschichte der Alamkāraśāstra, Diss, Berlin 1911, and ZDMG 66, 1912, 283 ff, 67, 1913, 1 ff, 73, 1919, 189 ff, P V Kane, Outlines of the History of Alamkāra Literature Ind Ant 41, 1912, 124 ff, H Oldenberg, LAI 203 ff, Hari Chand, Kālidāsa et l'art poétique de l'Inde, Paris 1917 The best representation of Indian poetics and theory of poetry is given by H Jacobi in "Uber Begriff und Wesen der poetischen Figuren in der indischen Poetik", NGGW 1908, and in "Die Poetik und Asthetik der Inder" in the Internat Wochenschrift, 29 Oct 1910 [Contributions to the Alamkāraśāstra literature have been made also by F W Thomas and V V Sovani in Bhandarkar Com Vol 375ff, 387ff]

2 W Heymann was the first scholar to throw light on the Bhāratīya-Nātyāsāstra on the basis of south Indian manuscripts in NGGW 1874, 86ff P Regnaud published a number of chapters Adhyāya 6-74 in the La Rhétorique Sanskrite, Paris 1884, adhy 15-17 in the Annales du Musee Guimet, part I and part II The adhy. 20-22 and 34 (=18—20 and 34 of the Km ed) are published by F E Hall in the Annexture to his edition ot Dasarūpa The adhy 28 (on music) has been published by J Grosset, Contribution a l'étude de la musique hindoue, Paris 1888

book on dramaturgy by Muni Bharata[1]. Critics appear first to have felt the necessity of writing manuals for mimes for the purpose of giving the players necessary guidance in dramatic performances and in representations of dramatic poetry. From brief rules or a primer for actors (natasūtra)[2] might have developed more voluminous text books on dramaturgy (nāṭyaśāstra), in which not only mimicry, dance, music and song, but also dramatic songs would be dealt with. Then from it must have, first of all, issued individual manuals on the art of poetry or poetics. In this way we can at least explain the supposition that the theory on the art of poetry, in its oldest form, is found in the Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra. But our misfortune is that this Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra has not come down to us in its original form and is available in fragments only, wherein mostly half the text is found in a very bad condition.

The Nāṭyaśāstra, as inherited by us, has an encyclopaedic character and gives the impression as if it is collected from several different texts. It is composed in greater part in the

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A critical edition of the adhy. 1—14 by J Grosset appeared in Paris 1898 The complete work is published in the Km 42, 1894 F Cimmino's L'uso delle didascalie nel dramma Indiano, Napoli 1912 was known to W. only through the review of Pavolini (GSAI 25, 1937, 321 f.) The discovery of a complete manuscript has been announced by S. Lévi in Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres 1899, p 85 Cf also H H Dhruva in Asiat Quart. Review III, 2, 1896, 349 ff and Haraprasād Śāstrī in JASB 5, 1909, 351 ff.

1 At the end of the book occurs the word "Nandibharata-*saṅgītaputakam*", that is capable of two interpretations: it may suggest that Nandibharata was its author, or it may mean that the copy of the manuscript belonged to a person of that name The latter one appears more cogent on account of the occurrence of *samāptaścāyam*, both in the masculine, before it, since *ayam* cannot be used in relation to *pustakam*. The name Nandi-bharata appears also as the author of a work on music (Aufrecht, CC I, 376), and Nandin as author of a work on mimic (Abhinayadarpana). However, there is also one Abhinayadarpana of Nandikeśvara (Aufrecht CC III, 5 v). This book has been translated into English by Ananda Coomaraswamy and G K Duggira (Cambridge, Mass 1917), see L D Barnett, JRAS 1917. 627f. Bharata means also "actor." R. Pischel, KG 183 has translated the Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra, therefore, as "Lehrbuch der Schauspielkunst für Schauspieler—Manual of Histrionic Art for Actors" and adds "Or, as the Indian interpret, of Bharata, who is considered to be the director of the theatre of gods and is claimed to be the originator of the drama" Firstly, it is doubtful if the word "Bharata" means "actor" and therefore, cannot be associated with the mythical author of Nāṭyaśāstra or of Bharata, as the name of the author of the famous manual on the histrionic art could later get the meaning "actor". In the Viṣṇupurāṇa III, 6, Muni Bharata is named as the originator of the Gandharvaveda, that is to say, of Music.

2 This was known to Pāṇini 4, 3, 110

epical ślokas, but there occur also verses in other metres (notably in Āryā) and small stray big pieces in prose. The work comprises of 38 sections (adhyāyas or "lessons").

The first and the last three sections relate to the origin of the art of drama and are wholly mythical. The gods, under the leadership of Indra, expressed their desire for some sort of entertainment that should be enjoyable by the eye and delightful to the ear at the same time, to the creator Brahman, the grand'Father, who was pleased to create, as a fifth Veda—the Nātyaveda. It was proposed that the drama should be staged for the first time on the occasion of the flag ceremony (*dhvaja-mahah*) to celebrate the defeat of the demons by the gods in honour of Indra and in his palace Bharata and his disciples made arrangements for its staging. They selected as its plot the victory of the gods over the demons. The gods, when they saw it, were very much pleased, and they distributed rewards to the actors. The demons, who too were there, became very much angry and they threw all sorts of obstacles, catastrophically paralysing the tongue, the mind and the skill of the actors with demoniac magic. Indra became very angry and severely chastised the demons. The actors were again busy with preparation for the stage and again the aggrieved demons presented obstacles in their way. Adequate security measures were taken by the gods; then they requested the creator Brahman to find out if the matter could be settled by mutual agreement. Accordingly Brahman approached the demons and inquired as to what the trouble was with them. The chief of the demons replied that both the gods and the demons had in the creator Brahman their common grand'Father and as such the grand'Father ought not to have done this. Brahman appeased them by explaining that the Nātyaveda he had created would depict both the noble as well as the ignoble activities of the gods as of the demons, and concluded by saying : "This art has been created by me as reflecting of life and activity of the world, with all the different sentiments amidst changing situations and in their entirety as a centre, where the activities of

the people (the highest, middle and lowest) converge—so as to have the same as a medium of education and as a force, giving impetus to bravery and as a source of entertainment, pleasure, etc. There is no learning, no craft, no science, no fine art, no religious exercise (yoga), no ascetic discipline, that is not witnessed in this Nāṭyaveda"[1]. In the last two sections is described how the drama that was first staged in the court of Indra in the presence of gods by the disciples of Bharata and Nārada came to the earth in consequence of a curse from the sages, (whom the actors had ridiculed rather vulgarly) to the effect that they would have to lead a despised life, maintained by their women and children. At this Indra and other gods expressed their fear to the sages that the art of drama might perish, to which the latter said that they had not meant so and that it would not be so. Thereupon, Bharata taught this science to the apsarases so that it might not die out. At the time king Nahusa was ruling over the earth. He was a great friend of Indra. The king of men requested the king of gods to depute the apsarases (actresses) to stage a drama in his palace on the earth. But the gods led by Bṛhaspati objected to the free association of the divine beings with the human's. Nevertheless, they advised Bharata to go to the earth and organise the drama there. The latter asked his children and disciples to go to the earth and wished them to be born there. They instantly obeyed and through them developed on earth the drama. To minimise the effect of the curse god Brahman blessed that it should never die.

This wholly mythological framing of the text-book, reminiscent of the purāṇas as it is, in any case, shows that the histrionic art was held in great esteem and played a significant part in the life of the people.

The individual chapters of the Nāṭyaśāstra, however, are not concerned with the drama alone as a form of literature, but rather with theatrical performance as a whole. They describe construction of the stage and its inauguration with observance of religious ceremonies (II, III) and the different types of physical

1. I, 71, 72 (Grosset 110f., 115).

movements in dance and mimicry (IV, VIII-XIV, XXIV, XXV). For example, here is enjoined how the actor will express the setting-in of the various seasons winter, summer etc, the feelings of pleasure, anger, jealousy, etc, explaining facts about the pūrvaraṅga—that is the religious prelude to the performance (V), the sentiments (rasa, VI), emotions (bhāvas, VII), prosody (chandah XV) and the figures of speech (alamkāra, XVI), the different languages and dialects to be used in dramas and their allocation to different characters, the modulation of voice, etc (XVII), the ten types of dramatic poetry (daśarūpa) and their distinctive characters (XVIII), the development of action in the drama (XIX), the different kinds of dramatic style of composition (XX), the costumes, the decoratives, colours of the dress and ornaments etc, distinguishing the different characters (gods, demi-gods, and the different castes, etc.) appearing on the stage (XXI), the many types of heroes, heroines and characters in the play (XXII-XXIV)[1], the allotment of rôles to and the training of actors (XXVI, XXXV), the time, place and occasion for a performance etc., etc., (XXVII) and for music and songs (XXVIII-XXXIV).

The arrangement is in no way systematic and makes us feel that probably we do not have here a work of single author, but a compilation of older and more recent texts, before us The original work, presumably, was a sūtra-text, in the manner of the oldest scientific writings[2] The memorial verses (kārikās), that relate to the histrionic art, had early already existed. It is, however, not possible to determine the time when the oldest texts, from which our work was compiled, were written And, likewise, we have yet to establish the time when the redaction of the text-book, as we have it, took place[3]. The fact that it did

1 XXII, 94-138 and XXIII, 51 ff The portion dealing with the lover and the beloved has been translated by R Schmidt, Beitrage zur indischen Erotik, p 250 ff and 161 f, into German

2. A poet of the 9th century comparing the dark waves of the Yamunā with the style of Bharata, points to a sūtra form (see Lévi 300)

3 When Regnaud (cf Lévi 299 f, Oldenberg, LAI 205) gives "the first century of the Christian era" as the time of Bharata, his statement is as much unfounded as that of Pischel (GGA 1885, 763 f) when he comes down to the 6th or 7th century A D P R Bhandarkar (Ind Ant 41, 1912, 158 f) rightly explains that it will be futile to attempt to determine the age of the author of the Nātyasāstra, since it is a remodelled work He believes with regard to the chapter on music especially that its age can never be earlier than the 4th century. Haraprasād Śāstrī (JASB

undergo such a final redaction is proved by its purāna-style construction and as a regular dialogue between the Muni (Bharata) and the rsis. With regard to the time of its composition we can only say this that a work on dramaturgy ascribed to Bharata did indeed exist during the time of the poet Bhāsa[1]. Kālidāsa mentions not only the Nātyaśāstra, but knows also its law-giver Bharata[2]. Mātṛgupta, a contemporary of Kālidāsa, is believed to have written a metrical commentary on it[3].

The basic principle of rasas or "sentiments" in Indian poetics and aesthetics must have been developed for the first time in the Nāṭyaśāstra[4]. The word rasa primarily means "taste". Just as different spices leave behind different tastes, sweet or sour or bitter, even so does the emotion (bhāva) represented on the stage arouse in the mind of the audience apt sentiments. Bharat observes eight such rasas, namely: the sentiments excited through love (śṛngāra), humour (hāsya), pity (karunā) terror (raudra), heroism (vīra), fear (bhayānaka), aversion (bībhatsa)[5] and astonishment (adbhuta)[6]. From this theory of the rasas originates the remarkable system of Indian aesthetics as an inevitable offshoot from its psychological theory of emotions (bhāvas). When one reads, however, the strikingly apt and scientific, though elaborated classification of the plot (vastu,

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6, 1910, 307) conjectures that the Nāṭyaśāstra belongs to the 2nd century A D Jacobi (Bhavisatta Kaha von Dhanavāla p 84) "perhaps to the 3rd century" P.V Kane (Ind Ant 46, 1917, 177 ff) shows that Bhāratiya-Nāṭyaśāstra could not have been written later than the 3rd century A.D

itivrtta) of heroes (nāyakas) and heroines (nāyikās)[1] and of many another matter besides, it becomes clear unfortunately that we have before us a pretty fruitless science that is devoted more to classification and systematisation than to exploration of facts and formulation of rules Much the same is the case with poetics too.

In the section on poetic embellishments (alamkāras) Bharata has not so much to say as the other text books on poetics have. In fact the number of figures of embellishments in his book falls far short of those of Bhāmaha, Udbhata, Dandin etc.

The Agnipurāna, which deals with poetics in chapters 336–346, includes chapters 337–341 devoted to the drama exclusively, approaching the Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra scheme even literally Whilst, however, Bharata knows only ten types of drama, in the Agnipurāna there are enumerated its 27 varieties. Chapter 340 in particular treats of mimicry in detail. Here we are told, for example, that there are 13 different kinds of postures for the head, 7 different kinds of movements for the eye-brows, 36 ways of expressing sadness eyes, 58 love through eyes, 6 turns for the nose, 24 gestures for the hand, etc. Then, poetic embellishments themselves are divided into "embellishments of the sound" (śabdālaṅkāra) and "embellishments of the meaning" (arthālamkāra)—a division yet unknown to Bharata. The highly complicated figures of speech enumerated in the Agnipurāna show that this section on Indian poetics does not go to a very high antiquity[2].

The older school of poetics is represented by three rhetoricians : Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana.

That B h ā m a h a, the son of Rakrilagomin, is the oldest among native rhetoricians (those whose works have survived to date), stand to reason on weighty grounds[3], although we are

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[1 W. navakī]

2 All that we can say about the antiquity of the Agnipurāna is that it is cited as an authority in the Sāhityadarpana (see L é v i, op cit p 16)

3 They have been stated by J a c o b i ZDMG 64 1910, 130ff, 751 ff. Joh N o b e l, Beitrage zur altern Geschichte des Alamkārasāstra, p 78, f ; and passim (see also ZDMG 73 1919 190 ff) K P I r i v e d ī, Pratāparudrayasobhūsana, Introd p XXVIII ff and Ind Ant 42, 1913, 258 ff, and R N a r a s i m h a c h a r a, Ind Ant 41 1912 90 ff 42 1913, 205 and have not been weakened by K B P a t h a k Ind Ant 41, 1912, 232 ff T N a r a s i m h i e n g a r and P V. K a n e, JRAS 1905, 535 ff and 1908 543 f. consider Bhāmaha younger than Dandin G a n a p a t i Ś ā s t r ī (Bhāsa's Svapnavāsavadattam, Intro p XXV ff) adduces very weak arguments in support of his view that Bhāmaha lived in the first century A.D

position to determine his exact date. He is often quoted by later rhetoricians with high esteem. His Kāvyālamkāra[1] is written in ślokas and treats in six sections of the "body of poetry", the embellishments, the faults, the logic and grammatical correctness of poetry. In the introductory verses Bhāmaha refutes the idea that one can become a poet only through mastery of rhetorics, and stresses the importance of poetic genius:

adhanasyeva dātṛtvam klībasyevāstrakauśalam |
ajñasyeva pragalbhatvam akaveḥ śāstravedanam ||
"Like generosity to a beggar,
Or like bravery to a coward,
Or proficiency in arts to the unlettered,
Rhetoric science hath no meaning,
To one, who is not a poet."

vinayena vinā kā śrīḥ kā niśā śaśinā vinā |
rahitā satkavitvena kīdṛśī vāgvidagdhatā ||
"What charm is there in beauty lacking grace ?
Or there in night's wan moonless face ?
Or without poetic touch or fling or trace,
What sort of beauty one finds in words ?"

akavitvam adharmāya vyādhaye dandanāya vā |
kukavitvam tu punaḥ sākṣān mṛtim āhurmanīṣinaḥ ||
"To miss the poetic "mark" is just a lack in (physical, mental, social) health, naught more.
But to have taste's ah, unpoetic worse :
'tis deardly, death itself, an irrevocable sore".

It is apparent that he flourished later than Kālidāsa, since I, 42 (as W in spite of Nobel, ZDMG 73, 192, believes) presupposes an acquaintance with Meghadūta See also Hari Chand, Kālidāsa, p 70 ff [Keith, Sans Lit p 375 ff, considers Bhāmaha posterior to Dandin, since Bhāmaha's defence of the distinction between kathā and ākhyāyikā seems especially directed against Dandin's views on the subject Bhāmaha certainly used the work of Uddyotakara (c 650 A D) and probably knew Nyāsa (c 700)] On Bhāmaha see also V V Sovani, Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume 392 f, and K P Trivedī, 401ff ibid Bhāmaha's time is fixed to a point (as Jacobi has shown in an unpublished essay, communicated to W on June 3, 1922 in course of a private talk) from the fact that he has quoted from Nyāyabindu of Dharmakīrti at two places, almost literally According to Jacobi Bhāmaha lived later than 640 A D and Dandin still later—towards the end of the 7th century A D This accords well with the fact that Dandin in his Kāvyādarśa, II, 197 gives a reminiscence from Bāna's Kādambarī (see Peterson, Dasakumāracarita Ed, II, Preface p 3, note) G J Agashe, Ind Ant 44, 1915, 67 f would like to prove that Daśakumāracarita's Dandin is different from Kāvyādarsa's But his argument is not convincing

1 Published in Appendix VIII to K P Trivedī's edition of the Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣana (BSS Nr 65, 1909)

Probably in the 7th century A.D.[1] Daṇdin, himself a poet, wrote his Kāvyādarśa or "Mirror of Poetry"[2]. This manual of rhetorics is written in verses illustrating rules of poetics with numerous examples, mostly his own compositions.

Since the main doctrines, as enunciated by Daṇḍin, were sure to become a veritable standard for his successors to follow or emulate, it would not be out of place here to examine the contents of this book at some length for, in respect of time, Dandin's organum closely precedes the chief works of Sanskrit poetry and so can offer to the reader a nice cross-section of what advice scholars and critic of India have to offer the poets.

According to Dandin, every poem needs consist of a body and an embellishment[3]. By the body of a poem is understood the set of words in a sentence, set so as to suit the desired meaning. This set of words is capable of being put either in a metrical (padya), non-metrical (gadya) or mixed (miśra) style. For the metrical language he prescribes a large number of metres, measured either way · according to syllables or according to mora One must learn this from metrics (chandovicitı), "which is a veritable ship for those who want to go across the vast ocean of poetry." But metre is not the most important thing in poetry. Kāvya, according to the general conception of Indian critics can be equally well written in verse or in prose That is why

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1. It is now certain that Dandin was considered as an authority already in the 8th century A D. Jacobi (ZDMG 64, 1910, 138 f) thinks that he could not have lived before the 7th century A D , since he stands on a more advanced position, than Bhatti does Cf G A Jacob, JRAS 1897, 284, L D Barnett, JRAS 1905, 841 f, Bernheimer, ZDMG 63, 1909, 709, ff , P.V Kane, Ind Ant 1912, 128, Gray, Vāsavadattā, p 11 f There exists a Tibetan translation of Dandin's "Kāvyādarśa in the Tanjūr (G Huth, SBA 1895, 268, ZDMG 49, 283 f) [A manuscript of this work has recently been acquired for the Sanskrit University Museum, Vārāṇasī]

2 Sanskrit and German published by O, Bohtlingk, Leipzig 1890 Besides more often in Indian editions

[Keith, Sans Lit p 296 ff thinks for certain reasons that Kāvyādarsa was written definitely before Bhāmaha (C 700 A D) and the chief impression conveyed by the Daśakumāracarita is that its geography contemplates a stage of things anterior to the empire of Harsavardhana and that its comparative simplicity suggests a date anterior to the works of Subandhu and of Bāna Cf also Collins—The Geographical Data of the Raghuvaṁśa

3. *taiḥ śarīram ca kāvyānāmalamkārāśca darsitāh ।*
śarīram tāvadiṣṭārthavyavacchinnā padāvalī ॥
padyam catuspadī tacca vrttam jātiriti dvidhā ।
chandovicityām sakalastatprabandho nidarśitah ॥
sā vidyā naustitīrsūnām gambhīram kāvyasāgaram ॥]

the nature of poetry is not rigidly fixed. No Indian could ever imagine that versification might become poetry too. When, for example, a scientific work is written in verses, as so frequently is met with in India, it might be said that it belonged to poetry. Grammars, dictionaries, astronomical or medical works written in verse are not poems, but manuals written in verse, able to impress memory more easily than if written in prose. However, there are truly scientific works that are in touch poetic as well; for instance the Brhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira. On the contrary when a prose novel is endowed with all the possible alamkāras in accordance with the rules, it belongs to kāvya, as a class and, in fact, is as good a poetry as an epic.

It is further explicitly stated that good poetry can be composed equally well in Sanskrit, in Prākrit, or in Apabhraṁśa (a literary dialect or a spoken idiom). In fact Indian poets have successfuly employed kāvya style for both Prākrit and Sanskrit poetry. The same writers have sometimes expressed themselves with equal facility in Sanskrit as well as in Prākrit. In general, the same rules are valid both for Prākrit and Sanskrit kāvya, at least by imitation[1].

Dandin next formulates the rules that hold good for a literary epic (sargabandha, mahākāvya) ·

sargabandho mahākāvyam ucyate tasya laksaṇam |
āśīrnamaskriyā vastunirdeśo vāpi tanmukham ||
itihāsakathodbhūtamitarad eva sadāśrayam |
caturvargaphalāyattam caturodāttanāyakam ||
nagarārnavaśailartucandrārkodayavarnanaih |
udyānasalilakrīdāmadhupānaratotsavaih |
vipralambhair vivāhaiśca kumārodayavarṇanaih ||
alamkrtamasamkṣiptam rasabhāvanirantaram |
sargairanativistīrnaih śravyavrttaih susandhibhih ||

"It should begin with a benediction, a homage or an indication of the subject-matter. The plot should be built either upon a legend, a romance or an historical fact, suggestive as to how the four ends of life are to be attained, depicting the adventures of a hero, overflowing with wisdom and nobility. Descriptions of the town, the sea, the mountain, the seasons,

1 Cf Buhler, Die indischen Inschriften etc, p 59 and Jacobi, ZDMG, 48, 415 f

rising of the moon and the sun, sports in pleasure-gardens or in tanks, drink banquets, love-scenes, feasts, marriages, birth of a son, conferences, emissaries, war expeditions, battles and sieges by heroes etc. go to the making of what it is an epic. The plot should be so developed as to be permeated by one basic sentiment (rasa) along with its corresponding emotion (bhāva). It shall consist of a number of cantos (sargas), not too long, composed in properly rhythmical and suitable verses". Daṇḍin then proceeds to describe prose kāvya and its varieties and the mixture of both, to which class the drama and the campū belong In this connection he touches on the subject of employment of the different languages and dialects in poetry, in the end dealing with the different kinds of style. He says that there is a number of styles, but that they do not differ much one from another. A sharp distinction exists only between the Vaidarbha and the Gauda styles[1]. Cohesion, clarity, evenness, grace and tenderness are the characteristics of the Vaidarbha, while the Gauḍa inclines more towards obscurity and bombast, delighting in exaggerations and has special fascination for long compounds[2]. Thus, for example, whilst a poet in the Vaidarbha style said—

anayoranavadyāṅgi stanayorjrmbhamānayoḥ ।
avakāśo na paryāptastava bāhulatāntare ॥
"Thy pair of budding breasts,
O maiden, with faultless limbs,
Between thy creeper-like arms,
Misses space enough for growth";

a Gauḍa poet would express to same thus—

alpaṁ nirmitamākāśam anālocyaiva vedhasā ।
idam evamvidham bhāvi bhavatyāḥ stanajrmbhanam ॥
"O lovelist mine, the Creator,
Not foreseeing thy bosom's posibilities to outgrew itself,
left the world too narrow ('tween thy arms)".

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1 Vidarbha is the country of modern Berar Gauda, the country of modern Bengal From the exposition of Dandin we see that there existed great local variations in style. It is attested by Bāṇa in Harsacarita, introductory verse 8

[2 *śleṣaḥ prasādaḥ samatā mādhurjam sukumāratā ।*
arthavyaktirudāratvamojahkāntisamādhayaḥ ॥
iti vaidarbhamārgasya prāṇā daśa gunāḥ smrtāḥ ।
tesām viparyayaḥ prāyo drśyate gaudavartmani ॥]

In the description of these different types of style (rīti) the writer stresses that alamkāras or "the embellishments" are all in all in poetry. And the fact that Daṇḍin hardly devotes one-sixth of his work to the "body" of poetry, the rest being occupied only with a discussion about the "embellishments," clearly shows what significance is attached to the latter in Indian poetics. The alamkāras, defined as the "attributes, that lend glitter (beauty) to poetry", have been analysed exhaustively and elaborately. Which done, i.e. only after that, the writer proceeds with "embellishments of the sense" (arthālamkāras) and "embellishments of the sound" (śabdālamkāras). To the first category belong natural description, the simile and the metaphor. According to Daṇḍin, there are thirty-two kinds of simile (upamā). He illustrates, e g., how one could express in twenty-five different ways the beauty of a lotus-face. One can say—

rājīvamiva te vaktram netre nīlotpale iva |
"Thy face red like a thy at bloom, thine eyes like lotuses blue",

or

tavānanamivāmbhojam ambhojamiva te mukham
"The lotus is like thy face and thy face is like the lotus,"

or

yadi kimcid bhavet padmam subhru vibhrāntalocanam |
tatte mukhaśriyam dhattām
"If but the lotus had two rolling disturbed eyes, one would think it was thy face ,"

or

śatapatram śaraccandrastvadānanam iti trayam |
parasparavirodhi
"The lotus, the autumnal moon and thy face—what a triple paradox !,"

or

tvadānanam adhīrāksam āvirdaśanadīdhiti |
bhramadbhrngamivālaksyakesaram bhāti pankajam ||
"Thy face, with quivering eyes and glimmering teeth, is like a lotus-flower, swarmed over by bees, from where little visible filaments are moving upward".

Closely related to the simile is the metaphor (rūpaka). There are metaphors that appropriately belong to the standing

vocabulary of the poet, as: *mukhacandra* "face-moon", *bāhulatā* "arm-creeper", *hastapadma* "hand-lotus" etc.

An amplified rūpaka is illustrated by —

angulyaḥ pallavānyāsan kusumāni nakhārciṣaḥ |
bāhulatā vasantaśrīstvaṁ nah pratyaksacāriṇī ||

"Thy fingers are the leaves; the rays (issuing) from thy nails, the flowers;
Thy two arms, the two creepers: the vernal beauty vividly moving before us, thou art."

Among the embellishments of meaning (arthālankāra), very often is met with the ā k s e p a, that is to say, the concealed or roguish reproof or opposition, as in the stanza beautifully translated by Th Aufrecht[1]:

gaccheti vaktumicchāmi tvatpriyam matpriyaisiṇi |
niragacchan mukhād vāṇī mā gā iti karomi kim ||

"I wanted to speak what you like—
Thou must now go away;
Yet the mouth, obedient to the inclination
Of my heart, stammers forth 'Hasten not'."

Dandin mentions the h y p e r b o l e (atiśayokti) as the best of embellishments. Ślesa (p u n) or double-meaning is very much liked by the poets "The ślesa heightens beauty in all figurative expressions (vakrokti)", says Dandin (II, 363) Thus, for example, in a panegyric verse, in which the king is compared with the moon, it is said :—

asāvudayamārūḍhah kāntimān raktamaṇḍalaḥ |
rājā harati lokasya hrdayam mi dubhih karaih ||

"This *king* (moon), *who has attained the peak of prosperity* (has risen), who is *beautiful* (lovely), *who has made people loyal* (red orb), enchants the heart of his *dependants* (the people) with his *mild taxes* (rays)[2].

1. ZDMG 16, 749 ff, Kāvyādarśa II, 147

2 II, 311 The words in Italics in the translation have two meanings, the second meaning has been given within brackets The K e n y ō g e n of Japanese poetry is much similar to Ślesa Cf K F l o r e n z, Geschichte der Japanischen Litteratur, Leipzig 1906, p 27 f, W i n t e r n i t z, Mitteilungen der Anthropolog Gesellschaft in Wien Bd 35, 1905, p. 240, and J T a k a k u s u, JRAS 1905, 871 ff The kāvya-style has all through manifold parallels in Chinese and Japanese poetry See F l o r e n z, ibid. p 129f, 148, 154 On similar aspects in other literatures, see G r a y, Vāsavadattā, p. 32 ff.

To the embellishments of sound belong, in particular, the numerous types of the y a m a k a, poetic rhyme, (in which a good number of syllables, that stand in immediate proximity or are separated by other syllables, are repeated). Such a repetition may appear in the beginning or in the middle or at the end of a foot. The same series of syllables, when repeated, have, nevertheless, different meanings. Thus, for example, a verse reads

pātu vo bhagavān visnuh sadā navaghanadyutiḥ |
sa dānava-kuladhvamsī sa dāna-varadantihā ||[1]

All sorts of possible poetical devices are made here and there. Thus, for example, there is a stanza in which the two syllables *k ā* and *l a* are repeated twenty-four times. Or else, a stanza may consist of identically sounding quartets, each having a different meaning. It may be that two stanzas, that have different meanings, have wholly identical lines and, according to sense going together, follow one another.

There are, further, most highly refined poetical pieces made of syllables, set together for being read in an inverse direction or in a zig-zag manner or from above downward or from below upward. Another poetical device requires that stanzas should be composed with nothing but a limited number of vowels and consonants.

Of the numerous types and sub-types of embellishments Dandin treats only a few in his poetics.

Whilst the oldest Indian rhetoricians like Daṇḍin were satisfied with defining and classifying the alamkāras and with rejecting the view that the essence of poetry lay in embellishments, V ā m a n a, who lived about 800 A.D. in the court of the King Jayāpīda of Kashmir[2], first of all raised the question about the true nature of poetry and answered it by saying *rītirātmā kāvyasya*, "the soul of poetry abides in the style," i.e., in combination of certain excellences of diction. His K ā v y ā l a m k ā r v r t t i[3] consists of a theoretical section on aesthetics

1 May the exalted Visnu, who has brilliance of a fresh cloud, who destroyed the race of the dānavas and killed the chief of the elephants in rut, protect you. (III, 28)

2 He was a minister of this king, who ruled between the years 779-813 A D See J a c o b i, ZDMG 64, 1910, 138 ff.

3 Vāmanas Lehrbuch der Poetik, published for the first time by C C a p p e l l e r, Jena 1875, published also in Km 15, 1889 [Vāmana's

and a practical section on grammar. The latter[1] contains rules on prosody and grammar, in which, with regard to the rules of Pāṇini's grammar, the poet is advised as to how he should be able to write in correct Sanskrit.

A contemporary and rival of Vāmana was U d b h a ṭ a, who was posted in the court of the same king as the chief pandita (sabhāpati)[2]. He wrote a work A l a m k ā r a s a ṅ - g r a h a[3], "Short Synopsis of the Essence of Poetics", in which he is said to have stated that the soul of poetry is to be found in sentiment (rasa). The ascription to him of this doctrine has been proved to be wrong, as it was based on the error of ascribing to him a verse cited by Pratihārendurāja But it is true that Udbhaṭa stressed the importance of sentiment in poetry and added Ś ā n t a r a s a to the list of eight sentiments of Bharata, thus making it nine. He further introduced a new classification, based entirely on sound effects, primarily alliteration, in the shape of a theory of vṛttis, manners, classed as elegant (upanāgarikā), ordinary (grāmyā) and harsh (parusā). In treating embellishments, he adds Dṛstānta and Kāvyalinga, and divides simile according to the grammatical form of expression and starts the investigation into the relation of double meaning to other figures.. as well as complex issue of the different kinds of blendings of figures, samsrsti and saṁkara. He himself composed an epic Kumārasambhava, from which he quotes examples in his poetics, and wrote B h ā m a h a v i v a r a n a, a commentary on Bhāmaha's poetics, that is not available.

The alleged theory, that sentiment is the soul of poetry, wrongly ascribed to Udbhaṭa, formed the basis of the D h - v a n i k ā r i k ā s, 120 metrical kārikās on poetics by some

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Kāvyālamkārasūtravrtti (with Vāgbhatālamkāra and Sarasvatīkanthābharana had been published by Anundoram B o r o o h, Calcutta, 1883 An English translation of Vāmana's sūtras and vrtti had been published in Indian Thought, 3 and, 1912. The name of the book is Kāvyālamkārasūtrāni svīya-vrttisametāni (Bombay 1958, 4th Ed Vānīvilāsa Press 1909, trans G. Jha Its III and IV, reprinted, Poona, several times) "Rīti is specified arrangement of words, the term specified referring to distinction according to the qualities possessed as being the cause of charm in poetry '—K e i t h, HSL p 381]

1. Treated by C Cappeller, Vāmanas Stilregeln, Strassburg, 1880

2 Rājatarangini IV, 495 Cf B u h l e r, Report 64 f

3 Published by J a c o b, JRAS 1897, 829-853 [The name of the book is given as Alamkārasangraha, K e i t h, HSL p 383, where the work is reported to have been published also in BSS 1925]

anonymous writer[1], upon which Ānandavardhana of Kashmir, about 850 A.D.[2], wrote a running and learned commentary Dhvanyāloka[3] (which in fact is an independent work on the nature of poetry). According to Ānandavardhana, all good poetry has two meanings, the spoken one or denotation, that is to say, what is expressed by words and is embellished by alamkāras and the implied or concealed one, that is, what is inferred by the reader or the hearer. And in this implied one (that is designated as dhvani or tone) lies the real soul of poetry. The alamkāras, including metaphor and other poetical figures, thereby, become so much more impressive that they even hint at the implied meaning, that is purely suggested, "in the same way as the bodice covers the breasts and nevertheless lends them more charm". Above all the feeling and sentiment (rasa) belong to the unspoken. Accordingly Ānandavardhana distinguishes between three types

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1 Generally he is known simply as "Dhvanikāra, the author (of memorial verses) on dhvani". It is not likely that he was called Sahrdaya, as VV Sovani tries to prove (JRAS, 1910, 164 ff), since at best it is an epithet Sushil Kumar De, BSOS I 4, 1920 p 1 ff attempts to answer the question as to who was Dhvanikāra but arrives merely at the conclusion that he must have been at least one hundred years earlier than Ānandavardhana Subsequently the latter became such a strong single advocate of the dhvani—theory that people did not distinguish between the Dhvanikāra and the Vrttikāra

2. Ānandavardhana wrote during the period of the reign of Avantivarman of Kashmir (855-883) There is a verse on him in Rājaśekhara (See Peterson, Subh p 9 ff) "To whom Ānandavardhana is not an *ānandavardhana* (that is to say, an increaser of pleasure) with his well thought dhvani permeating into the deep essence of poetry ?"

3 Published with the commentary of Abhinavagupta in Km 25, 1891 Translated into German by H Jacobi in ZDMG 56 and 57 (separately printed, Leipzig, 1903) On this translation is based A Dyroff, "Eine indische Ästhetik" in the Archiv fur Philosophie, 1 Abt 18, Bd (N.F 11 Bd), 1904, p 113ff Dyroff, praising the aesthetics of Ānandavardhana says that like that of Aristotle it happens to be empirical and proceeds like modern aesthetic psychology [Translated into Hindī by Viśveśvara, Delhi, 1952 In the Introduction, p 72 ff, Viśveśvara, agreeing with Sankaran (Some Aspects of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit), refutes this view on the strength of the words *asmadupajña* "established by ourselves" in the stanza "*iti kāvyārthavivekoyam cetaścamatkrtividhāyī | sūribhir anusrtasārair asmadupajño na vismāryah ||*" and on the strength of the concluding stanza of the Dhvanyāloka that reads

satkāvyatattvanayavartmacāraprasupta-
kalpam manassu paripakvadhiyām yadāsīt |
tad vyākarot sahrdayodayalābhahetor-
ānandavardhana iti prathitābhidhānah ||

But this view is not tenable as in both these places the references to self by Ānandavardhana may be with respect to his commentary.]

of poetry: (1) true poetry, in which the unspoken part is dominant; (2) poetry of the second grade, in which the unspoken part plays a secondary rôle and serves merely as a decoration for the spoken; and (3) the lowest grade of poetry, in which the whole importance is attached to the beauty of language and to external elaboration. According to this theory, indeed as Ānandavardhana himself says, only a few would emerge as real poets:

> *yenāsminnativicitre kaviparamparāvāhini samsāre kālidāsāmaruprabhrtayo dvitrāh pañcasā vā mahākavayo ganyante* | "Hence there are two or three or at the most five or six real poets like Kālidāsa, Amaru etc. in this very strange world". It is appreciable that this peculiar theory on aesthetics is not universally recognised.

A little later than Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka wrote his Vakroktijīvita[1] (first half of the 10th century A.D.). [Perhaps he was a contemporary of Abhinavagupta][2]. By him crooked speech (vakrokti), i. e., figurative speech depending upon witty turnings, is considered to be the soul of poetry. He teaches that "it is to the inventive genius exerted in the work of a poet (kavikarman) that we owe the presence of vakrokti in any poem, and this work can be classed according as he exhibits it in regard to the letters, to the base or terminations of words, to the sentence, to the particular topic or to the treatise as whole"[3].

Whilst this theory may be considered to be a modification of the dhvani-theory, the teachings of Ānandavardhana were severely criticised by Bhaṭṭanāyaka (end of 9th century A.D) in the Hṛdayadarpaṇa and by Pratihāra Indurāja, [a pupil of Mukula] (first half

1. Cf Jacobi, ZDMG 56, 1902, p 400, 62, 1908, p 296; T Ganapati Śāstrī, TSS No V, 5ff According to Hari Chanda, Kālidasa p 96 ff, the anonymous writer of Vakroktijīvita would be anterior to Kuntaka [The work has been edited by S K De, Calcutta, 1923 and 1928, published with annotation in Hindī by Ācārya Viśveśvara, Delhi, 1955 The name of the author is given as Kuntala by Keith, HSL, p 392 ff]

2. See Visveśvara, Introduction p 12 ff to his edition of Vakrokti-jīvita

3 Kārikās 18 ff

of 10th century) in his commentary on Udbhata's Alamkārasamgraha[1].

A very valuable and interesting treatise on poetics is the Kāvyamīmāmsā of the poet Rājaśekhara[2] He quotes verses from his three dramas He describes in detail as to how a sabhā should be designed. In a fuller detail he states things about poets and kings: for example, he says that Sātavāhana, the king of Kuntala, had ordered exclusive use of Prākrit in his harem and that as against this, Sāhasānka of Ujjayinī had ordered for exclusive use of Sanskrit. In the introduction to a printed edition, the age of Rājaśekhara has been given as 880-920 A D., and there it has been conjectured that the stanzas on poets cited in Jalhana's Sūktimuktāvalī[3] have been taken from the Harivilāsa of Rājaśekhara, whilst there are others who ascribe the authorship of a work Kāvyavimarśa to him and hold that these stanzas were contained in this work. Hemacandra, as well as Vāgbhata has very much used the Kāvyamīmāmsā[4].

Towards, the close of the 10th and beginning of the 11th century A.D Abhinavagupta[5] wrote his Dhvanyālokālocana, a great commentary on the Dhvanyāloka, which is rather an independent theoretical work, intelligible with difficulty. A work in which Ānandavardhana and Kuntaka are severely criticised is the Vyaktiviveka of Mahimahabhatta[6] (beginning of 11th century A.D.).

Not much later than Ānandavardhana lived Rudraṭa[7],

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1 Cf Pischel Rudrata's Śrngāratilaka, p 11 f Ganapati Śāstrī, ibid, Kane, Ind Ant 1912, 205ff, VV Sovani, JRAS 1909, 450 ff According to Peterson, Subh p 11, Indurāja was a teacher of Abhinavagupta, but according to Aufrecht, CC I, 59, he is to be distinguished from Pratīhārenduraja

2 Ed C D Dalal and Anantakrishna Shastrī in the Gaekwar's Oriental Series No 1, Baroda, 1916

3 See below, p 36

4 Cf also D. Barnett in BSOS 1917, 123 ff

5 He was a Śaiva Brāhmana and also author of one Nātyālocana, a commentary on Bhāratiya-Nāṭyaśāstra and also of religious and didactic poems Cf Buhler, Report 6 f, Krishnamacharya 162 f, Hari Chanda, Kalidāsa, p 96 ff

6 Published with the commentary of Rājānaka Ruyyaka by Ganapati Śāstrī, TSS No V, 1909, Cf also Narasimhiengar, JRAS 1908, 63 ff

7 According to Jacobi, ZDMG 56, 763 A, he lived under Avantivarman (855 - 833) This Rudrata, with the epithet Śatānanda, son of Vāmuka, should not be confused with Rudrabhatta, the author of Śṛngāratilaka Pischel (ZDMG 39, 314; 42, 296ff) regards both of them

who in his Kāvyālamkāra takes no notice of the theory of dhvani, but assigns the chief importance upon alamkāras[1].

The most famous work on dramaturgy, that overthrows the Bhāratīya-Nātyaśāstra and has replaced it, is the Daśarūpa[2] "The Treatise on the ten kinds of Drama" of Dhanañjaya, the son of Viṣṇu, who lived during the reign of Vākpatirāja II of Muñja (974-979 A D.)[3]. His younger brother Dhanika[4] wrote a commentary on this work. The Daśarūpa is more lucid and systematic than the Bhāratīya-Nātyaśāstra and, therefore, is quoted most frequently in later works on poetics. It is written in verses, mostly in ślokas, but the style is so concise that without the commentary it is hardly intelligible.

One of the most famous works on poetics is the Kāvyaprakāśa[5] of the Kashmiri Brāhmana Mammaṭa (11th century A D)[6] He is dependent mostly upon Udbhata and Rudrata. According to him the best poetry is that with implied meaning (dhvani). The large numer

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as identical They are frequently confused in anthologies (see Thomas, 92ff). Cf However, Jacobi, WZKM 2, 151 ff and ZDMG 42, 425 ff, Jacob JRAS 1897, 291 f, Narasimhiengar JRAS 1905, 542 n

1 Published with the commentary of Namisādhu in Kni 2, 1886 Nami, a Śvetāmbara Jaina wrote his commentary in 1068.

2 Published by Fitzedward Hall, Bibl Ind, Calcutta 1865 and by K P Parab, Bombay 1897 and again 1941 The text of Hall's edition was reprinted with an English translation by G C O Haas (CUIS 7, New York 1912) Besides, cf Jacobi, GGA, 1913, 302 ff, and Barnett, JRAS 1913, 190 ff

3 Buhler, Ep Ind I, 226f

4 According to S Lévi (JA 1886, s 8, t VII, 221) Jacobi and others Dhanika is just another name of Dhanañjaya

5 Editions have appeared in BSS 1901 and, (with a commentary) in Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series No 66, Poona 1911, [reprinted from its fifth edition in B O S Poona, 2nd Ed 1950] An English translation by Gangānātha Jhā in the Pandit, N S Vols 18—21, revised edition Poona, 1936 Cf V Sukthankar ZDMG, 66, 1912, 477ff, 533ff

6 Mammaṭa, son of Jayyata, may have been a brother of the grammarian Kaiyata and of the Vedic scholar Uvata On his age cf Narasimhiengar, JRAS 1908, 63ff and Ganapati Śāstrī, TSS No V, p 8 ff In the opinion of many later rhetoricians Mammata was the author of only the commentary on the kārikās, whose writer was Bharata (But Bharata is quoted by Mammata himself in Kāvyaprakāśa IV) The Sāhityakaumudī, publishd in Km 63, 1897, by Vidyābhūsana, a disciple of the reformer Caitanya (born 1484 A D), probably may have been a commentary on the kārikās. The commentary and the manuscripts attest that Allata (or Alata, many manuscripts wrongly give Alaka) had worked upon the Kāvyaprakāśa in addition to Mammata Cf. Hari Chanda, Kālidāsa, p 104.

of commentaries that had been written on the Kāvyaprakāśa attest to the prestige and honour this work enjoyed and the extent to which it was studied and used[1].

In the 11th century Ksemendra, another Kashmirian [and a disciple of Bhattagangana and of Abhinavagupta (980-1020 A D)], wrote an aesthetico-critical work Aucityālamkāra or Aucitya-vicāracarcā[2], that is to say "Critical Research on Proprieties in Poetry", and a practical handbook for poets, the Kavikanthābharana or "the Ornament for the Neck of the Poets"[3]. It is doubtful whether this is identical with his Kavikarnikālankāra, not yet found but referred to in his Aucitya[4].

In Kavikanthābharana the rules for the guidance of the poets are given directly more in a pedantic style than in a witty form. ["His position is that aucitya (appropriateness) is the essence of rasa.... His method is to give an appropriate definition of each topic and also to cite an inappropriate example thereon[5]."]

A comprehensive work on poetics is the Sarasvatīkanthābharana[6], "Ornament of the Neck of Sarasvatī (the Goddess of Speech)" of which the authorship is ascribed to the famous king Bhoja of Dhārā (11th century). Bhoja distinguishes between three classes of alamkāras—besides śabdālankāra and arthālankāra, there is also the one in which both śabda and artha are joined together at the same time. He sub-divides each of them further into 24 According to his theory there is a single sentiment, namely erotic, present in poetry. He,

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1 On the commentaries, cf Peterson, Report II, p 10ff, 3 Reports pp VIIff, 19, 320ff, 332f, Buhler, Report 68f and Ind Ant 14, 353 f, Jhā in the preface to his translation The oldest commentary is that of Māṇikyacandra (1159 A D), the most famous commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa is the Kāvyapradīpa (published in the Pandit, N S Vols. 10-13) [For a list of commentaries on Kāvyaprakāśa, see Kane, ibid, Index, 388ff]

2 Published in Km Part I, 115-160 On the authors cited in this work, see Peterson, JBRAS 16, 1885, 167ff

3 Published in Km Part IV, 122-139 An analysis of the work has been given by I. Schonberg, SWA 1884.

[4 Kane HSP 253]

[5. Further information on Ksemendra in Buhler, Kashmir, Report p. 45 ff, JBRAS, Vol. 16, pp 5-9, De, HSP Vol. I, p 142 ff and Kane, HSP, p 253ff.]

6 Published by A Boorah, Calcutta 1884, [in KM Series, 1934, Benares 1887, and in the Madras University Series]

however, attaches more importance to the merit of composition (guṇa) that generates the sentiment than to the alaṁkāras. If there is a poem that has several embellishments in it, but lacks in guna, it is not beautiful like a woman lacking in youth, just though she is splendidly decorated. As for the rest, Bhoja slavishly follows Daṇḍin[1], although he himself is frequently quoted in Kāvyaprakāśa. The chief merit of the work of Bhoja lies in the fact that he cites in it a number of stanzas—including those in Prākrit too[2]. Consequently, it can justly be considered as an anthology as well

[Another work of Bhoja on poetics is the Ś ṛ ṅ g ā r a p r a k ā ś a[3]. It is a very voluminous work, larger than any work on Sanskrit poetics It deals with both poetics and dramaturgy, like the Sāhityadarpana. It defines kāvya as *śabdārthau sahitau*· "word and meaning, both, jointly constitute poetry" and propounds that the erotic sentiment (śṛngāra) combined with consciousness (abhimāna) and individualization (ahamkāra) is the only rasa, properly so called. In this work a new rasa, i.e, vatsala, has been added to the list of nine, and in the opinion of the author vīra, adbhuta, etc., have been so considered just to respect the popular usage (*gatānugatikatvavaśāt*).

Like Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa this work too deals with both poetics and grammar including philosophy of language. According to this, a word can have three vṛttis·—*mukhyā*, that is conventional, *gaunī*, that is secondary and *lakṣaṇā*. As the work is not yet completely published it is not possible to say anything finally as regards its contents. It is noteworthy that like Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa this too contains a very large number of stanzas, written both in Prākrit and Sanskrit and, likewise, deserves to be considered an anthology.]

Towards close of the 11th and in the first half of the 12th century A D., also the Jaina V ā g b h a ṭ a[4], son of Soma,

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1. N o b e l, Beiträge etc. p 80

2 R P i s c h e l, Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhramśa (AGGW, N F Bd. V, Nr 4, 1902), p 46 ff gives a critical compilation and a German translation of the Prākrit stanzas of Bhoja

[3 V R a g h a v a n—Studies in Śrngāraprakāsa (Vol I, parts 1 and 2, pp 1—542) Only the first eight chapters have been published by G R J o s y e r, Mysore, 1945 There are many lacunae in the published edition.]

4 He was a minister under Javasimha [of Anahillapātakapura,] Gujarāt (1093-1154) and is considered also to be the author of Neminirvāna, see above II, 338, tr p 512. [See also K a n e, HSL, p 275-276.]

wrote his Vāgbhatālankāra[1] in ślokas (1125-1143 A.D.). A later work is the Kāvyānuśāsana[2] of Vāgbhata, son of Nemikumāra, in sūtras with his own commentary. The famous Jaina monk and polymath Hemacandra wrote a work on poetics under the title Kāvyānuśāsana[3] in sūtras with his own commentary, called Alankāracūdamani. The commentary contains an extra-ordinarily rich collection of metrical examples in Sanskrit as well as in Prākrit

Rājānaka Ruyyaka (or Rucaka), who is held in high esteem as a theorist on poetry, wrote in the beginning of the 12th century A.D. the much read work Alamkārasarvasva[4], "Everything of Embellishment". He wholly depends upon his predecessors, especially Mammata. His credit lies chiefly in the fact that he adopts the scientific style, for he was well disciplined in philosophical literature When he refers to the views of Bhāmaha, Udbhata, Rudrata and Vāmana, he speaks about them collectively: "Therefore, so goes the opinion of the older writers—that alamkāras constitute the chief constituents of poetry". Following this he deals in detail with the definition and classification of alamkāras, of which he treats not less than 82.

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1 Published in Km 43, 1894

2 Published in Km 48, 1895 Generally only one Vāgbhata (known also under the Prākrit name Bāhada) is assumed so by Aufrecht, CC I, 103, 559, II, 132, III, 118 etc See, however, Bernheimer, ZDMG, 63, 1909, 808 note 1 See also Zachariae, GGA 1884, 301 ff, and Jacob, JRAS 1897, 308 f Weber, HSS Verz II, 3, p 1208, differentiates the two Vāgbhatas

3 Published in Km 71, 1901 Cf Bühler, Hemacandra, p 33, 81

4 Published with commentary in the Km 35, 1893, translated by H Jacobi into German, ZDMG 62, 1908 Ruyyaka is the son of Rajānaka Tilaka, author of Udbhatavivcka He was the teacher of Mankha or Mankhuka Ruyyaka and Mankhuka have a number of common stanzas, but none of them refers to the other by name In the south Indian manuscripts (see Burnell, Tanjore, p 54, and Winternitz, South Indian Manuscripts 208) the author of Alamkārasarvasva is mentioned as Mankhuka Jacob (JRAS, 1897, 283f) considers it possible that Ruyyaka was the author of both the sūtras and the commentary See also Hari Chanda, Kālidāsa, p 105ff Ruyyaka is the author also of Sahrdayalīlā, (published by R Pischel, Rudrata's Śrngāratilaka und Ruyyaka's Sahrdayalīlā, Kiel 1886, also in Km Part V 1888, 157—160), also of Kāvyaprakāsasamketa, a commentary on the Kāvyaprakāśa and of many other works

In the 12th century A D., Rudra[1] or Rudrabhaṭṭa wrote Śṛṅgāratilaka, a work, which is a collection of erotic stanzas and a manual of poetics at the same time, and in it the erotic sentiment has been illustrated with examples The small work contains stanzas purely composed by the author himself, only short superscriptions pointing as to what they are meant to serve as examples of Many of the stanzas have been included in later anthologies. Th. Aufrecht[2] has beautifully translated into German the one (I, 3) addressed to the critics—here summarily referred to as rogues—

kāvye śubhepi racite khalu no khalebhyah
kaścid guṇo bhavati yadyapi saṁpratīha |
kurjām tathāpi sujanārthamidam yataḥ kiṁ
yūkābhayena paridhānavimoksaṇaṁ syāt ||

"Thou knowest, my friend, even if thou art the most wonderful poet,
Yet thou receiveth neither mercy, nor favour from the gang (of critics),
Still composeth thou for the pleasure of those who appreciate :
Would anybody give up wearing clothes for fear of lice ?"

A work on poetics of the type of Kāvyaprakāśa is Ekāvalī[3] of Vidyādhara, a metrical work with the author's own commentary. The examples are of the writer's own composition and are at the same time panegyrics of Narasimha, king of Utkala and Kaliṅga This enables us to determine to some extent the age of the work. But, the difficulty is that there have been eight kings of this name. In any case apparently the

1. Falsely ascribed to Rudrata (see above p 22, note 4) by Pischel in his edition of the text (see the above remark) The text has been published also in the Km Part III, 111-152 [Rudra and Rudrata are considered identical by some scholars, but different persons by others Kane, HSP, p 147 ff has discussed the question and expressed the opinion that "there are very weighty grounds for holding that the two are distinct authors" Cf Bühler, Kashmir Report p 67), Aufrecht (ZDMG, 36, p 376), Pischel (ZDMG 42, 1888, p 296) on the one hand and Jacobi WZKM 1888, II (p 151 ff and ZMDG 42, p 425 ff.) and Hari Chanda, Kālidāsa p 91 ff on the other. 'Rudrata is a son of Vāmuka and is also called Śatānanda" (Keith, HSL, p 384, note)]

2 ZDMG 25, 240 A number of stanzas have been translated into German by Hoefer, Indische Gedichte, II, 164 ff

3 Published with the commentary of Mallinātha by K P. Trivedī, BSS Nr 63, 1903 Cf Bhandarkar, Report 1887-1891 pp (LXV)—(LXXI) In his commentary on the works of Kālidāsa, Mallinātha frequently refers to Ekāvalī

patron referred to by our author seems to have ruled between 1279-1314 A D

Vidyādhara belongs to the Ānandavardhana's school of poetics. Interesting are his expositions of rasa in the third section. Enjoyment of the sentiment, he says, is "super-natural" (*alaukika*), like the ecstasy of meditation on Brahman (*brahmasvādasahodara*). This enjoyment is such a supermundane pleasure that one does not think of any other thing, but is completely plunged and lost therein. Just it is explained, as the spectacle of even a tragic or dreadful scene that generates pleasure only. The four chief sentiments, the erotic, the heroic, the dreadful and the disgustful, are explained beautifully in the following manner —

vikāso kusumasyeva pādapasyeva vistarah |
ksobhobdherıva viksepo mārutasyeva cetasah ||

tatra vikāsopādhikah śrngārah | vistaropādhiko vīrah | kṣobhopādhiko raudrah | viksepopādhiko bībhatsah ||

"The erotic sentiment is like blossoming of a bud, the heroic one is similar to that of a tree outspreading with branches, the dreadful one is like the fury of an ocean and the disgustful one is like an whirlwind With regard to excellence (guna) he refutes the view of Bhoja. As regards alamkāras, he substantially follows Ruyyaka, but frequently quotes Bhāmaha as well

To the age of Ekāvalī belongs also the P r a t ā p a r u d r a-y a ś o b h ū s a n a[1] of V i d y ā n ā t h a. The work, that, in short, is generally called Pratāparudrīya, treats the entire sphere of poetics, including dramaturgy. Chapter one straightway describes the characteristics of the hero and of the heroine of the drama, chapter two is devoted to the nature of poetry and to its different types, and chapter three discusses in detail the types of dramatic poetry (rūpaka), especially the nātaka As a model for the latter, Vidyānātha has among his works the P r a t ā p a r u d r a k a l y ā n a, a learned drama in five acts. Here all the examples are composed by the writer himself and all of them are panegyrics of the Pratāparudra of

1 Published with the commentary of Kumārasvāmin, son of Mallinātha, by K P T r i v e d ī, BSS Nr 65, 1909 [and by C. Ś a n k a r a R ā m a Ś ā s t r ī, Madras, 3rd ed. 1950.]

Hyderabad (1268-1319)[1]—hence the title of the work "Ornament to the Fame of Pratāparudra". He follows in general Mammaṭa, but prefers Ruyyaka in his treatment of figures of speech.

Bhānudatta[2], son of Gaṇanātha of Mithilā[3], must have written his Rasamañjarī and Rasatarangiṇī[4] in the 13th century. The former consists of stanzas with explanatory prose and describes the heroes and heroines in the drama and the epic. The Rasatarangiṇī, in which Rasamañjarī too is mentioned, is devoted to sentiments, emotions, etc. It is a kind of commentary on chapters VI and VII of the Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra The work is in prose with numerous examples in verses for the greater part refering to Krsṇa and Rāma

During the period 1300-1380 AD Viśvanātha Kavirāja[5] wrote his Sāhityadarpana[6] (Mirror of Composition), that treats in detail of the entire range of poetics and dramaturgy. It is held in great esteem especially in respect of dramaturgy. In his discussion on the nature of poetry, as against Dhvanikāra as well as against Kuntaka, Bhoja and Mammata, he defends his view that sentiment alone is the soul of poetry.

1 The inscriptions of Pratāparudra are of the period 1298—1327 AD Cf Eggeling, Ind Off Cat III, p 338 [According to Kane, HSP, p 283, 1271—1309 AD]

[2. On the question of indentity of Bhānukara and Bhānudatta, see Haradatta Śarmā, Annals of the BORI, Vol 17 p 243ff S K De, ibid, p 297 ff and Devasthali, NIA, Vol VII, p 111ff]

3 P Regnaud, La Rhetorique Sanskrite, p 371, Pischel, GGA 1885, 769

4 Published by Regnaud as an appendix to the work mentioned above [The work has been published also in the Benares Sanskrit Series]

5 [He was a son of Chandraśekhara and a great grand'son of Nārāyana] Apparently he lived under Narasimha II, king of Orissa, between 1279 and 1306 AD Cf M Chakravarti in JASB 72, 1903, p 146 and N S 2, 1906, p 167 note, A B Keith JRAS 1911, p 848ff Viśvanātha is the author of one Kāvyaprakāsadarpana and of the poetical works Candrakalānātaka, Rāghavavilāsa and Narasimhavijaya too In the Sāhityadarpana, he more often cites from his drama Prabhāvatīparinaya and his Prākrit poem Kuvalayāsvacarita, (175, 561) He refers to his Praśastiratnāvalī, written in sixteen dialects, as an example of Karambhaka, that is a piece of poetic composition in several different dialects [See also Kane, HSP p 285 ff Konow (Das indische Drama p 3) holds with KP Parab and PV. Kane that probably Viśvanātha Kavirāja lived in the second half of the 14th century AD]

6 Published by E. Roer with an English translation of J R Ballantyne and Pramadra Dāsa Mitra, Bibl Ind 1851—1875. Reprinted Vārānasī, 1956 Recent edition by P V Kane, Bombay 1910 [Hindi translation and annotation by Śāligrāma Śāstrī, Vārānasī, 3rd ed 1956]

On the one hand he agrees with Udbhaṭa in respect of the theory of sentiments, on the other hand he follows Ruyyaka in his treatment of embellishments. In chapter six he deals with both the types of poetry—that is to be seen and that is to be heard. The first one generates sentiments through mimic representation and is called rūpaka, because it attains form (rūpa) through the actor. He has devoted kārikās 272-556 to dṛśyakāvya (poetry that is to be seen).

A type of elementary book on poetics form the Kuvalayānandakārikās[1] of Appaya Dīkṣita[2] with the commentary of Āśādhara The work consists of metrical lines in which alamkāras are explained with examples. It is, however, an enlargement of the fifth chapter of a voluminous work on poetics, i e, of Candrāloka or Alamkāraniṛūpana of Jayadeva Pīyūṣavarṣa[3], son of Mahādeva. In respect of embellishments Jayadeva follows Ruyyaka. Appaya seems to have written another work named Laksanaratnāvalī, in which he defines dramatic technical words like nāndī, sūtradhāra, prastāvanā, pūrvaranga etc.

The last important writer on poetics is Jagannātha Panditarāja, who wrote his Rasagangā-

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1 Edited and explained with an English Tīkā Commentary and Translation by P R Subrahmanya Sarmā, Calcutta, 1903 Translated into German by R Schmidt, Berlin, 1907

2 Appaya wrote this work according to the wish of the King Venkata I of Pennakonda (1586-1613), see E Hultzsch, Reports on Sanskrit MSS in Southern India, II, p XII f and Ep Ind 4, 271, Nilmani Chakravarti, JASB 1907, 211 According to Krishnamacharya 168, Appaya Dīksita lived during 1554-1626 A D. and wrote not less than 104 learned works He is the author also of another work on poetics namely Citramīmāmsā (published in the Pandit, N S Vol 13 and in the Km 38, 1893), in which is printed also the Citramīmāmsā-khandana, "the Dismemberment of Citramīmāmsā" of Jagannātha Appaya is the author also of Vrttivārttika (published in the Pandit NS Vol 12 and Km. 36, 1893) [Cf JOR Madras, IV, p 242 ff, Kane, HSP, p 306 On the date of Appaya given above, see Ep Ind XII, p 340 Against this see Y Mahālinga Śāstrī (JOR, Madras, III, p 140ff), who maintains that the date of Appaya would be between 1520 A D and 1593 A.D Further references in Kane, HSP, p 307ff]

3. This Jayadeva does not seem to have written long before Appaya. Cf Eggeling. Ind. Off Cat III, p 332 f, Peterson, Subh 37ff. and Bhattanāthasvāmin, Ind Ant 41, 1912, 143 note. Pischel HL 17f holds that Jayadeva was much older.

dhara[1] in the 17th century A D. He refutes the theory of the implied meaning (dhvani) and defines the notion of beauty, even as Kant does, by saying: "Beauty is that of which the representation generates pleasure without interest".

Again, in the 18th century a learned Brāhmana Devaśamkara combined panegyric and science in his one work Alamkāramañjūsā, that deals with alamkāras only. All the examples cited are by the writer himself and written for the express purpose of describing the glory of Peshwa Mādhavarāo I and of his uncle Raghunātharāo (between 1761 and 1768 A D)'[2].

Prosody[3] in India is as old as poetics. Its beginnings go back as far as the Vedic literature. Already in the Brāhmanas we find people busy with metres, the harmony of which seems to have something mystic[4] A number of chapters is devoted to prosody in the Sānkyhāyanaśrautasūtra The Rgveda Prātiśākhya and metrical portions of Kātyāyana's Anukramanīs to the Rgveda and the Yajurveda already scientifically treat of the Chandas (that is to say, prosody) that is enlisted also among the six Vedāngas. The most important work of this Vedānga is the Chandassūtra of Pingala[5]. Although this work is called a Vedānga, it

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1 Published with a commentary in Km 13, 1889 The work was written in 1641 A D, the year of death of Āsaf, the Supreme Commander-in-chief of Shāh Jahān Jagannātha lived also in court of Dāra Shāh, son of Shāh Jahān, in between 1620 and 1660 as a lyric or sententious poet Many unauthenticated sayings and anecdotes make him a contemporary of Emperor Akbar (see L R Vaidya in his introduction to Bhāminivilāsa) His numerous works have been enlisted in Aufrecht, CCI, 196 and in Km. Part I, p 79 note)

2 Bhandarkar, Report 1887-1891 p (LXIII)ff Several other works on poetics have been mentioned in Buhler, Report 64 ff Burnel, Tanjore p 54ff, Bhandarkar, Report 1882-1883, p 12f, Report 1883 1884, p 6, 17f, 155 f, 326, Peterson, Report IV, pp VIII, X, LXVIII f, CVII, Eggeling Ind Off Cat III, 321ff Keśavamisra wrote in 1565 the Alamkāraśekhara (published in Km 50, 1895, 'ce Nilamani Charavartiin JASB 1907, p 212) A work of the 18th century is the Rasaratnahāra of Tripāthī Śivarāma, published in Km Part VI, 1890, pp 118-142

3 Cf Colebrooke, Misc Essays II, 63 ff, Weber, Ind Stud Bd 8, F L Pullé, F Belloni-Filippi e A Ballini in SIFI VIII 1912, H Jacobi, Uber die Entwicklung der indischen Metrik in nachvedischer Zeit, ZDMG 38, 590ff, 40, 336ff

4 See above, I, p 56, 157 (trans pp 62,180)

5 See above I, p 245 (trns pp 288-89) Text with the commentary Mrtasamjīvanī of Halāyudha (2nd half of 10th century) published in Km 91, 1908

touches only a very small number of Vedic metres, its major part dealing with secular poetry. The names of his predecessors mentioned by Pingala exhibit a Vedic character, in any case he is a very old writer, a thing that is indicated also by the circumstance that he is a mythical personality and as such is also called "Nāga—Pingalanāga". According tradition he is identical with Patañjali; Ṣadguruśisya calls him a "younger brother of Pāṇini", and it is probable that he is not too far away in time from Patañjali (about 150 B.C.).

The names and number of the metres treated by Pingala equally prove that there existed a highly developed secular literature before his time. Besides, the names of many metres prove the existence of extensive love-lyrics. Names of the metres like Kanakaprabhā "brilliance of gold", Kuḍmaladantī "bud-toothed", Cāruhāsinī "beautifully-smiling", Vasantatilakā "Spring-crested", and others, apparently go to explain that originally they were employed in love lyrics, in which beautiful women were praised[1]. Besides them, however, there are also metres that are named according their form and nature, e.g, Mandākrāntā "slowly ascending", Drutamadhyā "swift in the middle", and others. Many of the names bear resemblance to the voice or habit of animals e.g., Aśvalalita "horse-sport", Kokilaka "voice of the cuckoo", Śārdūlavikrīḍita "tiger-sport", etc.

In Vedic prosody, metre exclusively depends upon the number of syllables, and to a very limited extent the quality of syllables too is taken into account Of these metres, the śloka of the epics, derived from the Vedic anustubh, is of the most frequent occurrence. Otherwise, prosody knows only the metres in which the number of syllables as well as their quantity too is strictly fixed A large number of metres is formed according to the number of syllables and arrangement of metrical feet. The number of syllables in a quarter of a stanza (pada) varies between 5 to 27, so that we have stanzas of syllables numbering from 20 to 108. But theoretically there

1. The circumstance too speaks in support of the assumption that originally it was in the erotic lyrics that metres were used in India, since in this poetry the variety of metres is the greatest Writers of epics use comparatively smaller number of metres In the oldest dramas there occur approximately twenty metres

exist yet a much greater number of metres, in fact, that are met with here and there. In addition there are a number of metres that are measured according to mora. They are found mainly in Prākrit poems and seem to have originally belonged to popular ballads.

Like Pāṇini in his grammar, Piṅgala uses algebraic expressions to indicate the feet of metres and for short and long syllables[1]. A work on Prākrit prosody too is ascribed to Piṅgala[2]. It is written in verses and contains a large number of recent prosodical expressions and, therefore, must be younger in age than his Chandaḥsūtra.

We do not know whether the authors of the works of ornate poetry that are before us were regulated according to Piṅgala or according to some later manual[3]. Later than Pingala's Chandaḥsūtra is chapter XV of the Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra which deals with prosody and gives numerous examples for individual metres. In addition to Piṅgala, Agnipurāṇa (chapters 328-334) also deals with prosody in considerably condensed memorial verses. Strangely enough, a chapter (104) of an astrological work, named Bṛhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira (6th century A.D.), also deals with prosody. Here metres have been associated with planets, and many of the verses convey two different meanings in such a way that they define metres and describe the movements of planets at the same time. Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary, by way of explanation, has referred to a metrical text, of which

1 For example, *la=laghu*, i e, "light or short syllable; *ga=guru*, i e., "heavy or long syllable"; *ma* for — — —; *ya* for ∪— — ; *ra* for — ∪— etc.

2. Prākṛta Pingala-Sūtras (text with commentary) published in Km 41, 1894. Cf Weber, Ind. Stud 8, 202 f; Pischel, Prākrit Sprachen (Grundriss) p. 30f, Keith, Catalogue of Prākrit MSS in Bodl c. 48 According to Jacobi (Bhavisattakaha of Dhaṇavāla, p. 5*) the Prākrta Pingala belongs to the 14th century A D at the earliest

3 According to Jacobi, Ind Stud. 17, 442 ff, Chandoviciti, that is no more available, a work of Dandin, had become a standard work for poets. P V. Kane (Ind Ant 40, 1911, 177f) has pointed out that by Chandoviciti (Kāvyādarśa I, 12) we should understand "prosody" in general and not the title of a work, and that neither Dañcin nor Vāmana had written a work on prosody. But it must not be taken to mean that when rhetoricians prescribe the study of prosody for poets they directly mean the work of Pingala, as assumed by Kane A Prākrta-Piṅgalasūtra was published in the Bibl. Ind 1902, too. Ratnaśekhara's Chandahkośa, a pendant to Prākrta-Pingalasūtra has been dealt with by W. Schubring ZDMG 75, 1921, p 97ff

the author is mentioned by him simply as "teacher" (ācāryā). Here each metre is defined by means of a stanza composed in the same metre.

Kedārabhaṭṭa's Vṛttaratnākara "Ocean of Metres"[1], is a work on prosody that has had a very wide circulation. This book deals with only non-Vedic metres and in fact describes their 136 types. The work is much quoted, and the large number of commentaries on it, both in print and in MSS. existing in India, prove that it has been very popular here.

Another work, much quoted, is the Śrutabodha of Kālidāsa[2]. But its authorship is now and then ascribed by scholars to Vararuci too. There are many extant commentaries written on it. The verses defining the metres serve also as their examples at the same time.

Ksemendra too has written a work on prosody, the Suvṛttatilaka[3], that is divided into three sections. Section one contains a description of the metres, for each of which the writer has provided as example a stanza composed by himself. Section two is on faults and merits of prosody; but here the quoted examples are not only from the writings of the author himself but also from elsewhere. We obtain many useful data for a history of literature from section three, which is devoted to reputed poets of the past and their special fascination for one or the other of the metres[4].

Of the other works on prosody, Chandonuśāsana[5] of Hemacandra, Vāṇibhūsana of Dāmodara[6] and

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1. Published with a commentary in Bombay, NSP 1908. An English translation of this work appeared in the Pandit, Vol. IX, 45 f., 91ff, 140 ff Kedārabhaṭṭa was the son of Pavyeka or Pabbeka. According to Krishnamacharya (167) he must have written the Vṛttaratnākara in the beginning of the 15th century. Since he is very often cited by Mallinātha, who lived in the 15th century, he must have been somewhat older.

2 Cf Colebrooke, Misc Ess II, 65, H. Ewald in the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bonn 1842, IV, 57ff, Aufrecht, CC I, 675; Eggeling, Ind Off Cat II, 1082 ff H. Brockhaus has published it in his book "Über den Druck sanskritischer Werke mit lateinischen Buchstaben" (Leipzig, 1841) It has been printed several times in India, also in Haeberlin 9-14.

3 Published in Km , Part II, 1886, 29-54

4. So, for example, Pāṇini liked Upajāti, Bhāravi, the Vamśastha, Bhavabhūti, the Śikhariṇī, Kālidāsa, the Mandākrāntā, etc On the use of metres in Indian poets see also Kuhnau, ZDMG. 44 1890, p. 1ff.

5. Bühler, Hemacandra, p 33, 82

6 Published in Km 53, 1895, Cf Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat. II, p. 301ff

Chando mañjarī of Gaṅgādāsa[1] may be referred to briefly.

BEGINNINGS OF ORNATE POETRY

As already suggested, we are to see the first stage of Indian poetry in the Mahābhārata and, more particularly, in the Rāmāyana. Whatever, in our opinion, may be the amount of alterations and additions made by later authors in them, it cannot be denied that the first traces of the kāvya style are to be found in these two epics, in their earliest parts, that go back to a date before Christ. Nevertheless, so far as the poetic materials used are concerned, the difference between the epics, such as the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, on the one hand, and the poetical works of writers like Kālidāsa and Amaru, on the other, is so great that in any case we are obliged to admit a lapse of a big interval of time between these two types of poetry. Apparently, court ornate poetry did not on the whole originate in the soil of the epics; it did so in that of the lyrics. Evolution of prosody no doubt shows that the first poetic metre must have developed in love-ballads[2]. Here, when the theme of the song admitted of little alteration, the poet was obliged to attract the attention of his audience and to win their admiration through external form and through artificiality of metre and of language. Like erotics, panegyrics did not offer a less important stimulus for artificial form. When the poets extolled in their songs glories of the princes, in whose courts they lived, their poems, being expressive of high admiration for the patrons, all along were full of artifices. Consequently, it was just natural that the court poets vied among themselves, surpassed one another, and finally one who knew how to introduce into his poems the largest number of "embellishments" was considered to be the greatest of them. This kāvya style in due course found its way into the epics through the panegyrics.

History of court poetry would go back at least as far as the 4th century B.C.. when lived the great grammarian and poet Pāṇini, to whom is ascribed also the authorship of two epics, namely Pātālavijaya and Jāmbavatī-

1 Cf. Brockhaus in the BSGW 6, 1854, 209-242, Eggeling loc cit II, Nr 1099 ff

2 Cf Jacobi, ZDMG 38, 615ff and above p. 32.

vijaya, as well as of not a few verses, quoted in anthologies[1]. None of the two epics has come down to us, and consequently it is not certain whether the Pātālavijaya and the Jāmbavatīvijaya are two different works or just two titles of one and the same work. Rājaśekhara in the following verse says:—

namaḥ pāṇinaye tasmai yasmād āvirabhūdiha ।
ādau vyākaranam kāvyam anu jāmbavatīvijayam ॥

"Hail to Pāṇini, who by the grace of Rudra, first wrote the grammar and then the poem Jāmbavatīvijaya"[2]. Whether this Rājaśekhara is the poet, to whom a large number of verses are ascribed in anthologies or the dramatist Rājaśekhara (end of the 9th and beginning of the 10th century) or a different Rājaśekhara—in any case, he belongs to too late a period and is too unreliable a testimony for establishing the identity of the grammarian, who wrote his grammar towards the close of the Vedic period, with a poet, whose language is hardly different from that of Kālidāsa. But it is of great significance to note that in one of the stanzas quoted by Namisādhu (in a commentary written in 1068 A.D. on Rudrata's Kāvyālankāra) from Pāṇini's Pātālavijaya there are horrible solecisms, unlikely from the pen of the grammarian[3]. The verses ascribed to Pāṇini exhibit, however, no mean artistic merit:

tanvangīnām stanau dṛstvā śirah kampayate yuvā ।
tayorantarasamlagnam dṛstim utpātayanniva ॥

"The youth, having seen the two breasts of beautiful

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1 P Peterson (JBRAS 17, 1889, 57ff, Subh. 54ff.) has particularly set himself to the task of identification of this poet with the grammarian Before him already Pischel (ZDMG 39, 1885, 95ff, Gram der Prākrit Sprachen, p 33) proposed to place the grammarian in the 5th century A D, an impossible dating, upon which he himself did not insist later (KG. 182f). See against this Kielhorn, NGGW 1885, 185 ff., R G. Bhandarkar, JBRAS 16, 344; D R Bhandarkar, Ind. Ant 1912, 125 n Recently Kane (Ind Ant 1912, 125) has again tried to prove the identity. Thomas, Kavīndrasamuccaya 51ff (where is given a collection of the verses of Pāṇini) holds the question as still undecided Th Aufrecht (ZDMG 14, 581 f., 27, 46, 36, 365 ff; 45,308) has collected together and translated the stanzas ascribed to Pāṇini Rāyamukuṭa, in a commentary written in 1431 A.D on the Amarakoṣa (ascribed to him) has quoted a piece of a poem from Jāmbavatīvijaya The poet Pāṇini has been cited by Ruyyaka too

2 Since this verse occurs in Subhāsitamuktāvalī, written by Jalhana in 1247 A D, this Rājaśekhara cannot be the Jaina writer, who lived in the 14th century; but he may be either the dramatist or yet another third

[3. The ungrammatical horrors mentioned by Keith (HSL, p. 204) are: *apeyat*, *grhya*, narrative aorists, etc]

women, shakes his head, as if he were extricating his gaze fast stuck 'twixt them"

ksapāh kṣāmīkrtya prasabham apahrtyāmbu saritām
pratāpyorvīṁ krtsnāṁ tarugahanamucchosya sakalaṁ I
kva saṁpratyusnāmśurgata iti tadanvesanaparās-
taḍiddīpālokā diśi diśi carantīva jaladāh II

"Having made the nights short, having perforce dried up the water of the streams, having parched all earth and scorched every thicket, where has the sun gone to', so saying the clouds are stalking hither and thither, as if holding lightning for a lamp".

The existence in the 2nd century A. D. of secular lyrics composed in artistic metres and in the style of the ornate court poetry is attested to by Patañjali, the second great grammarian, in whose Mahābhāsya we find a number of citations from ornate poetry[1]. In anthologies Patañjali too is here and there referred as the author of a number of stray stanzas[2]. Pingala's time was really not far away from that of Patañjali[3]. His manual of prosody would also prove the existence of an erotic ornate poetry in the 2nd century.

We have nothing of the ornate court poetry written in Sanskrit between the 2nd centuries B C and A C. It seems that during this period Prākrit poetry was cultivated in the courts of princes. Remnants of this class of poetry have been preserved in the Sattasaī of Hāla and in the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, (which unfortunately is not preserved in its original version).

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1 Cf Buhler, Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie p, 72 and Kielhorn, Ind Ant 14, 326f H Luders (Bruchstucke buddhistischer Dramen, p 62) believes in the existence of the kāvya style already in the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela, written in the 2nd century A D (according to Smith, Early History, p 207 in 218 A D.) But this Prākrit inscription is preserved in such a mutilated form that we can understand little about its style and language On the inscription, cf Luders, Ep Ind X, App p 160f and Charpentier, WZKM 29,1915, 208 ff) Recent researches on the Hāthigumphā inscription by R D Banerji and K P. Jayaswal in JBRAS 1917, 425ff; R C Majumdar and K G Sankara Aiyar, Ind Ant 47, 1918, 223f, 48, 1919, 187 ff, 49, 1920, 43ff According to V A Smith (JRAS 1918,543) ff the date of this inscription is estimated at 170 B C See also Ramā Prasāda Chanda Smith and F. W Thomas, JRAS, 1919, 395ff, 1912, 83 f, Ind Ant 48, 1919, 214 ff

2 Cf Peterson, JRAS 1891, 311 ff.

3 See above p 31

Also in the Therīgāthās, belonging to the Buddhist canons, we find songs and verses that show the style of ornate poetry[1]. Besides, in Prākrit there is an inscription of Nāsik, written in the 19th year of the reign of King Pulumāyi of the Andhra dynasty (154 A D)[2] showing all the characteristics of the style of ornate prose.

Of the same period is the great Sanskrit inscription of Mahāksatrapa Rudradāman, that is a formal poem in prose[3]. Long compounds and long sentences, like those required by Dandin for prose composition, as well as the various embellishments are all through found in this inscription. The style is what has been designated by Dandin as the "Vaidarbha" style. The fact that already in the 2nd century A D. the style of ornate poetry was taken over to prose too and was used in inscriptions as well probably proves that it had developed much earlier.

Of the 2ndcentury A D we have the epics and the dramas of the Buddhist poet Aśvaghosa[4], that in language and style

1 See above II, 84f., trans p 106 It was long believed that in the first century A D. there came into existence a formal literary style in course of development in Sanskrit literature, and that in the 6th century A D took place a "renaissance of Sanskrit literature" for the first time (see Max Muller, India, What it can teach us, London 1882, Indien in seiner weltgeschichtlichen Bedeutung, Leipzig, 1884) This theory in particular has been fully developed by G. Buhler in Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie (SWA 1890). Cf also Haraprasād Śāstri in the JASB 6, 1910, 305ff RG Bhandarkar (A Peep into the Early History of India, JBRAS 1900, p 407 f, Reprint p 52 f) in fact does not believe in a complete cessation of Sanskrit literature, but in its irregular development during the centuries of Buddhism and Prākrit literature from the 1st century B C to the 4th century A D It does not appear correct to speak about a "Prākrit period" of Indian literature, as has been done by F Lacôte, Essai sur Guṇādhya et la Bṛhatkathā, Paris 1908, like Jacobi Ausgewahlte Erzahlungen in Māhārāstrī, p XIff), to have preceded the classical period Prākrit poetry is the composition of certain class of people, apparently of several courts, certainly belonging to different sects, but our study has not revealed any particular period of which we possess an Indian literature in which Prākrit alone, and not Sanskrit as well, happened to be the literary medium

2 Cf Bühler, Die indischen Inschriften etc p. 56ff , and Smith, Early History, p 210

3 The inscription has been published by Kielhorn, Ep Ind. 8, 36 ff. and is regarded by him as of 151 or 152 A D. Bühler (loc cit. p. 49) places it between 160 and 170 A D The inscription is found also on a rock near Girnār Rudradāman belonged to the so-called "western Kṣatrapas" Kṣatrapa is a Sanskrit adaptation of Persian Khshathrapa (Greek "Satrap", as the land-lords and chieftains of the Indo-Scythian kings were designated, who ruled over the whole of north-west and west India in the first two centuries A C

4 See above II, p 201 ff , transl p 256ff

belong to the ornate court poetry. The finished form of the epics together the perfect technique of the dramas of Aśvaghosa proves that they were composed only on some long-standing models. By itself it appears improbable that a thoroughly Buddhist poet should be the first to have composed in this style. On the contrary, the possibility is that he adopted the earlier poetic style to Buddhist themes for the simple reason that this style was common for secular poetry in his times. Aśvaghosa, however, was not the solitary Buddhist poet. Mātrceta and Āryaśūra must have been not very far away from him in time[1].

It would be of importance for the history of ornate poetry if we could be able to determine precisely the antiquity of the alaṁkāraśāstra (science of rhetorics) and its relation to the kāvya style. But, unfortunately, it has to be admitted that we are neither able to fix the time of Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra nor do we know anything about the age of probably the oldest manual on poetics of Bhāmaha with some certainty. Yet, we have hardly any reason to think that poetics developed from a source other than the study of some model poetical pieces of the Mahābhārata or more particularly of the Rāmāyana. Vālmīki certainly did not yet know about a manual of poetics; but, Aśvaghosa was perhaps familiar with the theory of the alaṁkāras[2]. Further development of poetry took place no doubt under the influence of alaṁkāraśāstra Bhāsa and Kālidāsa definitely knew the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata[3].

In general we have been accustomed to regard a work of poetry that is older as less refined and less influenced by the theory. But this conclusion is correct only in a limited sense. It would be more correct to say that when a poet writes in a simple style, it is said that either he belongs to an older period or that he has a superior taste. There have been

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1 See above II, p 201ff trans p 269ff The language of Śūra has been praised in one of the stanzas of the anthology Saduktikarnāmṛta, see Aufrecht, ZDMG 36, 365; Peterson, Subh 131 Other Buddhist and Jaina texts in the kāvya style belong to later centuries, so also the Divyāvadāna (see above II, 222, 225), trans pp 284, 288, Candragomin's poems and other Buddhist stotras (see above II, 259, 267, trans p 365, 380) For Pāli works like Mahāvamsa and Jinālaṁkāra (see above II, 170, 179 trans pp 211, 223, and for stotras of Bhadrabāhu and others (see above II, 339, trans p 549).

2. Cf Kane, Ind Ant. 1912, p 127

3. On the relationship of Kālidāsa to Nāṭyaśāstra, cf A Hillebrandt, Kālidāsa, p 107ff

poets, even in later days who had sufficient taste to avoid a very high flown kāvya style[1] Besides, we learn from Dandin's poetics that there arose great local differences in respect of the style[2] In eastern India, in the courts of mighty kings, poetry seems to have been cultivated earlier than in the south-west For the first time in the 4th and 5th centuries A D., when the Guptas attained sovereignty, the poet of the west too entered into the field of poetic competition[3].

Naturally, the development of court poetry on the whole essentially depended upon the courts in which poetry found special encouragement, and the question is not always of antiquity of time, but often also of place and circumstances.

It is probable that court poets and ornate court poetry already existed during the reign of the Maurya dynasty It is yet doubtful as to how far the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya reflects the condition of the court of the Maurya King Candragupta. The tradition ascribing the authorship of this work to the wise minister of Candragupta agrees little with the facts of history. In any case, the work goes back to a considerably high antiquity, and it is probable that its earliest elements reach upto the Maurya period. And it is noteworthy that among the large number of court employees are mentioned also paurānikas, sūtas, māgadhas, kuśīlavas ; (i.e. chroniclers, bards, singers and dramatists), but there is not a word about the court poet. The teacher and the taught (ācāryāh vidyāvantaś ca) who got an honorarium of 500 to 1000 panas[4], according to merit, were probably only prominent Brāhmanas, whom the king wanted to honour and not perhaps the poets who would have been called "kavi". Among the names of literary works referred to in Kautilya's Arthaśāstra there is no mention of kāvya anywhere. This accords also with the fact that the inscriptions of Aśoka are written in a plain and simple style and do not bear

1. R G. Bhandarkar, JBRAS 16, 266 In spite of the high regard for finer poetry, Indians themselves have always considered the simple epics the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana as model works

2. See above, p. 15.

3 Cf. Jacobi, Ausgewahlte Erzahlungen in Māhārāṣṭrī, p. XVI f.

4 Arthaśāstra of Kautilya, ed. by R. Shama Sastri, Mysore, 1909, p. 245f.

any trace of the ornate style It is near about this time that the rise of the poetical form is often suggested.

To the 3rd or 4th century A D. probably belongs T a n t r ā k h y ā y i k ā, the oldest form of the P a ñ c a t a n t r a. The dramas of B h ā s a too must have originated in the 4th century A D With some compromise we can characterise the poems of Aśvaghosa and those of his contemporaries, Hāla's Sattasaī (in its oldest constituent), Gunādhya's Brhatkathā, Tantrākhyāyikā and the dramas of Bhāsa (in the form they are) as belonging to the classical or early classical period of Indian ornate poetry.

We can just guess that this classical poetry blossomed in the courts of the later Āndhra rulers, the western Ksatrapas and the Kusana princes and their contemporaries We are not in a position to determine with certainty the date of any of the works of this period.

Summing up, therefore, we can only say that the inscriptional as also the literary testimony in fact enables us to place the continuity of ornate court poetry upto the 2nd century A D., its existence in the 2nd century B.C and the beginnings of its golden age in the 4th century A.D.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF ORNATE COURT POETRY

The ornate court poetry attained its golden age and its highest peak first during the period of the reign of the rulers of the G u p t a d y n a s t y This dynasty was founded by Candragupta I in 320 A D He was succeeded by his son S a m u d r a g u p t a (about 330 or 335 A.D), who distinguished himself with attainments in wars which have been described in a panegyric poem (praśasti) of his court poet, H a r i s e n a by name, inscribed on a stone pillar at Allahabad. The inscription which to all appearance belongs to 345 A.D. contains 9 stanzas and a concluding verse in high-styled prose, and the praśasti designates itself expressly as a kāvya The empire ruled over by Samudragupta comprised of the richest and the most fertile regions of northern India, and was of enormous size such as had not been seen ever since the days

1. See above, p 38, note 3 and cf B h a g v ā n l ā l I n d r a j ī, JRAS 1890, 639ff, L é v i, JA p. 9 tome XIX, 1902, 95ff.

of Aśoka. The court poet praises not only the military adventures of the king, but also his poetic and musical faculties. We, in fact, are in possession of gold coins presenting him as playing on a harp. Harisena asserts that the epithet "prince-poet", borne by Samudragupta, was well merited "on account of his authorship of many poems worthy of imitation". Lastly he says that the king rejoiced in the company of writers and learned men and participated in the study of the holy scriptures[1]

When this king whose influence extended from the Oxus to beyond Ceylon died in about 375 A.D , he was succeeded by his son Candragupta II, who assumed the title of Vikramāditya, i.e., "the sun of heroism" The name Vikramāditya is a highly renowned one in Indian stories and literary traditions. Since many of the Indian rulers assumed this title, it is very difficult to determine as to which king is meant by them by the Vikramāditya of the stories. We have, however, good grounds in support of Candragupta II's having the strongest claim for being considered identical with the traditional king "Vikrama",since he too is so designated for short[2]. Like his father, Candragupta II made great acquisitions for his kingdom and like him had a literary taste. On one coin he is mentioned as bearing the epithet rūpakrtī (author of dramas)[3]. He ruled for nearly forty years. The Chinese pilgrim Fahien, who visited India between 405 and 411 A D., reports that in his kingdom there was great prosperity and that hospitals and other charitable institutions for the welfare of the people flourished.

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1 Cf Bühler, Die indischen Inschriften, etc p. 31ff., Fleet, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum III), Calcutta 1888, p 1ff , Smith, Early History, 281ff, 288f, and JRAS 1897, 191f , A Gawronski in Festschrift Windisch, p 170ff

2 Cf Hoernle, JASB, Proceed August 1891, Barth, Rev. Crit 1892, p 190 n In case Candragupta II is the Vikramāditya of the tradition, the stanza that does occur under Vikramāditya in anthologies may have originated from him (see Peterson, Subh. 117f, Thomas, 105f) But that is nowise certain.

3 Cf Smith Early History, p. 290 On the literary and poetic advancement under the Guptas, ibid p 303ff R G Bhandarkar, (Peep into the Early History of India), JBRAS 20, 1900, 439f, Reprint, p 13f.) reminds us of the fact that the epithet "enemy of Śakas" (Śakāri) of Vikramāditya fits Candragupta II well, for he conquered Mālwā in early 4th century A D and expelled the Ksatrapas from Mālwā and Kusāṇas from Mathura His capital was at Ujjayinī, the city of the Vikramāditya of the tradition

When Candragupta II died in 413 A.D., he was succeeded by his son, K u m a r ā g u p t a I, who reigned for more than forty years A large number of inscriptions and coins of his times prove that his empire was nowise smaller than that of his predecessor He practised as a poet, bore the title "poet-prince" and was a patron of poets besides. According to one of his inscriptions he was the person "who brought the traditional conflict between fine poetry and wealth to an end". Towards the close of his reign the Huns, who from the central Asian steppes had penetrated into the north-western passes, flooded the whole of northern India with their first invasion. He was succeeded in 455 A D. by his son S k a n d a g u p t a, who too likewise assumed the title of Vikramāditya. Soon after he ascended the throne, he succeeded in defeating the Huns in a decisive battle. This victory is glorified in a pillar edict (at Bhitarī in the Ghāzīpur district, situated to the east of Vārāṇasī) that is still preserved for us But towards 465-470 A D. the second invasion of the Huns again made the country restless, and this time Skandagupta could no more protect himself against them They overflooded the kingdom of Gāndhāra and appear to have made the Gupta empire very weak. So, when Skandagupta died in about 480 A.D., the glory of the Guptas came to an end Probably the dynasty still continued for a few generations more, but these later Guptas had little prestige. Under the leadership of Toramāna, the Huns subdued the Gupta empire in about 500 A.D. and established their government at Mālwā in central India In about 510 A D Toramāna was succeeded by his son Mihiragula Under these two chieftains the Huns became the virtual rulers of India Mihiragula's reign is said to be very oppressive and tyrannical, and it is easy to imagine the extent to which those barbarians were hated by the Brāhmanical Hindus. In about 528 A.D B ā l ā d i t y a, king of Magadha, and Y a ś o d h a r m a n, a rājā of central India entered into an alliance against Mihiragula, and the two together succeeded in rescuing the country from the oppressing foreigners While the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang ascribes the glory of defeating the Huns to Bālāditya, Yaśodharaman praises himself in the inscriptions preserved on two of his pillars of victory, saying that he made his own the empire that the Guptas and the Huns could

not retain. His reign, however, seems to have been short and of no significance, as claimed in these inscriptions.

It was necessary to include here this short history of the Gupta dynasty, because the golden age of ornate court poetry undoubtedly falls during the period of the reign of the Guptas. The inscriptions of the Gupta kings, whose age extends approximately from 350 to 550 A D., contain panegyrics (praśastis) of different kings of the dynasty, that are more or less full-fledged poems composed in the kāvya style. It is certain that in those days, as these inscriptions prove, not only poets participated in competitions, but even princes vied with their court poets. Above all, to this age belongs Kālidāsa, the greatest poet of classical Sanskrit literature[1]

It is significant that on account of uncertainty that prevails in the literary history of India, Indians do not know how to frame things like tales on the life of their most eminent poet[2], and that the opinions of Indian as well as of western scholars still differ by centuries in spite of the fact that much, too much, has been written on the subject[3].

There is a legend that Kālidāsa was in fact born as the son of a Brāhmana, lost his parents early and was brought up by a cowherd. A vulgar and uncultured herdsman, he was married to a princess who felt ashamed of him—till he made himself a very wise and learned scholar through the grace of Kāli, attained through assiduous devotion and practice.

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1 In the anthology Harihārāvalī occurs the following anonymous verse

purā kavīnām gananāprasange kaniṣṭhikādhiṣṭhitakālidāsā |
adyāpi tattulyakavirabhāvād anāmikā sārthavatī babhūva ||

"Long ago, it is said, counting poets, they began with the little finger for Kālidāsa; even to this day the finger beside it is still called 'anamikā', nameless for since then none has been born to occupy a place beside Kālidāsa"

Kṛṣnabhaṭṭa, quoted in the same anthology (and also in Sārngadhara-paddhati, p 1), says: "Poets were Kālidāsa and others, we too are poets: the same substance is found both in the mountain as well as in the atom" H a r i C h a n d, Kālidāsa et l'art poetique, p 119ff shows the extent to which Kālidāsa has been considered to be the model poet by rhetoricians.

2 Winternitz says in the addenda that A H i l l e b r a n d t's important work "Kālidāsa", Breslau 1921 appeared after greater portion of this volume had already been printed

3 The different views on the age of Kālidāsa have been collectively described by G H u t h, Die Zeit des Kālidāsa, Diss, Berlin 1890 and by B L i e b i c h, Indogerm Forschungen 31, 1912-13, p 198ff.

Consequently, he was named Kālī-dāsa "servant of Kālī"[1]. Another tradition, that is current particularly in Ceylon, makes Kālidāsa a contemporary of the Ceylonese prince and poet Kumāradāsa, who lived in the 6th century A.D[2]. In the large number of anecdotes connected with Kālidāsa, narrated in later works like Bhojaprabandha and orally retold by the paṇḍitas the name of Kālidāsa serves the story-tellers, as H o e r n l e says, simply 'as a hook on which to hang their tales"[3]. These stories do not have any historical value at all.

We are able to gather from the works of Kālidāsa himself that he was a Brāhmana, a devotee of the highest being (paramātman) in the form of God Ś i v a and an adherent of the Vedānta Philosophy[4]. He was well familiar with the scenes of the Himālayas[5]. The charming description of the city of Ujjayinī in the poem Meghadūta leaves perhaps no doubt that this was his native land. The title of his drama Vikramorvaśīyam contains an allusion to Vikramāditya[6] and this would, therefore, hint at the fact that he lived and composed his poems in the court of a king, who bore the title Vikramāditya. The legends that make Kālidāsa a court poet of Vikramāditya are

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1. The story is narrated in many versions, see Tārānātha's History of Buddhism, translated by A S c h i e f n e r, p. 76 ff, R Vāsudeva T u l l u, Ind Ant 7, 1878, 115ff, M. N a r a s i m h i e n g a r Ind Ant. 39, 1910, 236.

2. T W. R h y s D a v i d s and C. B e n d a l l, JRAS. 1888 and 148f and 440; W. G e i g e r, Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen (Grundriss 1, 10) p 3f, H u t h, loc cit p 51ff, H M Vidyābhūsaṇa, JASB 62, 1893, 212ff, I E. S e n e v i r a t n e, The life of Kālidāsa, Colombo 1901. The Life of Kālidāsa in Ceylon has been dramatised too

3 Cf G r i e r s o n and H o e r n l e, JRAS 1906, 692 f, 699 f The anecdotes on Kālidāsa in Ballāla's Bhojaprabandha, see in Th. P a v i e, JA p. 5; tome IV, 1854, 385-431, S.M N a t e s a S a s t r i, Ind Ant. 18, 40ff Tales, as the panditas of Ujjain narrate even today, in Jackson, JAOS 22, 1901, 331 f.

4 Cf Ch H a r r i s, An Investigation on some of Kālidāsa's Views, Evansille, Indiana 1884, M T N a r a s i m h i e n g a r, Kālidāsa's Religion and Philosophy, Ind Ant 39, 1910, 236 ff, K r i s h n a m a c h a r y a 73f

5 Cf B h ā u D ā j i in Nandargikar's Introduction to his edition of Raghuvamśa p 35f

6. According to S h a n k a r P P a n d i t (Raghuvamśa—edition) Preface, p 31 ff) the title directly means "the drama of Urvaśī, dedicated to or written under the patronage of Vikrama". But once the title has been correctly explained as "the drama of Urvaśī, found through heroism", it would not be impossible to interpret it as an allusion to King Vikrama, i e,. Vikramāditya, as also intended

in accord with it; particularly the legend according to which Kālidāsa was one of the nine jewels living in the court of the legendary king of Ujjayinī In one of the verses, which is still current, it is said that there lived in the court of the king Vikrama nine jewels, learned men and poets—Dhanvantari, Ksapanaka, Amarasiṁha, Śanku, Vetālabhaṭṭa, Ghatakarpara, Kālidāsa, Varāhamihira and Vararuci. However, firstly this verse occurs in a work that is of a very late date and is little trust-worthy[1]. Further, Varāhamihira, the astronomer, evidently lived in the first half of the 6th century A.D , when no king of this name is known to have borne the title of Vikramāditya. Besides, Kālidāsa was older than Varāhamihira from the point of his style and astronomical ideas. Likewise Dhanvantari, the writer of a medical glossary, is older than Amarasimha, who evidently has utilized Kālidāsa in his dictionary[2]. The age of the lexicographer Ksapanaka, the poet Ghatakarpara and the grammarian Vararuci is not settled, whilst the names Vetālabhaṭṭa and Śanku are otherwise little known. On the whole it is striking that of the names of the nine jewels only Kālidāsa, Amarasimha, Varāhamihira and Vararuci are in fact famous. It seems that the only object of this verse is to extol the fame of some Vikramāditya, and for this poets and scholars of different ages have been wrongly mentioned together as living under his rule. This ostensible tradition, which has often been criticised, therefore, proves nothing. It may just mean that Kālidāsa lived in the court of a king, who called himself Vikramāditya.

Now, we know that the Gupta princes Candragupta II and Skandagupta are seen bearing the epithet Vikramāditya in their coins. We have also seen that the earlier Gupta rulers

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1 In this work the authorship of Jyotirvidābharana, a book on astrology, which must have been written in the 16th century A D., is wrongly ascribed to Kālidāsa See A W e b e r, ZDMG 22, 1868, 708ff A mention of the nine-jewels is claimed to have already been found in an inscription discovered from Buddhagayā However, the inscription is now lost and is known only from a very doubtful copy of W i l m o t and from its translation by Ch. W i l k i n s (As Res 1, 1806, 284ff) Wilmot seems to have been a victim of forgery. Cf A. H o l t z m a n n, Über den griechischen Ursprung des indischen Tierkreises, Karlsruhe, 1841, p. 18f , 27ff, B u h l e r, loc cit p 78f, Z a c h a r i a e, Die indischen Wörterbucher, p 18f, F l e e t, Int. Ant. 39, 1901, 3f.

2. J a c o b i, ZDMG 30, 1876, 304f.

3. Z a c h a r i a e, loc cit p. 6 and Beiträge zur indischen Lexikographie (Berlin 1883), p. 37

have had poetic, literary and scientific inclinations. In addition, certain other conditions also present themselves making it probable that Candragupta II was the Vikramāditya under whom Kālidāsa lived. His capital was at Ujjayinī, with which we are already acquainted as the native land of Kālidāsa. It is not wrong to assume, therefore, that in the epic Raghuvamśa diverse references to Candragupta II have been made[1]. In the same epic Kālidāsa calls the poet of the Rāmāyana a mythical sage of a former age, who lived in another yuga, i.e. in a distant period of human history. Wherefrom it follows that between Vālmīki and Kālidāsa centuries must have elapsed. Further it was long ago proved by J a c o b i[2] that certain astrological statements that occur in the epics of Kālidāsa disclose his knowledge of Greek astrology and that the material from Greek astrology, as found in the works of Indian astrologers, reached India in the middle of the 4th century A.D. through Firmicus Maternus. B u h l e r has shown how Vatsabhaṭṭi, the author of an inscription dated 473 A D, found in a temple of the sun at Mandasor, otherwise an absolutely insignificant versifier, made it his business to vie with the great poet, imitating not only his style, but also taking many verses from Kālidāsa for modelling his own thereafter. If this be correct, it must be admitted that Kālidāsa, already in 473 A.D., had become an eminent poet. Consequently the age of Kālidāsa is limited approximately between 350 and 472 A D, the reign of Candragupta II extending circa 375-413 A.D[3].

There are some scholars, who have come forward with

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1. T Bl o c h, ZDMG 62, 1908, 671ff The objections against Bloch raised by F W T h o m a s, JRAS 1909, 740ff, do not appear sound However, it can never be strictly proved whether or not the poet had actually meant the respective allusions That Kālidāsa lived during the time of Candragupta II has been admitted also by B h a n d a r k a r (Peep into the Early History of India JBRAS 1900, 440 f Reprint 44f), A B K e i t h, (JRAS 1909, 433ff), P i s c h e l (KG 201) and R a p s o n (ERE IV, 885)

2 Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften 1873, p 554ff and ZDMG 30, 1876, 302ff

[3 S K De., HSL p 125 is of the opinion " it would not be altogether unjustifiable to place him roughly at 400 A D It is not unimportant to know that Kālidāsa shared the glorious and varied living and learning of a great time, but he might not have done this, and yet be the foremost poet of Sanskrit Literature That he had wide acquaintance with the life and scenes of many parts of India, but had a partiality for Ujjayinī, may be granted, but it would perhaps be hazardous, and even unnecessary to connect him with any geographical setting or historical environment"]

the statement that Kālidāsa lived under Kumāragupta towards the end of the 5th century A.D[1]. And since we know nothing at all about the life of Kālidāsa, and little about his age in spite of everything, it is possible that he might have begun his literary activity sometime during the reign of Candragupta II, continuing it during period of the reigns of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta[2]. He would then have lived approximately from 390 to 460 A.D. However, it too is equally possible that he lived earlier (approximately from 350 to 420 A.D.). So, all that we know as certain is just that the fame of Kālidāsa was well established in the first half of the 7th century A.D., when he was praised highly by the famous author Bāna and also in an inscription dated 634 A.D. he is mentioned as a famous poet[3] For these reasons, the opinion[4], that had general currency earlier and is still entertained by some researchers that Kālidāsa lived sometime in the 6th century A.D. does not seem at all probable.

The age of Kālidāsa is controversial and there is no unanimity even as to the works that are ascribed to him The number of works ascribed to one Kālidāsa is very large, but they are

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1. Ibid. p 18 ff., 24f Cf. Kielhorn, NGGW 1890, 251ff.

2 These scholars (Monmohun Chakravarti, JRAS 1903. 183ff; 1904, 158ff, B C Mazumdar, JRAS 1909, 731ff ; B. Liebich, Indogermanı Forschungen 31, 200), depend mainly upon the description of Raghu's victory-march (*digvijaya*) in the 4th canto of Raghuvaṃśa. Buhler (Die indischen Inschriften etc p 82) has already warned against any far-fetched decision on the basis of these stereotyped descriptions. (Cf also K B Pathak, Ind Ant 41, 1912, 265 ff) The latest researches of A Gawronski (The Digvijaya of Raghu and some connected problems in Rocznik Oryentalistyczny, Polnisches Archiv für Orientalistik, Krakau 1914-1915) too prove that Kālidāsa came to the court of Kumāragupta and became the famous court poet under Skandagupta but these are not convincing.

3 So E Windisch, Geschichte der Sanskrit Philologie (Grundriss, 1, 1 B), p 175, note 2.

4 On this inscription from the Megati-temple of Aihole, cf Fleet, Ind Ant. 8, 1879, 237ff, and Kielhorn, Ep Ind 6, 1-12. Kielhorn (Ind Ant 20, 1891. p 190) has shown that it is probable that the authors of the praśastis in the inscriptions of the 6th century A D and also that of another inscription of Kambodia of the early 7th century A D were familiar with the Raghuvaṃśa

5 A F.R Hoernle (JRAS 1909, 89 ff ; Ind. Ant. 41. 1912, 156) has particularly set up an amusing hypothetical structure with the intention to prove that Yaśodharman, who defeated the Huns or had contributed to their defeat (see above, p 43), was the Vikramāditya of the tradition, under whom lived Kālidāsa although Yaśodharman is seen nowhere to have assumed the title of Vikramāditya

certainly not the output of the great poet[1]. Indisputably belonging to the poet are the epics Kumārasambhava and Raghuvaṃśa, the dramas Śakuntalā and Vikramorvaśīya and the lyric Meghadūta and most probably also the drama Mālavikāgnimitra and perhaps the garland of songs Rtusaṁhāra too.

As in the case of Kālidāsa, so also in the case of most other poets of fame, their age can hardly be determined with certainty. Truly speaking we can directly say: the more famous the name of a poet in Indian literature, the more uncertain his date. There have been many poets, who were once famous, but we know nothing at all about them except their names. Thus for example, Kālidāsa has mentioned the name of the famous poet Saumilla by the side of Bhāsa among his predecessors; and in anthologies Rāmila too is mentioned, in addition to Saumilla (or Somila), beside Bhāsa. A work entitled Śūdrakakathā, (probably a novel, that deals with the story of king Śūdraka), that we do not now possess, is ascribed to both these poets[1]. Naturally we do not know whether both of them were senior contemporaries of Kālidāsa or if along with Bhāsa they too are to be assigned to the pre-classical period.

During the time of Vikramāditya, if the word refers to Candragupta II, also contemporaneously with Kālidāsa, must have been Mātṛgupta ruling in Kashmir. This Mātṛgupta was himself a great poet and a patron of the great epic poet Meṇṭha

1. A list of the works that go under the name of Kālidāsa has been given by M Sashagiri Śāstrī in the Ind Ant I, 1872, 340 ff. Cf Aufrecht, CC I, 99 The stanzas that are ascribed to Kālidāsa in anthologies have been collected together by Th Aufrecht, ZDMG 39, 1885, 306 ff, cf Thomas 30 ff The question of the date of Kālidāsa as well as that of the authorship of the works ascribed to him is consequently rendered more difficult by the fact that many poets of later times assumed the name 'modern Kālidāsa" (Navakālidāsa, Abhinavakālidāsa, see Aufrecnt, CC I, 24, 280) Among the panditas the opinion current is that there have been three Kālidāsas, of whom one is believed to have lived under Vikramāditya another under Bhoja and the third under Emperor Akbar (Cf. Weber, ZDMG 22, 713, 27, 175 f, 182; Peterson Subh 18 ff) The compiler of Harihārāvalī calls himself Akbarīya Kālidāsa (see Krishnamacharya 126) [Yudhishtira Mīmāṃsaka, Saṃskṛta Vyākaraṇa Kā itihāsa Part I p 26, depends on Rājakavivarnana 24, 26 when he states that the real name of the author of Raghuvamsa was Harisena, who too came to be known as Kālidāsa]

2. Cf. Konow in Festschrift Kuhn 106f, Peterson, Subh 103f

(or Bhartrmentha, also called Hastipaka)[1]. A later Kashmirian poet compares the style of Mentha with that of Subandhu, Bāṇa and Bhāravi[2]. Rājaśekhara says that Vālmīki himself appeared on the earth in the form of Mentha : and Kalhana reports that Mātrgupta was so much impressed with Mentha's Hayagrīvavadha (no more available) that he placed a golden key under it, so that the brilliance of the book might not fade.

About Amaru, the most famous Indian lyric poet, we can only guess that in matter of time he may not be regarded as long separated from Kālidāsa. The dates of the dramatists Śūdraka and Viśākhadatta are quite indefinite. We can hardly say anything about the famous epic poets Bhaṭṭi and Bhāravi or about Bhartrhari, the most distinguished gnomic poet, except that each of them had already become famous before 650 A.D.[3]

With Varāhamihira, the astronomer and poet, we come to a definite date for the first time. He died in 587 A.D. In the second half of the 6th century, there ruled in Kashmir the King Pravarasena II[4], the poet or patron of the author of the Prākrt epic Setubandha About the talented story-teller and master of literary prose Dandin[5], as about

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1 Rājatarangini 3, 125 ff, 260ff Verses of Mātrgupta have been cited by Kalhana (Rājatar 3, 181), in Ksemendra's Aucityalāmkāra (Peterson, JBRAS 16, 169, 176) and in anthologies On his commentary on the Nāṭyasāstra see above p 10 People have wrongly tried to identify Mātrgupta with Kālidāsa Verses of Mentha are preserved in anthologies Cf Aufrecht ZDMG 27, 51, 36, 368, Peterson, Subh 92 ff, 117 f., Buhler, Report 42; Stein, Rājatarangini, trans I, p 83f

2 Mankha in Śrikanthacarita 2, 53, [see S K. De HSL, p 322]

3. Bhaṭṭi says towards the end of his epic that he lived under Śrīdharasena of Valabhī But there have been four rulers of this name, who ruled between 495 and 641 A D We are not in a position to determine as to which of them is meant by Bhaṭṭi. Cf Duff, p 308, and Hultzsch, ZDMG 72, 1918, 145ff Bhāravi is mentioned in the Aihole Inscription (see above p 48, note 2) as a famous poet Bhartrhari has been mentioned by I-tsing in about 650 A D [Cf also Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāmsaka, SVI p 258]

4. Cf M A Stein, Rājatarangini, trans Vol I. pp. 66, 84f

5 See above p 13, note 1. According to a verse quoted in anthologies there were three well-known works of Dandin (see Aufrecht, ZDMG 27, 31) We know, however, only the work on poetics, the Kāvyādarśa and the novel Daśakumāracarita K B Pathak, JBRAS 20, 18, 38, 39) concludes from Kāvyād 3, 114 that Dandin had written it before 668 A D On the contrary, R. Narasimhachar (Ind Ant 41, 1912, 90ff), though he would like to identify Rājavarman, mentioned in Kāvyād 279 with Rājasimhavarman and the latter again with Narasimhavarman II of Kāñcī, concludes that Dandin lived at the end of the 7th century A D According to Hari Chand, Kālidāsa, p 80f. he knew the work of Bāṇa and should be placed in the first half of the 7th century A D.

the second great prose writer Subandhu[1], we can just guess that they belonged to the beginning of the 7th century A.D.

We enter for the first time into strictly firm historical region with the dramatist and king Harsadeva or Harsavardhana[2] of Thānesar and Kanauj, who ruled from 606 to 647 A D. We know much more about his life and work than about those of any other ruler of India, on the evidence not only of inscriptions and coins, but also of the historical romance Harsacarita, in which Bāna has described the life of his patron and friend, and again nowise less definitely than the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who travelled in India between 630 and 644 A D., lived for a sufficiently long time in the court of Harsadeva and received much honour from the king[3]. We learn from his inscriptions that he did possess high literary inclinations and that he was not only a patron of poets and writers, but was himself a poet[4]. Consequently we have no ground to disbelieve the Indian tradition and the Chinese chronicles that remember him as the author of many dramas and of Buddhist hymns After a thirty-seven years' reign of bloody and successful wars, he devoted the rest of his life to peaceful government of his great kingdom, that extended over almost the whole of northern India, promoting and encouraging literature and science, establishing monasteries and charitable institutions and doing

1 Subandhu has been referred to by Bāna and hence he could not be of an age, later than the 7th century A D According to Telang (JBRAS 18, 1891, 147ff) he lived at the end of the 6th and in the beginning of the 7th century A D , a point supported also by the great similarity of his style with that of Bāna Haraprasād Śāstrī (JASB 1, 1905, 253 ff) would, on the basis of an ingenious but perhaps risky hypothesis, like to place him in the beginning of the 5th century A D From verse No 10 of Vāsavadattā, where Subandhu complains that with the death of Vikramāditya poetry fell int decay, it might be concluded that Subandhu wrote in a period when Vikramāditya had already become a traditional patron of poets, and probably that nearly 150 years after the death of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya he was alive Cf D R Bhandarkar, Ind. Ant 41, 1912, p. 1 For a different opinion Hoernle, JRAS 1909, 138 ff , and Gray, Vāsavadattā, Introd. p 8 ff

2 For short commonly called Harsa or Śrīharsa too He bore the epithet Śīlāditya 'sun of virtue". Bāna (Harsacarita introductory verses 18f) calls him also Ādhyarāja (rich king), see Pischel, NGGW 1901, part 4, Thomas JRAS 1903, 830

3. On Harsadeva, see Smith, Early History, pp 335-356.

4 Bühler, Ep Ind 1, 71 (An Inscription dated 632 A D) I-tsing (trans. by Takakusu, p 163) too mentions that Śīlāditya was a lover of literature

his best for the good administration of his empire. Towards the end of his life he manifested a strong inclination for Buddhism, which he, particularly under the influence of Chinese scholar Hiuen-Tsang, came to patronize more and more. During the age of Harsadeva Buddhism, of course, spread yet further in northern India, although Brāhmanical and purānic cults flourished beside it among the masses. It is noteworthy that the grand'father of the king was a devout worshipper of Śiva, his father, an equally devout worshipper of the sun, and his elder brother and his sister, followers of Buddhism, while he himself showed equal devotion to Śiva, the sun and the Buddha through construction of temples and sanctuaries[1]. This attitude of Harsadeva towards different religious currents of his time, as we have already seen, has found expression also in his poems. He appears to have lived as a poet composing Buddhist hymns towards the last days of his life.

To Harsadeva's circle belongs also the lyrist M a y ū r a, who according to an uncertain tradition was probably the father-in-law or brother-in-law of the famous court poet B ā n a[2].

M ā g h a, the author of Śiśupālavadha, must have lived, in the second half of the 7th century A D., since his grand'-father Suprabhadeva was the first minister of a king Varmalāta, (mentioned in an inscription of the year 625 A. D.)[3]. His

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1 Hiuen-Tsang reports also about a great conference held at Prayāga, in which were discussed the statues of Buddha on the first day, those of the sun-god on the second day and Śiva's on the third day. On the fourth day alms were distributed by the king among 20,000 Buddhist monks; but on the following day the Brāhmanas and holy men of other sects were likewise honoured with costly presents On Harsadeva as a writer of Buddhist hymns see Appendix to II, 267, transl p 377

2 G P Q u a c k e n b o s has made a detailed study about Mayūra in "The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra, edited with Translation, Notes and an Introduction etc" New York 1917 (CUIS 9)

3. Cf F K i e l h o r n, NGGW 1906, 143ff; JRAS 1908, 499ff Śrimāla is situated close to Mount Ābū, which, according to the inscription, belonged to the empire of Varmalāta D. R B h a n d a r k a r (Ep Ind 9, 187 ff) seeks to prove that Māgha lived sometime in the beginning of the 8th century A D as a contemporary of Jinendrabuddhi K l a t t (WZKM 4, 1890, 61ff) regards Māgha on the basis of the anecdote narrated in the Jaina Prabhāvakacarita (see above II, 335, transl p 519), a contemporary of the poet Siddha (906 A D) But J a c o b i (WZKM 4, 236ff) has shown that Māgha was certainly quoted and imitated in the 9th century A D. The anecdote is just one of the many examples showing how the Jainas draw all famous men into their stories [On Māgha, see also D C Bhattacharya, Ind Ant 46, 1917, and 191 f The lower terminus to the date of Mātha is furnished by the quotation from his poem by Vamana and Ānandavardhana]

homeland was Śrīmāla in Gujarat. According to the statements of the poet himself and anecdotes recorded by the Jainas[1] he was a son of a wealthy man and lived independently on his own.

The first ruler of Kanauja, about whom we hear after the death of Harsadeva (647 A.D.), is Yaśovarman, who sent an envoy to China in the year 731 A.D., and nine or ten years later was deprived of his throne by Lalitāditya Muktāpīda of Kashmir[2]. He was a patron of letters, and is himself known as the writer of a drama Rāmābhyudaya, and verses are ascribed to him in anthologies[3]. In his court lived the famous dramatist Bhavabhūti and the Prākrit poet Vākpatirāja of the famous Gaüdavaha, a disciple of Bhavabhūti according to his own admission[4]. Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyana, the dramatist could not have been much younger, as he is already cited by Vāmana[5]

With Bhavabhūti the golden age or the classical period of Indian poetry may be considered to have come to an end

The Most Important Poets of the Later Centuries

Rājānaka Ratnākara, the writer of Haravijaya, Vakroktipañcāśikā and a large number of verses ascribed to him in anthologies, lived under the Kashmirian kings

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1 The anecdote, narrated in Merutunga's Prabandhacintāmani (trans by Tawney, p 48ff) and in Ballāla's Bhojaprabandha. that makes him a contemporary of king Bhoja, is however, unhistorical like many other anecdotes narrated in such works

2 Cf Smith, Early History, 378

3. Peterson, Subh 95f; Thomas 75f

4 Rājatarangini 4, 144, Gaüdavaha 799, cf Shankar P Pandit, Gaudavaha, Introd p LXIV According to Subhāsitāvali, he was a son of Harsadeva, and, according to Yasastilaka, he was thrown into prison by Yasovarman and there he composed the poem, see Peterson, Subh 115.

5 Venīsamhāra 5, 152 cited in Kāvyālamkāravrtti 4, 3, 28 According to tradition Bhatta-Nārāyana was one of the Kanauj Brāhmana's invited to come to Bengal by Ādiśūra, thus perpetuating a Kulina-Brāhmanas strain in that region With this accords well the statement that Bhatta Nārāyana lived in the 8th century A D [Cf S M Tagore, Venīsamhāra Nātaka, preface and Krishanamacharva 95, 161. Konow, Das indische Drama, p 77, does not come to a definite conclusion regarding the age of Bhatta-Nārāyana, but believes that there is nothing that might stand against the hypothesis that he lived in the second half of the seventh century A.D]

Cirpatajayāpīda (826-838 A D.) and Avantivarman (855-883 A D.)[1].

At the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th century A D, under the patronage of Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla of Kanauj, there lived the dramatist Rājaśekhara[2], who calls himself the teacher of Mahendrapāla and a contemporary of Krsnaśankaravarman. Verses of Rājaśekhara are frequently quoted in anthologies of which a large number written on different poets is particularly important for history of literature, and these stanzas have perhaps been taken from a work on poetics ascribed to him[3].

In the 11th century A.D., the city of Dhārā in Mālava played a great role in literature. Here ruled King Muñja (971-995 A D)[4], who was a great patron of poets, a lover of literature, and a poet himself. He was succeeded by his younger brother Sindhurāja Navasāhasāńka We know Padmagupta, the author of Navasāhasānkacarita, as the court poet of both. Much more famous as a lover of poets is Bhoja (1018-1060[5] A. D.)', nephew of Muñja. There

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1 His verses have been translated by Aufrecht, ZDMG 36, 372ff Cf Peterson, Subh 96ff, Jacobi WZKM 2, 212ff, 5, 25 ff, Rājatarangini 5, 34 V S Apte, Rājaśekhara, His Life and Writings, Poona 1886, p 16f; Buhler, Report 42ff and Stein Rājatarangini, Trans Vol I, p 95f

2 Cf Fleet, Ind Ant 16, 175ff, Kielhorn, Ep Ind 1, 1880, 171, Bhattanāthasvāmin (Ind Ant 41, 1912, 143) places him between 884 and 959 A D From an inscription we learn that he was a distinguished poet of the 11th century A D, see Kielhorn, Ep Ind 1, 1,23f According to Hultzsch (Ind Ant 34, 1905, 177ff) Rājaśekhara was not a Brāhmana, but a Ksatriya and the teacher of Mahendrapāla only in fine arts Mahendrapāla ruled from 899 to 907 A D, see D R. Bhandarkar, Ep Ind 9, 27. V S Apte, loc cit. deals in detail about Rājaśekhara, Sten Konow, Karpūramañjarī ed, p 173ff, Thomas, 80ff Rājaśekhara has been quoted in the commentary on Daśarūpa, in the Sarasvatīkanthābharana of Bhoja, by Ruyyaka, Ksemendra and Abhinavagupta and in the Yasastilaka of Somadeva

3 See, however, above p 36, note 2 A collection of these verses is found in the introduction to the printed edition of Karpūramañjarī in Km

4 Cf Peterson, Subh 101, Karpūramañjarī ed. p 196f, Zachariae GGA 1887, p 89 A

4 Vākpati II, Utpalarāja Amoghavarsa, Prthvīvallabha and Śrīvallabha too were his names Cf Smith, Early History 395. Perhaps many of the verses ascribed to "Vākpati" in anthologies belong to this king, see Thomas 103

5 So also Smith, Early History, 395f Cf. Buhler, Ep Ind 1, 233ff Vikramānkadevacarita, Introd p 23, and Stein, Rājatarangini Transl, Note on 7, 196-193. The inscriptions of Bhoja are dated 1019 and 1021, see D R. Bhandarkar, Ind Ant 1912, 201 For a list of works ascribed to him see Aufrecht, CC I, 416, II, 95

are a number of tales and anecdotes told about his love for literature and his generosity towards poets and learned men, very like the tales about Vikramāditya. There are many scholarly works (on poetics, medicine etc) and poems that are ascribed to him[1]. Many of his stanzas are included in anthologies. It is remarkable that we do not till now know of any important poet by name to have in fact lived in his court.

In the 11th and 12th centuries Kashmir became a prominent seat of literature and science. In about 1070-1090 A.D. here lived the poet Bilhaṇa, son of Jyeṣthakalaśa, who won equal fame as a writer of lyrical, epic and dramatic poems. He left Kashmir during the reign of Kalaśa (1064-1088 A.D.), probably in 1065, visited different courts in India, and finally became a court poet of King Vikramāditya VI of the western Cālukya dynasty, for whom he wrote the Vikramānkadevacarita[2] at a time when Harsa of Kashmir was still a prince (between 1081 and 1089 A.D.).

In Kashmir there lived also the prolific writer Ksemendra[3], who has enriched almost all branches of literature. He wrote epics and dramas, abridged the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, rendered the Kādambarī and Brhatkathā into verses, composed religious poems and didactic stanzas, wrote works on poetics, prosody and politics, and did not spare even obscene topics. Some of his books are dated 1037, 1050, 1052 and 1066. In his earlier years he was an ardent devotee of Śiva, but later got converted to Vaiṣṇavism and followed the dictates of the Bhāgavata with ardour. Although he was not a Buddhist, yet he had a heart, large enough, to adopt Buddhist legends for his subjects.

A little junior to Ksemendra, between 1063 and

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1 Cf Aufrecht, ZDMG 27, 67ff, Thomas 63ff

2 Cf Rājatar 7, 938, Peterson, Subh 66ff Pischel KG 208; Duff 128, Buhler, Vikramānkadevacarita, Introd p. 20ff, and Fleet, Ind. Ant. 20, 1ff 93f, 266ff, 280f (on the Chronology of Cālukyas)

3 On him, cf Buhler, Report 45 ff, Peterson Report 1882-1883, p 46f; JBRAS, Vol 16, Extra number p 4ff, Subh 26ff, Lèvi, JA 1885, s 8, vol VI, 397 ff, and Stein Rājatarangiṇī Trans II, p 375f Two epics Muktāvalī and Lāvanyavatī, the drama Citrabhārata and a chronicle Rājāvalī (severely criticised for untrustworthiness by Kalhana Rājatar 1, 13) are no more available

1081 A.D., Somadeva[1], the master story-teller wrote his famous Kathāsaritsāgara "The Ocean of Streams of Stories". Then came the poet Mankha, under King Jayasiṁha (1128-1149 A.D.) of Kashmir, who wrote an epic Śrikanthacarita[2]. Again, about 1148 A.D. Kalhaṇa, the greatest, nay, the only great historian that India has produced, wrote his famous chronicle of Kashmir—the Rājataraṅginī.

The court of King Laksmanasena of Bengal[3], who came to the throne in 1119 A.D., too developed into a centre of poetry and learning. In his court lived Umāpatidhara[4], Dhoī[5], Govardhana, and above all Jaydeva, the most famous poet of the Gītagovinda-fame.

In the court of Kings Vijayacandra and Jayacandra of Kanauj, in the second half of the 12th century A.D., there lived probably Śrīharsa, the author of Naisadhacarita[6].

Here only the most prominent names have been enumerated. It will be shown, however, in the chapters, following, dealing with the different classes of poetry, that beside these numerous others continued writing even later than the 12th

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1. Somadeva wrote his work for the purpose of diverting the mind of Queen Sūryamatī, who burnt herself with her husband Ananta, who committed suicide in 1081 A.D.: see Buhler, Ueber das Zeitalter des kaśmirischen Dichters Somadeva, Wien 1885 (SWA)

2. Buhler, Report 50ff

3. Cf R Pischel, Die Hofdichter des Laksmanasena (AGGW 39, 1893 and M. Chakravarti, JASB N S 2, 1906, 157ff [According to D D Bhattacharya, Laksmanasena was born in 1119 A.D. and reigned approximately from 1170 to 1200 A.D.]

4. Umāpati or Umāpatidhara wrote one Candracūdacarita, that is no more available. Numerous verses composed by him are found in anthologies; see Aufrecht, ZDMG, 40. 1886, 142f. Probably he is also the author of a poetical inscription of Vijayasena, the grand'father of Lakṣmanasena, see Kielhorn, Ep. Ind 1, 305ff.

5. Dhoī (or Dhoyī or Dhoyīka, with the title Kavirāja) has been treated by M. Chakravarti, JASB, N S 2, 1906, 15ff.

6. That the name of the poet is Śrīharsa and not Harsa is proved by the fact that in the colophons to the cantos of Naisadhacarita he calls himself "Śrīharsa". At the same place he gives the names of his father and mother as Hira and Māmalladevī and enumerates the titles of many of his written works, of which the philosophical Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādya alone is extant. Buhler (JBRAS 10, 1871, 31ff, 1874, 279ff.) on the basis of statements in Rājaśekhara's Prabandhakosa has determined his age. K. T. Telang (Ind Ant. 2, 71 ff; 3, 81ff) and Rāma Prasāda Chanda (Ind Ant 42, 1913, 83 f, 286f) doubt its credibility and like to place the poet in 9th or 10th century A.D. Cf D R Bhandarkar, ibid p. 85f., Peterson, Subh 136f and Krishnamacharya 44ff.

century, right down to the modern times, with more or less recognition.

The Ornate Court Epic

The ornate court epic of the classical and post-classical periods derives its materials mostly from tales about old gods and heroes, as they are narrated in the two popular epics and in the purāṇas. Thus, for example, Kālidāsa in his epic Raghuvaṁśa retells the story of Rāma, whilst for the plot of his Kumārasambhava he depends on the purānic myths[1]

Of these two epics in all probability Kumārasaṁbhava[2], "The Birth of Kumāra", is older. Kumāra is the name of the war-god Skanda, who, according to mythology, was procreated by Lord Śiva for the purpose of commandeering gods in their war against the demons. Cantos I-VIII however just describe how Umā, the daughter of the Himālaya (hence commonly called Pārvatī "daughter of the mountain"), won the affection of the terribly stern ascetic god Śiva, practising severe penance, merely through sheer power of her youthful beauty and succeeded in getting him as her husband.

At Indra's behest Kāma, the god of love, tries to disturb Śiva in his severe penance. In co-operation of his friend Vasanta (the spring season) and his consort Rati (lust) he starts on his errand in right earnest. Not only men and gods, but even animals and plants are stirred under the powerful awakening of the spring. (III, 39)

paryāptapuspastavakastanābhyaḥ sphuratpravālosthamanoharābhyah ।

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1 On the critical problems regarding both these epics of Kālidāsa see Jacobi in OC V, Berlin 1881 II, 2 p. 133ff

2 Cantos I-VII translated into Latin and published by A F Stenzler, London 1838 English translation of the same cantos by R T H Griffith (The Birth of the War-God, a Poem by Kālidāsa, 2nd Ed London 1879) German translation of the Cantos I-VIII in prose by O Walter, Munchen—Leipzig 1913 Cantos VIII-XVII were published for the first time in the Pandit, Vol I, 1866 In the same journal was discussed in detail the question of genuineness of these cantos by Indian scholars (Cf also Weber, ZDMG 27, 174ff and Indian refutation) 3, 217 ff 241ff There are nice editions of all the 17 cantos with commentaries in NSP, 4th Ed, Bombay 1906, cantos I-VIII, the commentaries of Arunagiri and Narāyana Ganpati Śāstrī in TSS, Vol 27, 32, 36, 1913-14 Following the translation of Griffith in March 1912, was presented in the Court Theatre in London the story of Kumārasambhava in 18 tableaux by Indian ladies and children (As Quart Rev N S 1,1913, p 327).

latāvadhūbhyastaravopyavāpūrvanamraśākhābhujabandhanāni ||

"Even the trees enjoyed deep embrace
From lovely creepers, their spouses,
Their breasts, the exhuberant clusters of anxious blossoms,
With lips of sprouts,
And with twigs for arms".

But, at the sight of the ascetic Śiva the immovable, absorbed in deep meditation, sitting on a hide of a tiger, dressed in the skin of a black antelope, his head encircled by snakes, a rosary suspended from his ears, his motionless eyes extending upto the nose—"like a cloud, not affected by rains, like a lake without an inkling of a wave, like a lamp unstirred by the wind" (III,44-48);–Kāma becomes doubtful of success. And then—there appears Umā in her full majesty and bloom shows her reverence to Śiva. At this opportune moment the god of love darts his arrows at Him. But the latter restrains the awakening love, passing catches sight of Kāma and burns him with the flame of the third eye in his fore-head. Umā returns home in despair. Canto fourth describes the pathetic wails of Rati over the ashes of her burnt husband[1]. Umā, now dresses herself in barks and takes to a harder course of asceticism Her penance and pious devotion at last touch the heart of Śiva. There flow solicitations. Their marriage is like that of human beings. Śiva invites the seven sages (Saptarsi) and Arundhatī and shows her the same respect as to the holy sages : distinction goes[2] not to sex, but to character. VI, 12 :

Umāgauravabhedena munīmścāpaśyad īśvarah |
strīpumānityanāsthaisā vrttam hi mahitam satām ||

"With equal devotion gazed the Lord
At her, as also at the holy men,
Whether a female or male, to the great, that is the same[2],
Since the fact is : it is only the conduct that is honoured".

The sight of Arundhatī, the examplar of woman's faithfulness to her husband, strengthens Śiva's desire for his sweet'heart.

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1. Translated into German by Rückert, see Ruckert-Nachlese II 173 T

2. A rare expression in an Indian home !

At length he begs of them to ask of the Mountain for Pārvatī's hand for him, which they willingly do. The rsis go accompanied by Arundhatī, as "generally in such affairs women have the aptitude (*trāyenaivamvidhe kārye puramdhrīṇām pragalbhatā*—VI, 32)". During the marriage, that is described in the canto seven, are performed a series of rites and ceremonies, observed as even at a human wedding. And, when the bridegroom enters into the capital of the mountain king, people rush to the windows to take a view of the Lord of Lords and of the couple[1].

Then in the eighth canto follows the description of amorous flings of the just married couple that discloses an accurate knowledge of Kāmaśāstra The thoughtful fervour, the splendour of images and the choice of expression do make us feel that we are enjoying here a genuine composition of Kālidāsa. The poet describes how Śiva's spouse is at first bashful and seems hesitant in surrendering herself completely to the will of her sweet'heart. VIII, 14 :

sasvaje priyamuronipīḍanam prārthitam mukham anena nāharat |
mekhalāpranayalolatām gatam hastamasya śithilam rurodha sā ||

"And now she embraced her sweet'heart,
Pressing him hard with her lovely breasts,
Her face, however, she did not offer to him in response,
Though cajoled hard ;
Slowly she checked his hand,
Slowly and slowly moving, enticed to her girdle".

One day Śiva, lying indolently on a stone-slab in the hillside forest, just as the sun is setting in the west, leaning over the breasts of his darling, describes the beauty of the sundown and of the approaching night in such picturesque figures, as we are accustomed to expect in Kālidāsa alone. VIII, 45·

raktapītakapiśāh payomucām kotayah kuṭilakeśi bhāntyamūh
draksyasi tvamiti samdhyayānayā varttikābhiriva sādhumaṇḍitāh ||

1. The poet has borrowed here (VII, 56-69) from Asvaghosa, the description of the scene in Buddhacarita III. 13-24 (see above II, 205, trans p 261), the picture of the lotus-faces of women, gazing down looking like real lotuses set into balconies (Buddhacarita III, 19) is taken in its entirety into the Kumāras (VII, 62) For the rest, however, in the matter of presentation of details Kālidāsa is independent The fact that the scene is taken over into Raghuvamśa (VII, 5-16) word for word shows that it had a particular fascination for the poet.

"Red, yellow and brown,
There yonder shine the crests of clouds,
Now the dusk is making them appear in their best
Touching them to a finish,
Wishing my curly Love,
Just glanced that way."

Kālidāsa alone could see the evening glow whelmed by the dark looking like a stream of liquidified red mineral under tamāla shades standing on its banks.

tāmimām timiravrddhipīditām |
śailarājatanayedhunāsthitām |
ekatastatatamālamālinīm
paśya dhāturasanimnagāmiva ||

Other Kālidāsan pictures on view are when the west, with its declining evening glow appearing like a red stripe is compared to a field of battle touched off by a besmeared bow (VIII, 54)[1], and, again, when the moon dispels darkness as if his beloved, the night, were flicking back her hairs : further again, when Śiva kisses her face and in rapture she closes her eyes like lilies of the night (VIII, 63). Canto eight closes

wit a verse letting us know that although he had enjoyed 150 seasons in amorous sports, Śiva's time passed like a single night, his craving for love, undimmed like submarine fire, never extinguished even by ocean's fathomless waters[1].

Perhaps some stanzas or probably o n e canto in which the birth of Kumāra was described briefly and discreetly has been lost. In that case Kālidāsa would have hardly developed the purānic myth of the war-god's birth, a most unsuitable theme for poetic representation, as some later hand has done in the certainly spurious cantos IX-XVII. These cantos, not only on account of their contents but also on account of their language, can easily be seen as an interpolation[2].

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1. The genuineness of canto VIII has been wrongly questioned by scholars That it is wanting in many of the manuscripts (and consequently also in the first printed edition) is due to the fact that on religious, and not perhaps moral, grounds people have been hesitant to regard as genuine the highly profane description of the enjoyments of the divine couple Rhetoricians have been divided in opinion as to whether it is proper to describe this scene from the life of great gods Ānandavardhana (Dhvanyāloka III, 6, p 137, Jacobi's translation, offprint p 78f) thinks that it is definitely from the pen of the poet and he even refers to that accordingly The relevant portion of the Dhvanyāloka reads "*mahākavīnām apyuttamadevatāvisayaprasiddhasambhogaśrngāranibandhanād anaucityam śaktitiraskrtam grāmyatvena na pratibhāsate yathā kumārasambhave devīsambhogavarnanam*" "Even master poets have delineated passion among gods and yet impropriety does not strike one as vulgar, because the impropriety has been camouflaged by the poet's genius The description of Pārvatī's amours in the Kumārasambhava is an explicit instance" A different opinion is expressed by Mammata (Kāvyaprakāśa VII) who says that it is outright improper for the poet to describe the amours of one's elders Vāmana cites from this canto at two places in his poetics (4, 3, 33 and 5, 2, 25) The passage in Kāvyaprakāśa reads —

"*ratisambhogaśrngārarūpā uttamadevatāvisayā na varnanīyā*
tadvarnanam pitroh sambhogavarnanamiva atyantamanucitam" .

it has been translated by Gangā Nātha Jhā as follows "Love in the shape of erotic enjoyment is not to be described with regard to the best Divine—this description being as improper as the erotic delineation of the company of one's own parents"

2 Since Mallinātha too wrote a commentary on cantos I-VIII as of Kālidāsa, what seems plausible is that the rest was added sometime after him Even Arunagirinātha (See G a n a p a t i TSS 37, Preface), who came earlier, has commented upon only these 8 cantos The great conformity between the Kumārasambhava and the Śivarahasya of the Śankarasamhitā of the Skandapurāna is to be explained through the assumption that the writer of the Śivarahasya had utilized Kumāras, cantos I-VIII, as a means for this mischief Cf W e b e r, ZDMG 27, 179, 190 ff and Pandit Vol III, 19ff, Ind Streifen, III, p 217f, 211 f, [S P B h a t t ā c h a r y a, Proceeds of the Fifth Or Con Vol I, pp 43-44, S K D e HSL pp 126] In the 14th century A D the Jaina J a y a s e k h a r a wrote yet another epic Kumārasambhava (see P e t e r s o n, 3 Rep Extr 251ff) Udbhata too had written one Kumarasambhava (see above p 19)

Another great epic of Kālidāsa is the Raghuvaṁśa[1], "The History of the Family of Raghu", in which the poet describes the life and achievements of Rāma and also those of his predecessors and successors. The first nine cantos are devoted to the four immediate predecessors of Rāma, Dilīpa, Raghu, Aja and Daśaratha, then in cantos X-XVI he describes, fairly in agreement with the Rāmāyana, the career of Rāma. Kālidāsa does not conceal the fact that he found his inspirations in the great epic of Vālmīki[2] However, he does not let himself off into a competition with the ādikavī He has narrated the actual Rāma-tale very briefly, so briefly that the cantos of the Raghuvaṁsa devoted to this theme are just a neat abridgement of the seven books of the Rāmāyaṇa. On the other hand, his genius has an entire range providing new opportunities for originality, particularly in the cantos devoted to Raghu and Aja.

Almost all the heroes of the solar race whose carreers and achievements have been sung by Kālidāsa are weal as kings. All of them devote, as said in I. 8, their childhood to the study of sciences, strive for worldly success in youth and in old age, like pious hermits, resort to sylvan life for the purpose of meditation As rulers they extend the boundaries of their empire and administer a noble and honest government for the welfare of their subjects They are of strictly Brāhmanical faith and solemnly observe all the religious ceremonies of the states, holding the arch-priest in the highest esteem. Such an ideal king among them is Dilīpa, grand'son of Vivasvān, about whom Kālidāsa says (I, 18) :—

prajānāmeva bhūtyartham sa tābhyo balim agrahīt |
sahasraguṇam utsraṣṭum ādatte hi rasaṃ raviḥ ||

"For their welfare alone
He realized the taxes from his people,
Even as the sun draws up water
To return hundred times to the earth"

Subsequently when Dilipa retires into the forest, his son Raghu succeeds to the kingship. His famous campaign for victory over the world (*digvijaya*) is described in detail All the enemies bow down before him, so that he is able to perform at the end a Viśvajit (all-subduing) sacrifice. He is succeeded by his son Aja, in whose career the poet evinces greater personal interest. He marries Indumatī, the princess of Bhoja. The ceremony of "self choice of husband" (svayamvara) is described vividly. It is an elegant festive assembly that we see. After the bards have recited the genealogies of the princes, present. Indumatī appears in her nuptial role She attracts the heart of everybody; each one hopes for the best. Led by the concierge she emerges directly into the circle of the waiting princes. But none of them pleases her, and

sañcāriṇī dīpaśikheva rātrau yam yam vyatīyāya patimvara sā |
narendramārgāṭṭa iva prapede vivarṇabhāvam sa sa bhūmipālah ||

"Desirous of selecting her husband,
Whomsoever she passed by,
Turned colourless, like watch-tower on the king's highway,
At the approach of a glimmering lamp,
At night"[1].

But the moment she comes near Aja, her heart throbs and after a show of maidenly bashfulness she throws the garland about his neck, thus selecting him for her husband. After her marriage, however, the rejected princes leave behind their presents and withdraw with a cheerful face, concealing their feeling of disappointment "like clear lakes, sheltering crocodiles in their depths" (VII, 30). On the way home Aja is attacked by these disgruntled princes and there ensues a bloody battle, the description whereof offers the poet an occasion for many splendid similes To him the

1. The comparison contained in this verse (VI, 67) of Indumatī with the glimmer of a lamp (dīpasikhā) has pleased the Indian poets so much so that they remember the poet, on account of this simile, as the "Dīpasikhā-Kālidāsa" (see Peterson, OC VI; Leiden 1883, III, 2, 339 ff),

battle field appears like Death's drinking stall, where the heads of the slain enemies are the fruits, their dropped helmets, the drinking cups and the stream of blood flowing from them, the liquor (VI, 40). Then the poet depicts in beautiful verses the ideal administration of Aja after his coronation, and his happy family-life, that is blessed with the birth of a son, Daśaratha. One day while the king is walking with his wife in the park, suddenly a garland of heavenly flowers falls from nowhere on the breasts of the queen and she drops dead. The pathetic bewailing of the king on the demise of his beloved wife (VIII, 44-69) along with the previous description of the death of Indumatī with flowers and the following narration of how Aja too with a broken heart dies is one of the gems of Indian poetry, such as since has long been welcomed into German literature through the translation of Friedrich Ruckert. Here are quoted some of the verses from Ruckert's retranslation into English :

14 "*pratiyojayitavyavallakīsamāvasthāmatha sattvaviplavāt* ।
sa nināya nitāntavatsalah parigrhyocitamankamanganām ॥
"He, who had loved her so much,
Lifting her into his arms,
Carried her, like a lute,
Awaiting re-stringing
With breath while bearing her."

13. *vilalāpa sa bāspagadgadam sahajāmapyapahāya dhīratām* ।
abhitaptamayopi mārdavaṃ bhajati kā hi kathā śarīrisu. ॥
"He lost his natural self-control,
And, with tears welling up, was sobbing violently,
His voice was choked;
Even iron, when it is heated, becomes soft;
What to talk of animals that are corporeal beings"

14. "*kusumānyapi gātrasaṁgamāt prabhavantyāyurapohituṁ yadi* ।
na bhavisyati hanta sādhanam kimivānyatpraharisyato vidheh ॥
"When even flowers, on account of contact
With human body, can take away life,
Alas! What is then there, that cannot become
A deadly weapon in the hand of Fate, when it is eager to strike".

15. *[illegible] himsitum mṛdunaivārabhate prajāntakah* ।
[illegible] me nalinī pūrvanidarśanaṃ gatā ॥

"Or it may be that only with a delicate weapon,
The ender of life undertakes to strike one that is soft;
An illustration thereof is seen in the lotus,
That is destroyed with the shower of frost."

54. *tadapohitumarhasi priye pratibodhena visādamāśu me* ।
jvalitena guhāgatam tamastuhinādreriva naktamoṣadhīh ॥
"Mayest thou, O Darling, rise again,
And make my grief vanish at once,
Like the plant with its blaze at night,
The darkness of the cave of the Himālayan mountain."

55. *idamucchvasitālakaṁ mukham*
tava viśrāntakatham dunoti mām ।
nisi suptamivaikapankajam
viratābhyantarasatpadasvanam ॥
"But thy face, with its shaking hairs,
That has ceased to converse, pains me;
Like the unitary lotus at night,
That is closed, and the bee no more hums in it"

66. *grhinī sacivah sakhī mithah priyaśisyā lalite kalāvidhau* ।
karunāvimukhena mrtyunā haratā tvām vada kim na me hrtam ॥
"Mistress of my house, advisor, a lady friend,
A pet disciple in fine arts,
The pitiless Death, that has deprived me of thee,
What has he not taken away from me ?"

He does not ascend the pyre with his wife, not because he hopes to live, but for fear of the scandal that people will say "Being a king, he was so much aggrieved that he died with his wife !"

pramadāmanu samsthitah śucā nrpatih sannitivācyadarśanāt ॥

The teacher is able to offer him only feeble consolation, and he desires to live further only for the sake of his son When the latter becomes capable to administer the affairs of the government, Aja voluntarily lets himself die of stravation to be reunited with his beloved in the heaven

The following cantos (IX—XV) closely agree in contents with the Rāmāyana. Here Kālidāsa shows his skill chiefly in descriptions The successors of Rāma are just briefly described in cantos XVI-XVIII. All the same, they too are ideal kings

A noteworthy exception, however, is King Agnivarna, who has been described in canto XIX. This ruler devotes only a little of his time to the affairs of the state that he has entrusted to his ministers, whilst he wholly enjoys his youth in the company of women. Day and night he wastes his time in lust and sexual pleasures, without troubling in the least in the interest of his subjects. When they want to see him, he shows them his arm, having stretched it through a window of the palace. Like a butterfly he flies from flower to flower. He runs unsatiably after sexual pleasure. He considers the moment in which he does not rejoice the company of women as lost[1]. Due to his licentious character he loses his health. Consumption brings his life to a premature end before a son is born to him. But his first queen is then pregnant and the ministers allow her to be consecrated as Her Majesty. The heat of tears that the widow sheds at the death of her husband is cooled with the coronation-water poured over her head from the spouts of golden jars, and she carries on the administration on behalf of her unborn child, concealed in her womb, like a corn-seed in the womb of the earth, and whose birth is anxiously awaited by the people.

With this the canto XIX comes to an end; but it is improbable that the poem too ended with it In case the birth of the prince had been described[2], it could be said to have ended happily. With the text, that is available, not only does the poet leave us in uncertainty with regard to the fate of the successors of Agnivarna, but the epic ends really tragically, a thing which is against the practice of the Indian poets. Likewise the benedictory stanza, in which Indian poetry usually ends, is wanting.

Whether more cantos or only pairs of verses are lost to us—both being possible—we are not able to take a decision[1].

The fact that both of the epics of Kālidāsa belong to the most famous productions of court-poetry is proved not only by the frequent references to them in works on poetics, but also by the large number of commentaries that exist on each of both the works. There are more than 20 different commentaries on the Raghuvaṁśa and not less than 33 on the Kumārasambhava[2]. The epics of Kālidāsa surpass all later epics in matter of simplicity of language and scrupulous avoidance of subtlity.

Among the many works that are wrongly attributed to Kālidāsa is found also the Prākrit epic Rāvanavaha (The Killing of Rāvana) or the Setubandha (Construction of the Bridge)[3], that describes in an elegant style the Rāma-legend from the expedition of Rāma for rescuing Sītā upto the death of Rāvana (in fifteen cantos.). Probably the author of this work is Pravarasena II of Kashmir or one of his court poets[4]. Daṇḍin (Kāvyā-

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1 Vitthalaśāstrin testified in 1866 that the descendants of Kālidāsa then living at Dhārā possessed 26 cantos of the Raghuvamsa (Pandit, Vol 1, p 141), whilst Shankar P Pandit had heard about it in 1874 (Raghuvaṁśa Ed, Preface, p 15) that somebody in Ujjain possessed cantos XX-XXV of the Raghuvaṁśa But till now nothing has come to light about these cantos that are claimed to have existed before The commentaries too know only 19 cantos Hillebrandt, Kālidāsa, p 42, considers the last two cantos (XVIII and XIX) as spurious, simply because they appear to him of little value and devoid of taste But since Mallinātha has commented upon these cantos, Winternitz does not consider them as spurious, especially because Hillebrandt has not refuted their high antiquity [C Kunhan Raja, Annals of Or Res, Madras, V, Part 2, pp 17-40 attempts to question the authenticity of the entire second-half of the Raghuvaṁśa, starting with the story of Dasaratha but the argument advanced by him is not convincing.]

2 Cf Aufrecht, CC s vv. and Nandargikar, Raghuvaṁśa Ed, Preface, p 26

3 Prākrit and German, published by S Goldschmidt With a word-index by Paul Goldschmidt and the editor, Strassburg 1880-84. Cf Weber, Ind Stud 18 413 ff, 447 ff With the commentary of Rāmadāsa, published in Km 47, 1895

4 From Bāna's Harsacarita, Introductory verse 15, Peterson (Kādambarī, Intr p 77ff) first of all concluded that Pravarasena was the writer of Setubandha It is also possible that he was simply a patron of an unknown poet Cf Lévi, Théatre Indien, App p 58 and see above p 49, Konow, Karpūramañjarī, p 194 ff [WK—Pravarsena was of the Vakataka family, a grand'son of Candragupta II, identified with Pravarasena II of Kashmir [thus also Keith, HSL, 97] It was even supposed that the poem was composed by Kālidāsa on the occasion of construction of the boat-bridge over the Vitastā (Jhelum) by Pravarasena II (see Rājatarangiṇī, III, 358) Cf S Lévi, Theatre Indien, App, p 58; Konow, Karpūramañjarī in HOS,

darśa I, 34) refers to the Setubandha as an example of a work written in Māhārāṣṭrī, the most elegant Prākrit dialect. In any case its importance lies more on the linguistic side[1]. The style is unusually bombastic, full of far-fetched similes, puns, alliterations and long compounds, sometimes covering entire lines. In spite of all sorts of artificiality and affectations in style and language, the work, in any case, exhibits extraordinary perfection. It must be conceded that in many places the work shows real poetic skill, as near about the place where Rāma warns the ocean, for example, V, 34:—

navari a saranibbhinno balaāmuhavihuakesarasadugghāo ।
uddhāio rasanto visatthapasutta kesarivva samuddo ॥

"Bellowing, now the ocean stirs the sub-marine fire,
Like a lion that roars and shakes his mane,
With anger, after he is aroused from deep slumber,
Having been pierced through by an arrow."

It is a matter of inquiry as to why such an epic was written in Prākrit. In style and artificiality it is similar to Sanskrit epics, and it is difficult to believe that the readers of these poems were different from those of written in Sanskrit had. More than any Sanskrit epic, it presupposes not only a cultured, but also a very learned general public. From this it may be possible to presume that in the court of Pravarasena, Sanskrit had an inferior recognition to that of Prākrit. But it seems more probable that the poet just wanted to demonstrate that all the difficulties of language could be overcome in Prākrit too, and that all the devices of the Kāvya-style could be employed there as well[2].

Another work, that is frequently attributed to Kālidāsa is

Vol 4, p 194f F G Peterson (JRAS, 1926, p 725f) considers the statement of Rāmadāsa (on I, 9) that Kālidāsa wrote the poem to be correct The colophon at the end (Km ed) describes it as the joint work of Pravarsena and Kālidāsa. See also S Krishnaswami Aiyangar in Ashutosh Mem. Vol, p. 152f. It is not probable that a Māhārāstrī poem should have been written in Kashmir of all places. S K De, HSL, p 119 thinks that the date of Pravarsena is unknown and that probably he may have reigned in Kashmir in the 5th century A. D.]

1. Cf Pischel, GGA, 1880, 321 ff and Grammatik der Prākrit Sprachen, p. 12, [transl p 11.]

2. In any case, it is noteworthy that upto the period of the reign of Akbar the Great (1556-1605) this work continued to interest the people. Rāmadāsa wrote his commentary in 1596 A D under orders of Akbar, and Akbar's son Jahāngir got a Sanskrit translation of the Rāvanavaha prepared.

Nalodaya[1], although, on account of its style it could not have belonged to a great poet. We nowhere find in Kālidāsa such artificial metres, such fine rhymes and such a work of artistically developed kāvya-style as are presented by this poem. The epic describes in four cantos the well-known tale of Nala and Damayantī "in so artificial a form that to turn an Iliad into sonnets would be a child's play compared to it"[2]. The poet shows extreme fascination for internal rhyming (yamaka)[3] and alliteration. Perhaps the writer of the Nalodaya is Ravideva, son of Nārāyaṇa, who wrote also (as is often the case with Indian poets) a commentary on his own work. Ravideva is the writer of also a small poem of 20 stanzas, Kāvyarākṣasa or Rāksasakāvya[4], upon which too he wrote a commentary likewise, and what is composed in the same style, a work that in the matter of lack of taste and in euphemism is similar to the Nalodaya and like-wise is attributed to Kālidāsa[5]. We, however, know nothing more about Ravideva or his age[6].

Here we must make mention of a poet who is frequenly referred to in Indian tradition as a contemporary of Kālidāsa,

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1. Nalodaya, Sanscriticum carmen Calidaso adscriptum una cum Pradschnacari Mithilensis scholiis ed latina interpretatione. instruxit F. Benary, Berolini 1830 Nalodaya, accompanied with a metrical translation by W Yates, Calcutta 1844 In German (reproduction) by Ad Fr Grafen von Schack, Stimmen vom Ganges (Stuttgart 1877), p 219-280 [cf Bhandarkar, Report, 1883-84, p 16. A R S Ayyar, JRAS, 1925, pp 263 ff attests Vāsudeva as the author also of Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya, Tripuradahana and Śaurikathodaya]

2 Friedrich Rückert in Jahrbucher fur wissenschaftliche Kritik 1829 p 536 Rückert, ibid, p. 536 ff has described the metrics and art of rhyming of Nalodaya and has translated a portion of canto II, ibid, 1831 Nr. 1 (also in Rückert-Nachlese I, 253 ff). Cf also W. Yates in As Researches 20, 1836, p. 135 ff.

3 See also above p 18
[Keith, CSL, pp 97ff doubts Ravideva's being the writer of the Nalodaya, that he considers as having been written by Vāsudeva.]

4 Published by A Hoefer, Sanskrit Lesebuch, Berlin, 1849, p 86 ff and by K P Parab. Bombay 1900; annotated and translated into Italian by F. Belloni-Filippi in GSAI 19, 1906, 83 ff

5 Pischel, ZDMG, 56, 1902, 626; 58, 1904, 244 f Cf Weber, Ind Streifen II, 15; Peterson, Report IV, p CV, 3 Reports, pp 20, 334 ff; Bhandarkar, Report 1883/84, p 16

6 According to Peterson, JBRAS 17, 1889, p 65 note, Nalodaya was written in about 1608 A D [It is wrong It was not Nalodaya, but a commentary on it that Rāma Rsi, son of Vrddhavyāsa, wrote in 1608 A V. Peterson; 3 Reports, p 29 f]

i.e., Kumāradāsa, whose epic Jān akīharana[1], that narrates the tale of Rāma upto the time of the kidnapping of Sītā. Tradition ascribes the authorship of the poem to a Ceylonese king Kumāradāsa (517-526), who may have been a friend of Kālidāsa. But there are many indications that go to support the view that this poem of mediocre merit is of a later date. ["It is really beyond question that he knew the Kāśikāvrtti (c. A. D. 650), while on the other hand he must have been known to Vāmana (c. A D. 800), who censures the use of *khalu* as the first word, found in Kumāradāsa, and cites a stanza which in content and form proclaims itself as unquestionably a citation from the lost part of the Jānakīharana. Finally, he was probably earlier than Māgha, who seems to echo a verse of his. Rājaśekhara, the poet (c. A. D. 900), asserts his fame :—

jānakīharanam kartum raghuvaṁśe sthite satī ।
kavih kumāradāsaśca rāvanaśca yadi kṣamah ॥

"No poet, save Kumāradāsa, could dare sing the rape of Sītā when the Raghuvamśa was current, even as none, but Rāvana, could perform the deed, when Raghu's line existed"[2]. Whoever might have been this Kumāradāsa, he, in any case, had imitated Kālidāsa[3], without being able to attain his standard even remotely. He is much less referred to than Bhāravi and Māgha, and his style is most analagous to that of Kālidāsa.

In the Aihole inscription (634 A.D.) of Pulakeśin II beside Kālidāsa is mentioned Bhāravi as a renowned poet. [As regards his age all that is known is that he must be placed much earlier

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1 For a long time Jānakīharana was known only in the "Sanna", i e , the Singhalese word-for-word translation of the original It had been published for the first time by G R Nandargikar (Bombay 1907) [Other editions are of Haridasa Sastri, Calcutta 1893, canto XVI, ed by L D Barnett from a Malayālam MS in BSOS, IV, p 285 f, (Roman text) to which additional readings have been furnished from a Madras MS by S K De, in BSOS IV, p 611 f] The text of Nandargikar's Kumāradāsa and his place in Sanskrit Literature, Poona 1908 was not accessible to Winternitz The poem has been dealt with by J d'Alwis 1870; Zachariae, Beitr 5, 1890, p 52, GGA, 1887, p 95, JBRAS Peterson 17, 1889, 57 ff and Subhā 24 f, E Leumann, WZKM 7, 1893, 226 ff, F W Thomas, JRAS 1901, 253 ff, A B Kieth ibid 578 ff The work is often quoted in anthologies, see Thomas 34 ff, who gives "seventh century" as his date [See S K De, HSL, pp 185 ff Only this much is certain that Kumāradāsa is older than Rājaśekhara, who mentions him]

[2 Kieth, CSL, p 119, G R Nandargikar, Kumāradāsa, His place in Sanskrit Literature, Poona, 1908]

3 Cf O Walter, Ubereinstimmungen in Gedanken, Vergleichen und Wendungen bei indischen Kunstdichtern, Leipzig 1905, p 18 ff.

than 634 A.D.] In Indian manuals of poetics he is always included among the greatest poets. His epic Kirātārjunīya[1], according to the unanimous verdict of the Indians, belongs to the best type of classical poetry. The theme of the 18 cantos of the epic consists of the story of the battle of the hero Arjuna with the god Śiva, who assumed the form of a Kirāta[2]. But the narration is not of any importance whatsoever. The real importance of the poem lies in interlaced descriptions, magnificent metaphors and similes and mastery in handling of the language, that reaches its highest point notably in canto XV. Here we find, e.g verses in which only particular consonants occur (thus XV, 5 only *s, y, l* and *ś* or XV, 16, in which there is no consonant other than *n*), verses of which the two hemistichs have the same reading, but they give different meanings; then there are stanzas, in which each foot reads similarly, whether read from the beginning to the end or from the end to the beginning. Although these verbal gymnastics, like the devices of an acrobat, can no more inspire in us a feeling of admiration, we come across many splendid sketches in the description of nature that exhibit the genious of a true poet. For example we may refer to the beautiful description of the autumn in canto IV[3], to the lovely bathing scene in canto VIII[4] and to the description of the setting of the sun and of the advent of the night in canto IX Here we find beautiful pictures, when for example, the poet says —

amśupānibhiratīvapipāsuh padmajaṁ madhu bhṛśaṁ rasayitvā |
kṣībatāmiva gatah ksitimesyaṁllohitaṁ vapuruvāha patangah ||

"It seems as if the extremely thirsty sun, having excessively drunk with the hands of his rays the honey

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1 A good edition with the commentary of Mallinātha has been published at Bombay NSP (6th ed , 1907) C Schuetz, Bielefeld 1845 has translated the first two cantos into German A complete German translation by C Cappeller in HOS, Vol 15 [Only cantos I-III, with the commentary of Citrabhānu, ed Ganapati Śāstrī, TSS 1918, On the austensible relation of Bhāravi and Dandin, see S K De in IHQ, I, 1925, p 31 f, III, 1927, p 396, Hariharа Sastri in IHQ III, 1927, p 169 f, who would place Bhāravi and Dandin at the close of the 7th century A D] Walter loc cit p 24 ff shows that Bhāravi was influenced by Kālidāsa Kirātārjunīya has been cited in the Kasikā (Kielhorn, Ind Ant 14, 327)

2 Mahābhārata 3, 39 f , see above, Vol I, p 292, transl p 347

3 Translated into German by M Haberlandt in "Wiener Landwirtschaftl Zeitung" 1883

4 VIII, 27 ff translated into German by Rückert in Jahrbücher für wissenschaftl Kritik, 1831, p 15 f (also in Rueckert—Nachlese, I, 265 ff)

extracted from day-lotuses, has got intoxicated and desirous of getting to earth looks to wear a reddish body" (IX, 3), or when he compares the rising moon with a silver bowl brought for the purpose of coronation of the god of love by the night comparable to a beautiful woman (IX, 32) :

samvidhātumabhisekamudāse manmathasya lasadaṁśujalaughaḥ ।
yāminīvanitayā tatacihnah sotpalo rajatakumbha ivenduh ॥

"For Love's coronation the lady-night raised aloft the moon with his shimmering sea of beams and his spots full in view, like a sliver bowl decked with lotuses"

The Indians indeed rejoice most at the most far-fetched and most seldom similes. They have, therefore, given our poet the epithet "Sunshade—Bhāravi (*Cātapatra bhāravi*)" because at one place he compares the lotus-pollens scattered from a cluster of lotuses by stormy wind with the goddess Laksmī reflecting her image in a golden sunshade[1].

The Kirātārjunīya served as model for Māgha's epic the Śiśupālavadha[2], that is likewise esteemed as one of the most important pieces of poerty. [The usually accepted date of Māgha is the latter part of the 7th century A.D. But what appears as fairly certain is that the lower inmost limit to his age is provided by the quotations from his poem by Vāmana (c. 800 A.D.) and Ānandavardhana (900 A. D.). In a stanza found in the Śiśupālavadha, he says that his grand'father Suprabhavadeva was a minister of a king Varmala (*v. v. ll.* Varmalāta, Dharmanābha, Dharmanātha and Nirmalāta), of whom an inscription of c 625 A.D. exists. But this date and identification of the king have not been proved beyond doubt.][3]

Māgha attempts to surpass his model Bhāravi in

[1. *utphullasthalanalinīvanādamuṣmāduddhūtah sarasijasambhavah parāgah* ।
vātrābhirviyati vivartitah samantādādhatte kanakamayātapatralakṣmīm ॥

The proper translation will be —The pollen that has issued forth from the lotus of the lotus-cluster growing on the yonder piece of land, full of blossoms, whirled about in the sky by the wind, assumes the beauty of an umbrella of gold (V 39)]

Cf Peterson, OC VI Leiden, III. 2, 339 ff

2 Edition with the commentary of Mallinātha in NSP, 5th Ed., Bombay 1910, German translation (in prose) of cantos I-XI of C Schuetz, Bielefeld 1843 Extracts translated by C Cappeller, Stuttgart, 1915. [Complete German translation according to the commentaries of Vallabhadeva and Mallinātha-Hultzsch, Leipzig, 1929].

[3 Cf S K De, HSL, pp 188 ff.]

each one the devices and affectations of subtlety[1] Like Bhāravi in canto IV of the Kirātārjunīya, Māgha tries to show his skill in metrics in canto IV of the Śiśupālavadha. Whilst Bhāravi has used only 19 different types of metres, Māgha uses 23 of them[2]. Again like canto XV that is devoted to the description of the battle and shows artificiality, alliteration and play of words at the most in the Kirātārjunīya, Māgha introduces in his canto XIX, that is devoted to the description of the battle, more and more similar complicated devices. Here we find verses that give a second meaning when read from below, of which the syllables which read according to different devices form all sorts of figures in zigzag way, in a circle etc., and verses in which only particular consonants occur, e.g. the formidable verse.

jajaujojājijijjāji taṁ tatotitatātitut ।
bhābhobhībhābhibhūbhābhūrārārirarirīraraḥ ॥

"Then the warrior, winner of war, with his heroic valour, the subduer of the extremely arrogant beings, he who has the brilliance of the stars, he who has the brilliance of the vanquisher of fearless elephants, the enemy seated on a chariot, started to fight" (XIX, 3).

In case it was Bhāravi's endeavour to eulogise Śiva, Māgha pursues the religious objective of extolling Viṣṇu. He too has drawn his material from the Mahābhārata, and that from the section on the slay of Śiśupāla by Kṛsna[3]. The poet, however, is not entirely dependant upon the legend as he finds it in the Mahābhārata. His main interest lies in descriptions and sketches, that get into motion with predilection towards the erotic domain; nevertheless the subject-matter itself has in the least to do with erotics. Almost half of the twenty cantos of the extant epic has nothing to do with the proper story.

The second canto offers the poet an opportunity to display his knowledge of nītiśāstra, the science of politics. Here we find several nice aphorisms. Thus for example II, 44 :—

1. Cf Jacobi, WZKM, 3, 1889, 121 ff, 141 ff [E Hultzsch, ZDMG, 72, 1918 ; p 147 shows that he had used also the Bhaṭṭikāvya]

[2 Cf Belloni-Phillipi—La Metrica degli Indi, Firenze, 1912, ii p, 55 , Keith, HSL, pp 130-31, Jacobi, Ind Stud , XVII. p.444f. and in Verhandl. des V or. Congress, p 136 f]

3 Mahābhār II, 33-45, see above I, 287. trans p 341.

anyadā bhūsanam pumsah ksamā lajjeva yoṣitaḥ ।
parākramah paribhave vaiyātyam surateṣviva ॥
"Otherwise, patience is decoration of a man
Like bashfulness of a woman;
But it is heroism that adds lustre to man
When in disgrace, like shamelessness
In amorous sports to a woman".

or as II, 86

nāvalambate daistikatām na nisīdati pauruse ।
śabdārthau satkaviriva dvayam vidvānapeksate ॥
"Not exclusively on Fate,
Not wholly on his own manhood,
Does a wise man depend absolutely,
But upon both of them, he does rely equally,
Like a good poet, on both, word and meaning".

In the matter of selection of his similes Māgha tries to be as much original as possible. Thus he (II, 18) compares the drops of sweat of Balarāma's body, that became reddish on account of his anger towards his enemy, with the stars that appear in the red sky of the evening. The Indian literary critics, however, call the poet "Bell-Māgha"[1] because of his extraordinary sketch in IV, 20, where he compares a mountain with the setting sun on one of its sides and the rising moon on the other to an elephant, having one bell hanging from the back on each of his sides. Māgha is also a master of play of words and in the use of expressions having two meanings In canto XVI there appears a messenger of Śiśupāla and delivers to Krsna his message that is purposely so worded as to bear two meanings—the same stanzas offer an humble apology expressed in courteous words and constitute an impudent declaration of war at the same time[2].

But the chief credit of Māgha lies in the sphere of erotics.

The Indian poets cannot fully describe a city without depicting in glowing colours the beauty of the women living in it, and the description of the seasons, of the evening or of the morning helps them in describing the activities of the heroines. Our poet takes all these to the extreme point.

When he describes a campaign and a military camp (canto V) he does not forget to describe the troop carrying the queen in a chariot and the women of the harem, who are riding horses and donkeys, to bring before our eyes the women who fall fast asleep in their tents on account of fatigue and to tell us how the courtesans are dressing themselves for reception of men. We follow not only the warriors and the elephants even into their bath but also the women; and the poet describes how "water gathers in the deep navel cavities of women, how it is checked back by the high embankment of their hips, how then, producing lovely music, it glides over the banks of their firm breasts and then slowly flows about" (V,29). This sort of thing may appear unsavoury to the people of the West, but it has certainly delighted very much the Indian readers and listeners. Likewise in canto VI the description of all the six seasons that present themselves in the form of beautiful women, one after another, with the intention of pleasing Visnu appears to the people of the West far-fetched; but the poet has thereby created an opportunity to show his skill in erotic description To the western mind it appears hardly appropriate, when in the following cantos the Yādavas are reported to be walking with beautiful women in the forest and bathing with them in the pond instead of moving into the field of battle But the poet utilizes the background of the forest and of the pond for the purpose of repeatedly bringing in erotic descriptions of the thighs, that are as stout as the trunks of elephants, of the heavy hips, of the tight breasts, that are like full pitchers and jumping foals at the same time (VII, 73) etc. of beautiful women. When lastly (at the end of canto VIII) the brilliant-rayed sun-god sees how the Yādavas burst forth in splendour of perfect beauty on account of their bath in the pond, he too wishes to plunge in the water of the Western Ocean And this gives him the desired

opportunity to describe the sunset and rising of the moon in canto IX. But the moon enflames the god of love, and we see again the young damsels preparing themselves for reception of their lovers and sending their eyes and their female messengers of love (IX, 55). Then the advent of the night offers him the welcome opportunity of describing the preliminary orgies of love preceded by a carousal in canto X. But "these people continue to scratch and bite each other when they love one another", as already remarked by Rueckert. X, 72:—

bāhupīḍanakacagrahanābhyāmāhatena nakhadantanipātaiḥ |
bodhitastanuśayastarunīnāmunmimīla viśadam visameṣuh ||

"By pressings of the arm and tearing of the hair,
By inflicting wound with the nails and the teeth,
The god of love, slumbering in the delicate bodies of women,
Is aroused, and he rubs their bright eyes".

But there remains no doubt that he had studied treatises on love. Māgha compares the voluptuous sounds and other noises of the enjoyment of sexual pleasure with the words of Kāmasūtra (X, 75). Next later in canto XI the early morning and the awakening from the night of love are described, and the poet again turns towards the military events. But here too, the poet does not describe the entry of Krsna into the city of Pāndavas (XIII, 30 ff.) without depicting in detail the conduct of the women of the city on this occasion. That he is able to describe the horrors of a battle too is probably shown by several verses in canto XVIII. Yet these descriptions read rather as those of a man who draws the picture according to his imagination without having ever seen a battle-field.

In the manuals of poetics Māgha's Śiśupālavadha is quoted very frequently[1], from which we can see, as to the extent to which the Indian scholars of poetics held him in high esteem.

Māgha has been most zealously imitated also by Rājānaka Ratnākara, son of Amrtabhānu, whose epic Haravijaya[2] in

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1 Cf Jacobi, WZKM 4, 1890, p 236 ff., and C Cappeller in Festschrift Kuhn 291ff [On Māgha's scholarship in other branches of knowledge, see E Hultzsch in Festgabe Garbe, p 78 ff, and Māgha's Śisupālavadha, ins Deutsche uebertragen, p V]

2 With the commentary of Rājānaka Alaka published in Km 22, 1890. R. Schmidt WZKM 29 259, ff deals with the book from lexicographical point of view. [On the author see p 53]

50 cantos reveals a thorough study of the Śiśupālavadha[1]. The theme of the poem is the defeat of the asura Andhaka [who was born blind of Śiva himself, regained his eye-sight by his penances and became a menace to gods] by Śiva. But the poet utilizes the opportunity of introducing all the descriptions prescribed in a kāvya and of displaying his knowledge of nītiśāstra (in cantos VIII—XVI) as well as of Kāmaśāstra (in canto XXIX). In the description of a battle (in canto XLVII) a hymn to the terrible goddess Durgā (Caṇḍīstotra) has been inserted. Another work of the same poet is Vakroktipañcāśikā or "Fifty Stanzas with Vakroktis" (speeches with two meanings, play of words)[2].

[Ratnākara tells us that he wrote his Haravijaya under the patronage of prince Cippada Jayāpīda (832-44 A. D.), and we learn from Kalhana that he was prominent under Avantivarman, who began his reign in 855 A. D. Hence this furnishes us with information about the age of this writer.

Under the same king Avantivarman, lived the Buddhist poet Śivasvāmin, the author of the epic Kapphinābhyudaya[3] written on the model of Bhāravi, Māgha and Ratnākara. The theme of the epic is the legend of the Avadānaśataka of Kapphina, a king of the South, who is an enemy of the king of Śrāvastī but becomes a Buddhist convert.]

Another poet, who took Māgha as his model, is Jaina Haricandra, who has described the life of Tīrthamkara Dharmanātha in a great epic (in 21 cantos) Dharmaśarmābhyudaya[4]. Since he has imitated also the Gaüḍavaha of Vākpati he must have lived after the 8th century A. D.

The extant court ornate poetry being learned poerty too is shown more significantly by nothing than by the epic Rāvaṇavadha ("The Slay of Rāvana") of the poet Bhaṭṭi, commonly

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1 Jacobi, loc cit 240 ff Ratnākara himself says that he has imitated Bāna K H Dhruva, WZKM 5, 1891, 25 ff.

2 Published with the commentary of Vallabhadeva in Km, Part I, 101, 114 C Bernheimer, ZDMG 63, 1909, 816 ff gives samples from this work Ratnākara is the author of one Dhvanigāthāpañjikā Both the works have been cited by Ruyyaka

[3 See Report on the Search of MSS, Madras, 1893-94, p 49 ff Cf. Thomas, Kavi p 111 ff, Keith, HSL, 133 f, S K De, HSL, p 320 Ed. Gaurishankar, Punjab Univ Or Pub Ser., Lahore 1937]

4 Published in Km 8, 1888, see Jacobi, WZKM, 3, 1889, 136 ff.

designated as Bhaṭṭikāvya[1], an epic in 22 cantos, narrates the tale of Rāma and tries to illustrate with examples the rules of grammar and poetics at the same time The poem is divided into four parts (Kāndas), of which the first part (=cantos first-fifth) seeks to give examples of miscellaneous rules of Pāṇini's grammar and the second one (=cantos VI to IX), those of its main rules, whilst in the third section (=cantos X to XIII) the most important alaṃkāras[2] are illustrated and in the fourth the uses of tenses moods are explained Moreover, it is sufficiently significant that Indians always hold Bhaṭṭikāvya as a work of poetry in high estimation and include it among their classical poetical works, and in fact it fully deserves the name of a "mahākāvya". Besides, it is considered as authoritative on questions relating to grammar[3]. The writer himself says at the end (XXII, 33 f.).

dīpatulyah prabhandhoyaṁ śabdalakṣanacakṣusām ।
hastādarśa vāndhānām bhavedvyākarāṇādṛte ॥
vyākhyāgamyamidam kāvyam utsavah sudhiyāmalam ।
hatā durmedhasaścāsmin vidvatpriyatayā mayā ॥

"This work is like a lamp for those whose eye is grammar, but it is like a mirror in the hand of the blind for the people without knowledge of grammar. This poem can be understood only with the help of a commentary; then it is a feast for the

learned. Since I am concerned only with experts, in this poem I hope to have disappointed the ignorant". The fact, that there exist 13 different commentaries on the Bhattikāvya, gives testimony to the authoritative nature of this work The name Bhaṭṭi is a Prākrit form for Bhartr. This must be at the root of the fact that sometimes the author of this epic is identified or is brought in close relationship with Bhartrhari, the gnomic poet and grammarian[1].

The Bhaṭṭikāvya is not the solitary epic in which the aim of the poet has been associated with that of the grammarian. A similar work is Rāvanārjunīya (or Arjunarāvanīya)[2], a work mentioned as śāstra-kāvya by Kṣemendra, and therefore, belonging to a period earlier than the 11th century A D, (of Bhaumaka)[3], well-known in Kashmir It is a great epic (mahā-kāvya) in 27 cantos. The fight of Arjuna Kārttavīrya against Rāvana, following the story narrated in the Rāmāyana (VII, 31-33), forms the theme. But the chief purpose of the work is to illustrate the rules of Pāṇini's grammar[4].

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1. Bhaṭṭi is mentioned as a son or half-brother of Bhartrhari Many of the commentators directly call the author Bhartrhari, son of Śrīdharasvāmin. The names Bhattasvāmin and Bhartrsvāmin too are given Chronologically (see above p 50) it is possible that Bhatti may have been a relation of Bhartrhari. Cf K a n e, Ind Ant 1912, p 128

[The author of the Bhattikāvya tells us that he wrote it at Valabhī under Śrīdharasena (This stanza has not been commented upon by Mallinātha) But there have been four kings of this name, the last of whom died in A D., 641, and all that we know is that he must have lived before this period The time of all of them is posterior to 495 A D Therefore, the earliest period in which Bhaṭṭi could have lived cannot be before the 5th century A D

B C M a j u m d a r, JRAS, 1904, p 306 f has suggested that our author may have been identical with Vatsabhaṭṭi of the Mandasor inscription, but this suggestion lacks all plausibility See K e i t h, JRAS 1909, p 435 and also H u l t z s c h, ZDMG, LXXII, 1908, p 145 Although the work was known to Bhāmaha, this fact helps us little in determining the age of Bhatti, since the age of Bhāmaha is equally uncertain]

2 Published in Km 68, 1900 [It is cited also under the name Vyosa or Vyosakāvya Cf K C C h a t t e r j i, IHQ, 7, 1931, 628 and Z a c h a r i a e in ZII, 9, 1932, p 10 ff]

3 The author is designated also as Bhaṭṭabhauma or Bhaṭṭabhīma or Bhūma or Bhūmaka Cf T r i v e d i, loc cit, Introd I p X f

4 The work has been cited in the Kāsikā Ksemendra in the Suvrttatilaka, III, 4 refers to it as an example of Kāvyasāstra (Manual of Form of Poetry)

[The editors of the work do not agree with the hypothesis that it is cited in Kāśikā See S K D e, HSL, p 336]

A mention may here be made of Kavirahasya[1], "Mystery of Poet" of Halāyudha [10th century][2], another work of the same type, that is primarily grammatico-lexical and secondarily a peom It is a kind of lexicon of roots (Dhātupāṭha), in which the forms of the present tense of Sanskrit verbs are illustrated. At the same time it is a metrical panegyric to King Kṛsnarāja III of the Rāṣṭrakūta family who ruled in about 940-956 A. D in the Deccan.

Hemacandra too wrote his historical epic Kumārapālacarita for illustrating the rules of his own grammar VI [and he devotes its twenty cantos to Sanskrit and eight cantos to Prākrit][3].

It is remarkable that the authors of the court-epics hardly have had the ambition to invent new themes. The old myths and heroic legends are used again and again in new forms. In fact their ambition is just to be able to show that they can dress the well-known and often-dealt-with themes in a new garb. Lolimbarāja (c 1100 A D.), who might have lived in the court of the south Indian king Harihara, a contemporary of King Bhoja[4], treats of the legend of Krsna in his epic Harivilāsa[5] in five cantos, of which the third is devoted to descriptions one of the seasons and the fourth, to that of God Krsna. Ksemendra in the Daśāvatāracarita[6] extols the incarnations of Visṇu. Here one small canto is devoted to each one of the ten incar-

1 Published in both the recensions by L Heller, Greifswald 1900 Cf Bhandarkar, Report 1883-84, p 8f,, L Heller, Halāyudha's Kavirahasya, Diss, Gottingen 1894, Zachariae, Die indischen Worterbücher, p 26

2 [Keith, CSL p 18]

3 See below p 101 In the 18th century was written yet another grammatical epic, the Naksatramālā, by Tripāthī Śivarāma (published in Km. part V, 1888, 105-115) Of unknown antiquity are the two poems Vāsudevavijaya of a poet Vāsudeva [who probably lived in the court of King Vikrama of Calicut in Kerala] and Dhātukāvya by [Nārāyana Bhattahari] (published in Km, Part X, 1894, 52-231), in which the legend of Krsna is narrated, and at the same time the rules of Pānini's grammar and Dhātupātha are illustrated. [Cf K R Pisharoti, BSOS, Vol V, 4, 1930, p 797 ff]

4 Cf Pandit, Vol II, p 78 f; Weber, Ind Streifen III, 210, A. 3, and Krishnamacharya, 120

5 Published in the Pandit, Vol II, 79 ff 101 ff, and in Km, Part XI, 1895, 64-1[illegible]3 The Krsna legend is told also in the Gopālalīlā of Rāmacandra (born 1484 in Tailinga), published in the Pandit, Vol VI.

6 Published in Km 26 1891 On Buddhāvatāra cf A Foucher, [illegible] XX, 167ff, and [illegible] Meyer Altindische Schelmenbucher [illegible] XXXIII f, where the passage IX, 24 ff has been translated into german.

nations (Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Man-lion, Dwarf, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣna, Buddha and *Kalki). In canto IX Buddha appears as Krṣna personified and the Buddha-legend is changed into a Viṣnu-legend. In the case of the two other extant epics of Ksemendra, Bharatamañjarī and Rāmāyanamañjarī[1], the contents of both of the epics have been made accessible to the reader in a convenient manner; but as remarked by S. Lévi[2], the poems are deprived of all beauty. Two centuries later (c. 1250) Jaina Amaracandra[3] further wrote Bālabhārata[4], an abridgment of the Mahābhārata, that like an ornate epic is divided into cantos (sargas), but at the same time follows the division into parvans as in the old epic. The poem, that was written during the period of reign of Viśāladeva of Aṇhilvad (1243-1261), shows high degree of versatility in the use of metres.

[Amaracandra, who was a pupil of Jinadattasūri, wrote also the epic Padmānanda[5] in 19 cantos, in which he has described the biography of the first Jina Ṛṣabha in ornate style. In another work, Caturvimśatijinendrasamksiptacaritāni[6], he briefly describes the biography of all the 24 Jinas. In this poem the author wholly follows Hemacandra [7]]

On one hand, old poems have been abridged, and on the other, famous prose works have been rendered into verses.

[* The word used by W. is Karki, an error for Kalki]

1 Published in Km 65, 1898, and 83, 1903 respectively.

2 JA, 1885, s 8, t. VI, 420, Lévi postulates the very probable hypothesis that the two works can be described simply as "poetical exercises", as Ksemendra in the Kavikanthābharana recommends them to the beginner-poets Since Bharatamañjarī and Daśāvatāracarita are respectively dated 1037 and 1066. A D. all the three Mañjarīs may have been written by the poet in his early age.

3. Known also under the titles Amaracandrasūri, Amarapaṇḍita and Amarayati. The poet is the writer of works on poetics and prosody too

4. Published in the Pandit, Vols IV-VI and in Km 45, 1894 D. Galanos has translated it into modern Greek (Athens 1847) Cf Weber, ZDMG 27, 1873, 170 ff, Ind Streifen 3, 211 ff

[5. Ed H R Kapadia, GOS, 58, 1932]

[6. Ed H R Kapadia, GOS, 58, 1932]

[7. On the biographies of other Jinas, see above II p, trans 504 ff We may here add also Munisuvrata-Kāvyaratna, ed. TSS. 107, 1931.]

Thus the poet Abhinanda[1], son of Bhaṭṭa Jayanta, composed in the 9th century an epic Kādambarīsāra[2] on the basis of Bāṇa's novel "Kādambarī".

But the Indian poets have succeeded in composing much more difficult poetical pieces. Thus the poet Sandhyākara Nandi wrote an epic Rāmapālacarita[3], in which each stanza is to be taken as having two meanings: and in fact one of these meanings relates to the hero Rāma and at the same time the other to King Rāmapāla, who ruled over Bengal in the 11th century A. D. This poet was outdone by two other poets, each of whom tried to compose a great epic, in which the story of the Mahābhārata and of the Rāmāyana are contained in such a manner that each individual stanza is capable of being interpreted as having two meanings, of which the one set narrates the story of the Pāṇḍavas and the other, that of Rāma. Of these two works, the older one is the Rāghavapāṇḍavīya or Dvisāndhānakāvya[4] of the Digambara-Jaina Dhanañjaya, who wrote it under the pen-name Śrutakīrti between 1123 and 1140 A.D[5]. Different from it is the Rāghavapāṇḍavīya[6] of a poet, who apparently calls himself Mādhavabhaṭṭa and is better known by the

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1 He is called also Gauḍābhinanda. His great great grand'father Śaktisvāmin was a minister of the Kashmirian king Muktāpīḍa (699—735 A D). In a stanza that is attributed to him he mentions the poet Rājaśekhara as his contemporary. Another Abhinanda, son of Śatānanda [of Bengal] probably of the 9th century A D, composed an epic Rāmacarita, that narrates the story of Rāma from the beginning upto the abduction of Sītā [He calls his patron Harivarsa and Yuvarāja, who is perhaps King Devapāla (about 815-854 A D)] Cf Bühler, Ind. Ant 2, 1873, 102 ff; Thomas, p. 20. We do not know as to which of the Abhinandas is mentioned to be as reputed as Kālidāsa in a stanza (Aufrecht, ZDMG 27, p 4; Śārangadhara VIII, 5, where Acala and Amala are added)

[Ed R S Rāmasvāmī Śāstri Śiromani, GOS 46, 1930 Cf also H. C Roy, Dynastic History of Northern India, I. p 290 ff and also Introl p. XX in the above-mentioned edition]

2 Published in Pandit, Vols I, II and in Km 11, 1888 Ksemendra too wrote one Padyakādambarī "Kādambarī in Verses", See I Schönberg, Kṣemendras Kavikaṇṭhābharana, p 6

3 Published by Haraprasāda Śāstrī in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 3, 1910, pp 1-56 Cf Ep. Ind. IX, 321 f.

4 That is to say "The Poem with two Interpretations".

5 Cf K. B Pathak, JBRAS 21, 1904, 1 ff, Bhandarkar, Report 1883-1887, p 10 f; Th Zachariae, Die indischen Wörterbucher, p 20 ff The poem has 18 sargas and has been published with a commentary in the Km 40, 1895

6 Published with the commentary of Śaśadhara in Km 62. The poem has 13 sargas

name Kavirāja[1]. His patron was Kāmadeva of the Kādamba family (1182-1197 A.D.) The poet boasts that except Bāna and Subandhu nobody is equal to him in the use "crooked language" (vakrokti). To the same category belongs also the Rāghavanaiṣadhīya[2] of Haradatta sūri, whose time is not definite. [The writer's father was Jayaśankara and he was of the Garga-gotra]. In this epic too each stanza has two meanings, of which the one relates to Rāma and the other to Nala

The Nala-tale has repeatedly been worked upon by poets. The most famous one is the Naisadhacarita[3] of the poet Śrīharsa [son of Hīra and Māmalladevī, who wrote it probably under Vijayacandra and Jayacandra of Kanauj in the second-half of the 12 century A. D [4]], that by the Indian literary critics

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1. Kavirāja, "Prince of Poets", is a title that the Indian poets have too often assumed We cannot trace any chronological clue from the occurrence of a kavirāja (for example in Vāmana's Kāvyālamkāravrtti, 4, 1, 10) That our poet is called also Kavirājasūri or Kavirājapandita in any case, appears to indicate that kavirāja had become a proper noun Cf K B Pathak, JBRAS 22 1905, Bhandarkar, Report 1884-87 p 20 and Pischel, HL, p 37 ff

2 Published with poet's own commentary in Km 57, 1896 There exists also one Rāghavapāndavayādavīya of Cidambara, in which each stanza permits of three interpretations and which reproduces the stories of the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavatapurāna, see Aufrecht, CC I 500, II, 117, [Madras Catalogue, XX, p, 78 29 f, also P P S Śāstrī, Tanjore Catalogue, VI, 2709 Venkatādhvarin's Yādavarāghavīya tells Rāma's story, but when read backward gives Krsna's tale (Madras Cat XX, 7956, Keith, HSL, p 138) printed in Telugu characters, with the author's own commentary at Vidyātarangini Press 1890 Yet another work of the type is Pārvatīrukminīya (Des Cat of Sans. MSS in Govt Or MSS Library, Madras, Vol XX, 7779-79, No 11606) It handles the stories of marriages of Śiva and Pārvatī and of Krsna and Rukminī]

3 Without any apparent reason the poem has been divided into two halves, Pūrva- and Uttara-Naisadhacarita (I-XI and XII-XXII) An edition of the first half by Premachandra Pandita with his own commentary appeared in Calcutta 1836, an edition of the Uttara-Naisadhacarita with the commentary of Nārāyana by E Roer in Bibl Ind, Calcutta 1855 A complete edition with the commentary of Nārāyana also in Bombay NSP 1894, 9th ed 1952 W Yates, As Researches Vol 20, 2nd part, Calcutta 1839, p 318 ff has given a good account of the book

[Ed Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, with Mallinātha's commentary, 2 vols, Calcutta 1875-76, ed K L V Śāstrī and others with the commentary of Mallinātha (I-XII), in two parts Palghat, 1924, ed Nityasvarūpa Brahmacārī with commentaries of Nārāyana, Bharatamallika and Vamsīvādana (I-III only), Calcutta 1929 30, Eng transl with extracts from eight commentaries (Vidyādhara, Cāndūpandita Īśānadeva, Naraharī, Viśveśvara, Jinarāja, Mallinātha, and Nārāyana) by K K Handiqui, Lahore 1934 Besides one Cāritravardhana too wrote a commentary on it]

4 Buhler, JBRAS, X, 31 ff, XI, 279 ff

is usually named beside the epics of the classical poets Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Māgha as the last of the series of master works of the ornate court epic. It is a great epic in 22 cantos that narrates the story of Nala in a most eleborate style. Indeed, the strong distinction between early popular epics and ornate court epics can hardly be brought to one's mind better than when he compares the simple narration of the story of Nala and Damayantī in the Mahābhārata, that appeals and delights us even to-day through its ingenuous representations and simple but forceful language, with the poem, full of bombastic expressions, of Śrīharsa, who strives simply for utilizing all the niceties of the Alamkāraśāstra for overcoming all the difficulties of prosody and also for bringing to light of the day his profound knowledge of mythology and mastery over the Kāmaśāstra. In any case, it cannot be denied that he commands mastery over language and metrics, is an adept in making up poetical game of words and that he has good many imageries in his pictures of nature.

> Whilst ornate poets are mostly satisfied with applying themselves to fabrication of play-of-words for the purpose of showing off their linguistic talents Śrīharsa knows also sometimes to apply them in places where they are regulated internally from the context. The four gods assume the form of Nala for the purpose of causing confusion in the mind of Damayantī at the time of selection of her husband. Now the poet (XIII, 3 ff.) lets Sarasvatī, who presents the courting princes to Damayantī, to introduce the five "Nalas" in stanzas, each of which has two meanings, one referring to Nala and the other to each one of the gods, who are concealed in the form of Nala. A beautiful instance is when the the poet says:— (XXII, 40)
>
> *dhvāntasya tena kriyamānena dviṣah śaśī varnanayātha ruṣṭaḥ* ।
> *udyannupālohi japārunaśrīrnarādhipenānunayeccheva* ॥
>
> "After Nala has described the night, he brings in the description of the rising of the moon, where he says that the moon, who has become red on account of anger caused by the description in a number of stanzas of "his enemy, the

Dark[1]" outlined by Nala, and for the purpose of consoling him Nala straightway begins to praise the moon "rising in japā-beauty"[2]. But how tasteless and pedantic it is, when the poet (in canto VII) describes the beauty of Damayantī, and brings before us her eyes, to which he has devoted nine stanzas, her nose, that is described in one stanza, her lips, praised in six stanzas etc. down up to the toe, and does not spare one single member of the body! And in the 22 cantos of the epic he does not succeed in carrying the narrative up to the description of happiness of the newly married couple. The poet ends his poem in a description of the moony night in a conversation between Nala and Damayantī.

It is clear how little has the poet strived for the story itself and how very much for bringing in linguistic niceties. The following anecdote shows that there is no unanimity among the Indian critics with regard to the merit of this poem.—

When Śrīharsa had finished his Naisadhacarita he showed it to his uncle Mammata, the author of Kāvyaprakāśa. After the latter went through it he expressed his regret that he had not seen it earlier, since when in his poetics he wrote the chapter on the faults of poetry he had to take great pains in finding out examples from a large number of books. So had he known about the Naisadhacarita in right time, he would not have the necessity of going beyond this work, in which he could find an example for every type of fault[3].

Apparently in the 13th century A D. the poet Krsnānanda not only wrote a commentary on the Naisadhacarita, but also

[1 The words used by W "seines Freundes, des Dunkels", are evidently wrong for, "seines Feindes, des Dunkels". Keith too commits the same error (HSL p 141)]

[2 W. has "rosenroter Schönheit" But japā in not rose Muir translates it as China-rose]

3 Communicated by Hall, Vāsavadattā, Preface p 55, who does not mention his source. It is one of the literary anecdotes that orally circulate among the pandits and have no historical value Chronologically too the statement that Mammata was an uncle of Śrīharsa is not confirmed Cf above II, p 54 [but the translator could not locate it either in the original or in the translation.]

retold the Nala-legend in the epic Sahrdayānanda[1] in 15 cantos. And again in the 15th century the poet Vāmanabhattabāna, also known as "new Bāna" (Abhinavabhattabāna), worked on the same legend in his Nalābhyudaya[2].

Worthy of special mention is the Śrīkanthacarita[3] of the Kashmirian poet Mankha. [1135-1145 A. D.]. He handles the myth of the overthrow of Asura Tripura. The tale is, however, of secondary importance. The main goal of the poet is to describe the seasons, the sunrise, the sunset, the court entertainments etc. according to the rules of poetics. Maṅkha himself refers to Ruyyaka as his teacher[4]. Its canto XXV is of great literary historical importance. In it Mankha narrates, how, after he completed his poem, recited it before a number of panditas, amongst whom were also the court officials, who had assembled in the house of his brother Alamkāra, a minister of Jayasiṁha of Kashmir [1127-1150 A. D.]. The poet has mentioned the names of those thirty scholars, poets and officials who were living there in his court and the sciences in which they had especialised. He avails of this opportunity to present a lively picture of a sabhā, i.e. of a learned assembly, such as is held upto this day and apparently has been being held since many centuries ago. From the family-tree of the poet, that he has appended, we learn that he was one of the four brothers, all of whom were scholars, writers and officials at the same time.

To the 12th century belongs the religious epic

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1. Published in Km. 32, 1892.

2. A fragment of eight cantos of this poem has been published in TSS No 7, 1913 by Ganapati Śāstrī. This "New Bāna" (Abhinavabāna) is also the author of Vemabhupālacarita, a prose-novel of the type of Harṣacarita. Vema, the hero of this epic, who wrote as Vāmanabhaṭṭabāna, lived probably in the first half of the 15th century A. D. Cf. Ganapati's Introduction and Sunali in GSAI 26, 214.

3. Published with the commentary of Jonarāja (who lived in 1417-1467 A. D.) in Km. 3, 1887. [He is mentioned also as Mankhaka. See also Bühler, Kashmir Report, Extra No. of JBRAS, Bombay, 1877 I 50-52.]

4. Ruyyaka cites Śrikanthacarita in his Alamkārasarvasva [See Jacob, JRAS, 1897, p. 293.]

[The earliest tradition of Mankha's collaboration with Ruyyaka is not supported by S. K. De, Sans. Poetics I, p. 191 ff., HSL, p. 322, Footnote.]

Haracaritacintāmani[1] of the Kashmirian poet Rājānaka Jayaratha, that is full of Śiva-legends and teachings of Śaivism. He lived in the 12th century A. D.

As a curiosity deserves to be mentioned Kathākautuka of Śrīvara (15th century)[2]. It is an ordinary epic of mediocre merit, that in 15 cantos reproduces the story of Yusuf and Zuleikha according to Dsachāmī. The story, that is rather an adaptation than a translation of the Persian poem, begins with a glorification of Mahāmad Śāhi (Muhammad Shāh, who ascended the throne in 1481), during whose reign Dsachāmī composed his poem. Sufficiently noteworthy is this amalgamation of the old Hebrew story with the Persian romantic ballad and the Indian Śiva-cult, since Śrīvara is a staunch devotee of Śiva, and canto XV is wholly devoted to glorification of Śiva.

Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, a devout Śaiva[3], of the 17th century A.D., in his Gaṅgāvatarana, an epic in 8 cantos, extols the descent of the celestial river Gangā into the world of man. The poetess Madhuravānī, who in her Rāmāyaṇasāra, once more works upon the plot of the Rāmāyana, shows that even women took part in composition of ornate court poetry. She was a court-poetess of King Raghunātha of Tanjore (17th century)[4]. Two cantos of another epic, namely Rājapraśasti of a poet Raṇacchoda, who lived towards the end of the 18th century, have inscriptionally come down to us[5].

That the court epics have continued to be written down up to the present day is demonstrated by Viśvanātha Deva

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1. Published in Km 61, 1897, the text running up to 22 prakāśas Cf Buhler, Report p 61

[The form Jayadratha, and not Jayaratha, of the name of the author occurs in the printed text and also in Buhlers report Possibly our author was a brother of Jayaratha, who commented upon Abhinavagupta's Tantrāloka; see S K De, HSL, p 323]

2 Cf R Schmidt, Das Kathākautukam des Śrīvara Verglichen mit Dschāmīs Jusuf und Zuleikha, Kiel, 1893 und Śrīvaras Kathākautukam die Geschichte von Joseph in persisch-indischem Gewand, Sanskrit und Deutsch, Kiel 1898 Text also in Km 72, 1901 On the Persian poem see P. Horn, Geschichte der persischen Litterature, Leipzig 1901, p 190f From the Persian source originates also the epic Delārāmakathāsāra of the Kashmirian poet Rājānaka Bhaṭṭa Āhlādaka, published in Km 77, 1902, See Hertel, Jinakīrtis "Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla", p 61 ff. 135 f.

3 Published in Km 76 1902 The poet was a son of Nārāyana Dīksita, who was a nephew of Appaya Dīksita

4 M T Narasimhiengar, JRAS 1908, 168.

5. Kielhorn, Ep Ind. 5, Appendix No. 321

Śarman, the Rājā Bahadoor of Athagarh, Orissa, who personally presented to Winternitz in January 1913 a copy of his own mythological epic Rukminīparinaya (Calcutta 1912), written in 11 cantos. The poem is provided with a commentary by his chief queen. It is a Mahākāvya that has all the characteristics prescribed in poetics and could have been written equally five centuries earlier.

Generally the history of the ornate court epic does not present a gratifying picture. It can probably be said that court environment and patronage were not conducive to the development of the epic. That the Indians were poetically gifted, that they possessed power of imagination, that they were capable of representing a great many types of human destinies, that they knew to present characters in a masterly way and that they did not lack in original ideas—all this is demonstrated with the help of popular epics, narrative literature and better pieces of dramatical writings. But above all there is nothing remarkable in ornate court epics. There the characters are almost everywhere stereotyped, since the poet does not trouble himself for inventing anything, but he adopts old epical materials with little alteration. One can just say that the Alamkāraśāstra has killed true poetry. The form has secured complete triumph over the subject-matter. And Oh, what a display of ingenuity and an actual tiresome brain-work is involved in these poems !

In lyrics, in gnomic poetry and in drama, as well as in the master-pieces of narrative literature too the kāvya-style holds the ground. But we shall see that here the popular origin under the influence of the court environment is not, however, completely lost to such an extent as to permit the form become so much prominent as to cause the plot get neglected as has been the case with the epics.

HISTORICAL LITERATURE[1]

In India historical literature too belongs to the class of court poetry. It is often maintained that the Indians did not have any important historical literature to their credit and that they had

1. Cf J. F. Fleet, Int Ant. 30, 1901, 1 ff, W. E. Windisch Geschichte der Sanskritphilologie I, S 170 ff. (On Lassen, Ind. Altertumskunde II, 1 ff, 49 ff).

little taste for history. It is not correct, however. That they had a taste for history is proved by the list of teachers in different Vedic texts and the genealogies in the Mahābhārata and in the purāṇas. Notwithstanding the mythical elements that dominate in them by far, the purānas preserve many valuable historical traditions[1].

Huen-Tsiang affirms that during the time he was here in every Indian city there were annals. Till to-day the Rajputs, Banias and Mewatis have annals that are carefully preserved by Bhātas[2]. The Indians have genealogical tables in a form that is unknown in the West. In any case important persons, village-chiefs and even ordinary farmers can produce a family-tree that establishes the widely branched out relationships, often going back to two or three centuries, and is of great importance for settling questions relating to inheritance. Each monastery (māṭha) carefully maintains the order of succession of its principal teachers. A taste for history is proved also by monastic historical works of the Buddhists and the Jainas, who in chronicles and biographies adhere to the life of their saints and the history of their religious communities and have handed them down historically to the extent they have been capable of[3]. Taste for history is lastly seen also in numerous inscriptions of all the centuries beginning from the time of Aśoka, that are available to us, and in any case they show that the Indians too possessed a taste for associating the present with the past and the future, and thereby they traced the history of their kings in genealogies going back to the most possible extent and that they inscribed the deeds of their patrons for information of coming generations on stone-pillars and rocks, in temples and caves and on copper plates for future ages.

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1 See above I, 169, 257, 266, 319 f 442 449, Transl p 194, 309, 319 375 f, 520, 529 : F E Pargiter in JRAS 1910, p ff

2 C. V Vaidya, The Mahābhārata, Bombay 1905, 76 f In western India there are still court-singers, who recite the praśastipattas (the panegyric annals) before family circles Cf Shankar Pandit, Gaudavaho, p. CLXIX note

3. See above II, 167 ff, 331 f ; Transl p 208 ff, 509 f "Geschichte des Buddhismus" of Tibetan Tārānātha too rests on Indian sources He himself mentions a work, written in 2000 ślokas, of Pandita Ksemendrabhadra of Magadha, in addition to another work Buddhapurāna of Indradatta, besides an old biography of ācāryas, the work written by Brāhmana Bhataghaṭī, as the basis of his own work (Tārānātha, Geschichte des Buddhismus translated into German by A Schiefner, p 281) Historical documents are also the Pattāvalis, the list of Jaina patriarchs, see above II, 331, transl p 509; and also Bhandarkar, Report 1883-1884, 14 f, 319 ff

It is true, as Winternitz holds, that in India there has been no Herodotus or likewise a hero such as Livy or Tacitus. What the Indians lacked in was not, however, taste for history, but taste for criticism and for historical truth. And reason of this is that the writers of history were generally either court-poets or religious-minded persons For the former the main duty was to sing in praise of their princes, to record their and their ancestors' heroic deeds and probably also to invent such ones as never took place. The divine were above all busy either with praise of their sect or in preaching to the community and to cause it to increase.

The Indian historical writing was always just a branch of poetry. Chronicles, in which myths and history appear strongly amalgamated, or biographical and historical epics and novels or also poems written in praise of kings are mixed up with historical or semi-historical topics. The Indian historian pursues a course that is altogether different from the one followed by the Greek or the Roman. He will not go deep into the circumstances, set historical facts critically and explain them psychologically; he will entertain and instruct as a poet (kavi), above all teach morals, when he will explain with examples the influences of moral behaviour on the destiny of man[1]. All the "Indian historical works", as sources of history, thereore, should be used only with extreme caution. The story told by a court-fool to a Tartar Khān mostly holds good in their case:—the Khān wanted his historian to write down a book on his life and works and wanted to name it as "Thousand and one Truth", to which the court-fool retorted by saying that the more correct title would be "Thousand and one Tales". This too is a fact that the Indian could not write history without beginning from its commencement. For the purpose of getting upto the history of their own age, the authors of the purānas begin with the origin of the world, the Buddhist monks with the first Buddha, who is believed to have lived billions of years ago, and the authors of recent historical epics, with the heroes of the Mahābhārata or with gods or demi-gods, from which earthly kings derive their origin. Consequently the admixture of tales and history, that is greater according as the author goes back to an earlier period and is less accord-

ing as he approaches his own age. Thence it is very much possible that the historian, who knows nothing about the earliest time but to narrate myths and tales, may be entirely dependable for his own and immediately preceding ages.

The praśastis, i.e. panegyric poems, too, that have come down to us in inscriptions, are not only historical documents, but are often more or less full-fledged ornate poems, written usually in elaborate metres, and now and then in literary prose too There are poems composed in accordance with the desire of princes or rich men. They contain information by professional poets (including those who are famous in literature) regarding dedication of temples or other religious or temporal monuments. After a benediction follows usually the genealogy and panegyric description of the donor and the ruling prince,in case the latter is not himself the donor, a description of the monument, of its aim and of the benefit associated with the gift, privileges etc. and at the end is an expression of the wish relative to conservation of the monument, adjuration against possible mischievous person or devastator, a note about the chief builder, who built it, on the priest, who consecrated it, about the poet and about the scribe of the inscription and lastly, unfortunately not always accurate, a statement of the date. By the side of praśastis of 10-12 stanzas there are long poems of hundred or more verses[1]. The importance that these inscriptions have for the history of ornate court poetry has already been shown above. Among the inscriptions of the Gupta princes and numerous other praśastis there are found, beside productions of inferior value, many poems, that, measured according to the Indian standard, must be considered as pieces of epic poetry of the first rate. There are two long praśastis that were composed by an insignificant poet Rāma in between 700 and 800 A.D. The fact that he calls himself "prince of poets" (kavīśvara) and says about himself that he composed this hymn of praise when he was young and boasts that the goddess Sarasvatī came to live in his mouth-lotus even before he had forgotten the taste of his mother's milk will prove little. More important it is that a first rate scholar like Buhler, the editor and publisher of the inscription[2], describes him as a poet of much talent and learning. He has for example composed a stotra in 14 stanzas, in which

1. Cf Bühler, WZKM 2, 1888, 86 ff
2 Ep Ind 1, 97 ff

each one can be interpreted in a manner that it will be applicable to both Śiva and his spouse Gaurī at the same time. Rare words and forms go to prove that he had assiduously studied grammar and lexicon. Another full-fledged poetical inscription is that of Lalitasuradeva of the 9th century A. D.[1].

One of the earliest historical epics is the Prākritkāvya Gaudavaha[2] of Vākpatirāja, the chief poet in the court of King Yaśovarman of Kanauj. It was apparently written after the death of the king in about 750 A.D. The work is more a panegyric rather than a historical poem, although it was written to celebrate the slay of a Gauda prince by the poet's patron, who was himself overthrown and killed not much later (c. 740 A.D.) by Lalitāditya of Kashmir. It contains full necessary information regarding military exploits of warriors and is replete with so many pictures of landscapes, descriptions of seasons, royal relationships etc. interwoven with mythical narrations. Vākpatirāja is more original than Sanskrit poets, inasmuch as he describes also scenes from rural life that do not occur elsewhere. He keeps himself aloof from play on words and puns. On the contrary long compounds are not seldom. But the text that is available to us is probably just an extract from the original work, from which pure historical data were excluded outright for the purpose of retaining only the "pearls" of poetry, the poetical descriptions etc.[3].

An epic, of which its real theme is fabulous, but refers to historical names and events, and hence deserves to be mentioned as an historical work in the true sense is the Navasāhasāṅkacarita[4] of Padmagupta or Parimala. The poem has 18

cantos and relates the mythical theme of the winning the princess Śaśiprabhā, daughter of the Nāga king. It is written by the poet for the purpose of glorification of his patron, the king Sindhurāja Navasāhasaṅka of Mālva. The Indian court poets, of course, often have the tendency to "change the historical events of the most recent past into myths"[1] on purely poetical grounds. So in this work too an historical essence remains in narration of the myth. The poem my have been written in about 1005 A.D.[2].

Bilhana's Vikramāṅkadevacarita[3] is the history of the Cālukya princes. It begins with a myth about the origin of the dynasty of this king. In it God Śiva appears always when the king has done anything that is not strictly moral. Here the king has a fairy (Vidyādharī) as his bride. This work too goes to show that poets in India have had always the fancy for dressing even historical events in mythical garbs. The book narrates the history of the princes of the Cālukya dynasty of Kalyāna Someśvara I, Someśvara II, and particularly of Vikramāditya VI, who ruled from 1076 to 1127 A. D. The chief objective of Bilhana, however, is to show his skill as a poet, to follow all the rules of poetics and to extol his heroes exuberantly. Although the events narrated by him are historical, as is proved by many Cālukya inscriptions, we get here a distorted picture, since he always exaggerates Thus he assures us that in each and every campaign of the Cālukyas against the Colas the latter were completely annihilated, although very soon we are told by him that fresh movements of the erstwhile enemies made a more extensive campaign necessary. Even the duration of time that intervened between the different events is not stated accurately, and the poet always says 'after some time', 'after many days', etc. The historian gives place to the poet. Thus for example, Bilhana tells us that when this king was born flowers fell from the heaven, Indra's drum was sounded and gods in the

1. Buhler and Zachariae ibide p 48 f. Such mythologising representation we find even in inscriptions.

2. Cf. Buhler, EP. Ind. 1, 222 ff. 232; Duff 100; Peterson, Śubh 51 ff.

3. Published by G Bühler, BSS Nr. 14, 1875. The German translation of A Haack (printed in 1897 at Ratibor, but was not available in a bookshop) not was known to W. Cf A V V. Ayyar, Ind Ant XLVIII, 114 H , 133 ff [Editions also by M. L. Nagar, 1934 and V. S. Bhāradvāja, both printed at Vārānasī]

contest and composed a poem on Rāma. After travelling much he arrived at Kalyāna, where King Vikramāditya conferred on him the title Vidyāpati ("Master of Science") and presented to him one blue umberella and an elephant.

High as a tower, Rājatarangiṇī[1], "the River of Kings" stands above all other similar productions of Indian literature, equally as a work of history and of poetical composition. In other words it is the history of the kings of Kashmir of the poet Kalhana[2]. Kalhana was the son of the minister Canpaka, who played not an unimportant rôle in the court of King Harsa (1089-1101). He was probably born towards the beginning of the 12th century A.D. and completed his work in the year 1148. As a Brāhmana by birth he acquired a basic literary culture. He was very well read, especially in the Mahābhārata, and had studied also Bāna's Harsacarita, Bilhana's Vikramānkadevacarita and works like Varāhamihira's Brhatsamhitā. He manifests his literary taste on each occasion By religion he was a devotee of Śiva. He admires with predilection the kings with Śivaite disposition and whenever, about any of his patrons he says that he was a devotee of Śiva, he often uses such an expression in the same sense in which an English man uses the word "Christian", when he refers to some respectable person Still he has much sympathy

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1. The first critical edition we owe to M A Stein (Bombay 1892), from whom we have also a complete English translation with valuable annextures (Introduction, Notes, Appendices) which have brought the importtance of the work for history, geography and ethnography of Kashmir, into the correct clear light (Westminster 1900, 2 vols) Cf Winternitz, WZKM 16, 1902, 405 ff, Oldenberg, Aus dem alten Indien, Berlin 1910, 81 ff, Marie Von Bunsen in "Nord und Sud" 1915, 327 ff. On Kalhana's importance as an historian see Bühler, Report 52 ff; LXVI ff, where the earlier writings of N H Wilson, A Cunningham, Ch Lassen, and A Troyer have been evaluated and Shankar Pandit, Gaudavaho, Introd, p CLXI ff E. Hultzsch, Ind Ant 18, 1889, 65 ff, 97 ff gives extracts with translation from book I and in Ind Ant 40, 1911, 97 ff, 42, 1913, 301 ff and ZDMG 69, 1915, 129 ff he has made contribution towards its textual criticism Stein's edition has superceded all other editions, including the one of Durgāprasāda BSS No 35, 51, 54, [vol (I-VII), vol 2 (VIII), vol 3 (Supplements of Jonarāja, Śrīvara and Prājyabhatta, 1892, 1894, 1896. The *editio princeps* with three supplements was published by the Asiatic Society of the Bengal, Calcutta, 1835]

2 We know Kalhana only as the author of the Rājatarangiṇī. A kāvya Jayasimhābhyudaya too is attributed to him see Peterson, OC VI Leiden 1883, III, 2, 361 [the reference is to Ratnākara's citation in his Sāra samuccaya The sanskrit form of this name is Kalyāna, by which name he is mentioned in Mankha's Śrīkanṭhacarita XXV, 80 ff Cf A Stein, Rājatar, transl p 12 f]

for Buddhism. He praises Aśoka and other kings for their establishment of monasteries and erection of stūpas, exhibits a good knowledge of Buddhist teachings and refers in a respectful manner to Jinas and to Bodhisattvas. But that does not deter him from jeering at the "monk nuisance" brought to an end by King Candradeva (I, 184). He was a highly cultured and independently thinking person. Although he was brought up in court-environment, he was neither a courtier nor a court-poet. He had a critical independent view about characters. Many severely biting words are uttered in reference to Brāhmanas, as also against officials. Strict in his principles, he often uses severe words for censure He speaks with greater contempt about Ḍāmaras, a class of gentry or "younker" whom he does not consider better than "robbers" (dasyu).

Kalhana specifically says in the beginning of his work that it is the work of the poet to write history : (I, 4)

konyah kālamatikrāntam netuṁ pratyaksatāmiksamah ।
kaviprajāpatiṁsiyaktvā ramyanirmāṇaśālinaḥ ॥

"Like Prajāpati, capable to bring forth lovely creation: who else other than a poet can place the past before the eyes of men."

To this he adds (I, 7)

ślāghyah sa eva gunavānrāgadvesabahiṣkrtāh ।
bhūtārthakathane yasya stheyasyeva sarasvatī ॥

"The noble-minded (poet) is alone worthy of praise, whose word, like that of a judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past".

In fact Kalhana's statement, when he too perhaps is not always wholly impartial, throughout creates the impression that he endeavours to describe not only the long past times, but also the events of his own and near-by ages *sine ira et studio*, and his opinion is mostly inspired by high moral cosmic philosophy. Throughout in his narrative the poet inserts moral maxims. For him the real objective of writing history consists in teaching of dharma and morality. To him, as to any Indian, that success and failure of present life have their cause in the good and evil acts (karman) of the previous existence is an incontestable fact. He is wholly in keeping with the common Indian opinion to the extent that he believes in magic and witchcraft. When he speaks about the kings, who are ruined, either on account of

witchcraft or due to the curse of a Brāhmana, he does it with the same conviction with which he would narrate that they perished either with sword or on account of poison. He is Indian in this respect as well that his chronology of earlier ages is often improbable. He makes King Raṇāditya rule for 300 years — a thing that is not credible. If we are to fix the date of Aśoka according to Kalhaṇa, we shall have to set it at 1260 B.C.[1]. With true Indian credulity he narrates all myths and legends that he found for earlier ages in his sources and in traditions, so all the wonderful snake-legends, that are associated with the earliest history of Kashmir.

On the other hand, however, he has not utilized the literary sources, without first examining them critically. He is not content merely with the study of earlier works on Kashmir, but he has made use of inscriptions, genealogical tables and memoires of important personalities, examined coins and monuments and has interested himself in folk-lore, proverbs and legends. In short, he was an accurate investigator into antiquities. By general admission Kalhaṇa is a trustworthy guide for the history of his own age and for that of a little former times.

The poet Kalhaṇa is a master of the art of presentation He knows to delineate the sketch of a person drawn from his actual life and does not follow merely any set pattern or type. In this respect he stands apart from other Indian poets.

> How lively stand before us the personalities such as the cruel and vicious, but cunning and energetic queen Diddā (VI, 176 ff) or the good-natured weak Ananta (VII, 142) ? With much humour and biting sarcasm he describes the people of the lower society who attain high offices and powers from insignificant positions in life without any special merit. One such character, for example, is Kāyastha Bhadreśvara, who at first was a market-gardener,

1. Cf. Stein, Rājatarangiṇī Transl. 1, p 53 f, Fleet, Ind Ant 30, 11f., 14. It is significant that many pandits in India still understand by the term "history" an essay entitled "History of Kashmir" of Pandit Anand Koul in the JASB 6, 1910 195 ff, where the "History of Kashmir" under 47 sovereigns based of the Nīlamatapurāṇa [ed. Ramalal Kanjilal and Jagaddhar Zadoo, Lahore 1924 ; ed. K. St. J. M. de Vreese, Leiden (Brill), 1936] and the Rājatarangini is presented with such "accurate" dates as. Gonanda I 3120-3103 B C, Dāmodara I 3103-3090 B C etc down up to Bhagavant 1459-1445 B C

butcher and fuel-seller; for living he had hung at the back of officials, carrying their bags and ink-bottles, while with a rough woollen cloth he rubbed his (own) back, till Tunga, the prime minister of Queen Diddā, made him his assistant, and who later himself became the prime minister (VII, 38 ff., 106).

Kalhana shows himself as a pioneer poet also in many episodes, descriptions, sketches and comparisons. Thus for example we may read his presentation of the tragic end of King Yudhiṣṭhira I at the end of the book I : "like a vulture on a carcass" did the violent enemies fall upon the empire of the weakly king. He was compelled to leave his own country, while his enemies carried away his wives and treasures "just as the tree which falls from the top of a high mountain is stripped quickly by boulders of its creepers, fruits and the rest" (I, 368). We may read also the description of a famine, that occurred as a consequence of heavy snowfall, that he compares to the "grim laughter of the Death" (II, 19), or the story of the wonderful and horrible restoration to life of Sandhimati by the witches (II, 82 ff.).

It is, however, particularly the realistic descriptions of books VII and VIII that present to us Kalhana as a true poet. Impressive is the description of the tragic death of Sūryamatī (VII, 472 ff). This prominent lady was the wife of King Ananta. She had taken under her control the weak king and the reins of administration, so much so that she compelled him even to forego the throne in favour of her son Kalaśa. This had had an evil consequence and led the father and the son to strife and conflict. Several times cunning Suryamatī succeeded in bringing about temporary peace. But after a short reconciliation Kalaśa stepped into open enemity against his father, whose position now became wholly untenable. One day there took place a violent scene between Ananta and his wife : he rebuked her bitterly and even expressed his doubt regarding Kalaśa being his legitimate son. The insulted lady got offended and she overwhelmed him with abuses. Then the deeply hurt king again went into despair and committed suicide. Suryamatī, however, then decided to follow him

unto death as a satī. Then in a solemn manner she cursed each one of them who had ruined them and had caused dissension among them: then with an oath she proved herself above suspicion in the matter of being faithful to her husband and burnt herself with smiling eyes in the flames of the funeral pile, and (VII, 479).

ajāyata nabhovahnijvālāvalayamālitam ।
tadāgamotsave dattasindūramiva nirjaraiḥ ॥

"The sky became encircled (and reddened) with sheets of flames, just as if gods, in order to celeberate her arrival, had covered (it) with minium".

Actually the master-pieces of character-painting are the portraits of King Harsa (VII, 869 ff) and King Sussala (VIII, 482 ff.) designed by Kalhana. The same poet shows the style of the Rāmāyaṇa or that of the Mahābhārata in his story of King Harsa, as he narrates it in book VII. Even the appearance of this monarch is impressive. Usually he shows himself like a contended lion with his long beard in disorder and moustaches hanging about his face; his shoulders are like those of a bull; he has a wide breast and he speaks with a thundering voice. Even gods would lose their presence of mind before him. But his character is full of contradictions. He is a model of justice. Big bells are hanging in all the four directions of his palace, that can be rung by anybody who has something to request for[1]. He is always very liberal, rewards his servants richly and beggars get resettled by his gifts and they become capable of maintaining others

He and his wife visit monasteries and temples. Bands of poets and learned men, including among others the poet Bilhaṇa, live in his court. Harṣa himself is highly gifted, expert in several languages, a high class singer and poet[2].

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1. VII, 879 Cf. above II, 172f Transl p II, 215. [Cf. also V. R. R. Dikshitar, ABOR I, 15 p 218 ff]

2 The relevant words are --

prasannasimhaviprekṣī nīcaśmaśrucchatāñcitah ।
vrsaskandho mahābāhuh śyāmalohitavigrahah ॥ (VII, 877)
vyūdhavakso ksāmamadhyo meghaghoṣagabhīravāk । (VII, 878)

But the same Harsa is cruel and tyrannical. In course of time he falls more under the influence of his wicked advisors in this respect. A complete train of his relations falls victim to his murderous design. A kind of Caesar's madness develops in him. He oppresses his subjects as if it be his vocation (*nitykrtyopamam*).

In VII, 1204:—

alpāpakāramapi pārśvagatam nihanti
nīco na dūrasamāgasamapyarātim |
śvā nirdiśatyupalamantikamāpatantam
tattyāginam na tu vidūragamugraroṣah ||

"A low minded person strikes down him who is close by even for a small fault, but not the enemy afar off, who has committed an enormous offence. (Thus too) a dog in mighty fury bites the stone which hits, but not the person who has thrown it from a distance". He plundered the treasures of temples and appointed one of his own officials as "supervisor of temple-destruction". After he had done away with all his relations he himself put into the altar the ranks of the other people His army deserted him and the king wandered about and was obliged to seek shelter in the

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somānuṣānāmapi yatpratibhābhangakāryabhūt ||
simhadvāre mahāghantāscaturdiśamabandhayat |
jñātum vijñaptikāmān prāptāmstadvādyasamjñayā || (VII, 879)

anyopajivyatvam prāpustasyārthitvena mārganāh | (VII, 932)

vaktum nāstyeva sāmarthyam vyaktam vācaspaterapi
gītamākarnya tedyāpi tasya vāggeyakārinah |
vipakṣairapi pakṣmāgraluṭhadbāṣpodabindubhih || (VII, 942)

The passages have been translated as.—

"He used to look around like a pleased lion, his bushy beard was hanging down low; his shoulders were like those of a bull, his arms great, and his body of a dark reddish complexion; he had a broad chest with a narrow waist, and his voice was deep like thunder Thus even super-human beings would have lost (before him) their presence of mind

At the palace-gate (simhadvāra) he hung up big bells in all four directions, to be informed by their sound of those who had come with desire of making representations by addressing their prayers to him...beggars became able to support others clearly even the Lord of speech does not have the ability to speak .

"Even to this day if one of the songs which he composed for the voice is heard tears roll on the eye-lashes even of his enemies"

houses of his ministers but none of them offered him any accommodation. At last he is detected in the hut of a beggar; the soldiers surround and kill him The poet says that nobody has had enjoyed so much of power and met such a shameful end (VII, 1713) But later, after he has described the end of Sussala, he says in a wrathful humour (VIII, 1331) —

tāmstān kāpurusān harsadevodantālprabhrtyalam ।
smrtyā ca kīrtayitvā ca krtabhāragrahā iva ॥
jātaduskrtasaṁsparśāh khedātkartum na śaknumah ॥
pāpātpāpīyasām yesām nāmagrahanasāhasam ॥

"By recording and describing rogues of various sorts in plenty from King Harsa's story onwards, we have become hardened like load-carriers. Yet we cannot venture to name those persons who participated in the murder of Sussala, who were worse than wicked, owing to the pain which is caused by touching upon their evil deeds "

Extraordinarily valuable is Rājataraṅginī as a cultural historical source. The descriptions that are true to life and those that have been, in at least the last two books, taken from the actual life of Kalhana permit us to get an insight into Indian cultural conditions of the 11th and 12th centuries, as few works of the Indian literature do The work is an extraordinarily rich source of information, especially for a knowledge of the religious conditions, the nature of the sects, Kashmirian popular faiths, the snake-cult, burning of widows, etc We learn from him about law, administration, affairs of the officials, etc too[1].

The great work of Kalhana was continued in the 15th and the 16th centuries by chroniclers Jonarāja wrote one Rājatarangiṇī that extends the history of the Kashmirian princes down upto the reign of Sultān Zainu-l-'ābidīn [1417-67 A D.] The author died in 1459 A D. before completion of the work. His disciple Śrīvara wrote the Jaina-Rājatarangiṇī, which, in four chapters, contains an account of the years beginning from 1459 upto 1486 A.D Śrīvara has slavishly imitated Kalhana. Both of the works stand in every respect deep

1 Cf. Jolly in Gurupūjākaumudī, p 84 ff, Winternitz, WZKM 16, 1902, 411 ff. and "Die Frau in den indischen Religionen" (Archiv fur Frauenkunde III, 1917, Special offprint, Leipzig 1920), p 66 ff [On the sources of Kalhana's information, see S K De, HSL, p 355]

below their model. Deeper below stands the Rājāvalipatākā, that was begun by Prājyabhatta and was completed by his desciple Śuka after Kashmir was annexed by Emperor Akbar in 1586 A.D.[1].

Other historical or half-historical works deserve to be mentioned briefly. In the first half of the 12th century Jalhana, [metioned by Mankhaka (XXV, 75)], in his poem Somapālavilāsa has described the life of King Somapāla of Rājapurī near Kashmir who had fought against Sussala, the Kashmirian prince[2]. Towards the close of the 12th century A.D. was written the historical poem Prthvīrājavijaya[3] that describes the seize of Ajmīr and Ḍilhī by Cāhumāna King Pṛthvīrāja, who died in 1193 A D. [The work that is not complete] may have been written between 1178 and 1200 A.D and was popular in the 14th and 15th centuries[4]. In his epic poem Kumārapālacarita, called also Dvyāśrayakāvya[5], that is written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prākrit, the learned Jaina monk Hemacandra proves himself simultaneously a poet, "historian" and grammarian in the two languages. The poem has 20 cantos in Sanskrit and 8 cantos in Prākrit. The first seven cantos are to serve as illustrations to the rules of the first seven sections of his Sanskrit grammar, whilst the eighth canto stands in a similar relation to the author's grammar of Prākrit. The work contains a history of the Caulukyas of Anhilvād [Anahilḷapura] and particularly of Kumārapāla. In cantos XVI to XX, that are devoted to the latter, this prince is extolled above

1 These chronicles have been published with the Edition princeps of Kalhana's Rājatarangiṇī, Calcutta 1835, Cf Buhler, Report 61, Stein, Rājatarangiṇī Transl Vol II, p 373 f [S K. De, HSL, p 359]

2. Rājatar VIII, 621 ff Jalhana has been referred to by Mankha as a member of the sabhā of his brother Alaṁkāra (see above, p 86) [Cf. Krishnamacharya p 44]

[3. Ed S K Belvalkar, Calcutta 1914-22 The editor thinks that its author was one Jayānaka Jayaratha (1st quarter of the 13th century A D) In V 50 he has been cited Recent edition of the work has been brought out G H Ojha and S C Guleri (Ajmer 1941) with the commentary of Jonarāja]

4 Cf Bühler, Report 62 ff, J Morison, WZKM 7, 1893, 168 ff, Har Bilas Sarda, JRAS 1913, 259 ff There is only one MS of the work, in which the name of the author does not occur Jonarāja wrote a commentary on this work in the 15th century.

[5 The Prākrta Dvyāśrayakāvya with the commentary of Pūrnakalasagani edited by S P Pandit, BSS 60, 1900 the Sanskrit Dvyāśrayakāvya, 5th ed by A V Kathavate, BSS 69, 1915 and 76, 1921 with the commentary of Abhayatilakagani]

all as a pious Jaina, who prohibited bloody sacrifices and trading in flesh, got errected Jaina temples etc. The last two cantos contain moral and religious reflections From the concluding portion of the work it is evident that Kumārapāla was full in life and at the peak of his fame when the poem was written. Hence it could not have been written before 1163 A D.[1].

The Kīrtikaumudī[2], a biography of Vastupāla, minister of the Vāghelā kings Lavanaprasāda and Vīradhavala, written by Someśvaradeva, who lived between 1179 and 1262 A D., covers the history of the Vāghelā dynasty of Gujarat. The poet, who refers to himself as the chief priest of the king of Gujarat, is also the author of many inscriptions that are dated 1241 and 1255 A D. One of these inscriptions contains a stanza from Kīrtikaumudī. Although the work is simply a panegyric of a liberal minister, who had literary interest, it is not devoid of poetical worth and brings to our knowledge the history of the Caulukyas[3]. It throws much side-light on the life of eminent Indians of the 13th century. Someśvaradeva is the author also of the romantic epic Surathotsava[4] in 15 cantos. Though the plot of the poem is fictitious it has perhaps a historical background. In the last canto the poet gives the history of his family, as is usual in historical and romantic epics, and concludes it with stanzas written in praise of Vastupāla To the same minister Vastupāla, who was a pious Jaina, is connected somewhat younger but written in the same 13th century, Sukṛtasamkīrtana of Arisimha[5] This "Praise

1. Bürgess, Ind Ant 4, 1875 71 ff, 110ff 232ff, 265 ff gives extracts from the Sanskrit poem. Cf Buhler, Hemacandra, p 18 f, 43

[There is another Kumārapālacarita by Jinasimhasūri, composed in 1265 A D (ed. Hiralal Hamsarāj, Jamnagar; yet another Kumārapālacarita by Cāritrasundara, Bhavanagar 1914 .Cf S K De HSL p 362 See the same on other works of Kumārapāla]

2 Published by A V Kathavate, BSS No 25, 1883 The German transl by A Haack, Kirttikaumudī, der Mondschein des Ruhmes, (printed and published by R Muntzberg, Ratibor 1892) is not to be found in the market

3 Cf Buhler Ind Ant 6, 1877, 186 ff, Ep Ind 1, 20 ff

4 Published in Km 73, 1902

5 Cf G Bühler, Das Sukṛtasamkīrtana des Arisimha, SWA 1889 [Ed Jaina Ātmānanda Sabhā Series, Bhavnagar 1917 See also S K De, Sanskrit Poetics, I, p 210 f]

of the Noble Acts" is an epic in 11 cantos, evidently of mediocre merit, but not an unimportant poem for the history of Gujarat.

There exists one Vastupālacarita written on the life of Vastupāla by Jinaharsa. Vastupāla has been presented here as a statesman, warrior, philanthropist, constructor of temples, protector of poets and poet. He got established a big library in which he collected the largest possible number of literary works Stanzas written by him are cited in anthologies. His great epic (mahākāvya) Naranārāyanānanda[1] describes the friendship of Arjuna and Krṣna and abduction of Subhadrā by Arjuna. It was written in between 1220 and 1230 A.D

[The epic Vasantavilāsa mahākāvya of Bālacandrasūri[2] makes a mention of the death of Vastupāla. The poet who is his contemporary describes his battles and his pilgrimages as well as his generosity.]

The historical epics are not always dedicated to rulers or ministers. Such one is the Jagadūcarita of Sarvānanda, the biography of a simple merchant who did much for his native town in Gujarat when he got the walls of the city built anew and during the terrible famine of the years 1256-1258 he worked much for mitigation of the trouble. Although the work has only seven cantos, it is called a "great epic" (mahākāvya) and shows the same deficiency in the matter of language, poetics and metrics, as other Sanskrit poems of Jaina monks of later centuries do. The author may have lived 80 to 100 years after the events of the second half of the 14th century described by him. The wealthy merchant Jagadū is above all an ideal Jaina layman and is extolled as such. In the history of this merchant wonderful stories and legends have been interlaced exactly in the same manner as would have been done with respect to some king or saint In any case, however, we find in the work a nucleus of history, as has been shown by Bühler[3].

[In the second half of the same 14th century the poetess Gangādevī wrote the historical epic Madhurāvi-

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[1 GOS II, 1916]

[2. Ed C D Dalal in GOS, 7, 1917 On Bālacandra, see above II, trans. p 347, 548, 591]

3 Indian Studies I the Jagaḍūcharita of Sarvānanda, a historical romance from Gujarāt, SWA 1892.

jaya also called Vīrakampārāyacarita[1]. The writer was the queen of Kampana of Kanjeeveram (c. 1367 A.D.) and she has described in it the historic deeds of her husband, including his march against King Campa of Kāñcī and against the Muhammadan ruler of Madurārājya.]

The historical poem Hammīrakāvya of Jaina Nayacandra was written in the 15th century. In it the poet has described the heroic acts of Hammīra, who was killed in his battle against the Muhammadans The poem breathes severe hatred for the Muhammadans, whilst it describes the tragic death of Hammīra. Before he met his heroic end, his wives and daughters burnt themselves[2].

[An historical epic of the 16th cetury is the Rāstraudhavamśa kāvya of Rudrakavi (published in the Gaekwad's Oriental series, No V, 1917) In 20 cantos it narrates the history of Bāgulas of Mayūragiri from the beginning of the Rāstraudha dynasty down upto Nārāyanashah, the patron of the poet.]

The panegyric poem of King Bhāvasimha, a contemporary of Emperor Akbar, is the Bhāvavilāsa[3] of Nyāyavācaspati Rudra. To the "historical poems" belong lastly also the biographies, like Rasikamaraṇa, an epic in 18 cantos written by Raghunātha in the 16th century, in which the life and activity of the Vaisnava teacher Durvāsas are praised[4].

The number of historical poems that we have is comparatively small But it cannot be said that because more such works

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[1 Ed Harihara Śāstrī and Śrīnivāsa Śāstrī Trivendrum, 1916]

2 Cf N J Kirtane, Ind Ant 8, 1879, 55 ff [and also Bombay 1879]

3 Published in Km , Part II 1886, 111-126 This very Rudra is also the author of one Bhramaradūta [cf Haraprasad Śastrī JASB 6 1910, 31 ff]

4 Cf. Aufrecht, Bodl Cat I, 148 ff [We may here make a mention of Vīrabhānūdayakāvya, a poem in 12 cantos, containing historical dates of Rewa of the Moghul period, of Mādhava (cf Hīrānanda Śāstrī in the Mem of the Arch Soc of Ind , No 21), and Raghunāthābhyudaya (ed T R Chintamani, Madras 1934), a poem in 12 cantos of the poetess Rāmabhadrāmba, in which certain incidents from the life of Raghunātha of Tanjore are described and which was written in the 17th century A D

are not available to us probably they did not exist at all. On the other hand, the fact is that interest for old myths and heroic tales has always been greater than for temporal lords, and, therefore, such works particularly when a dynasty became extinct, were no more copied

The epics were probably most suitable for glorification of the activities of the patrons Yet there are several chronicles that have been written in prose[1]. A modern prose work of this type is the Ksitīśavamśāvalicarita[2], in which the history of the ancestors of King Krṣnacandra of Navadvīpa in Bengal, his battles with the Muhammadans and the fate of the individual rulers, including also all sorts of court stories, anecdotes and even fabulous stories of miracles have been narrated This chronicle, apparently written in the middle of the 18th century A D., reaches upto the year 1728, that is the year of accession to the throne of Krsnacandra, but breaks so abruptly that it is hardly complete. The work is written in simple prose, that is marked by a number of very long compounds for the purpose of giving it the appearance of literary prose.

LYRIC POETRY[3]

Lyric is the oldest Indian poetical composition known to us. The hymns to the gods and the sacrificial and magical songs of the Veda are the oldest of the extant Indian poetical compositions. Although the Vedas are essentially religious, we find in them considerable amount of secular leanings The Usas-hymns and the love-spell ballads sometimes remind us of the later lyric and the hymns referring to war magic in the Atharvaveda sound almost like very old war songs Centuries later we find gems of lyrical

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1 On the historical novel Harsacarita, see below in the section "Ornate Novels"

2 A Chronicle of the Family of Rājā Krishnachandra of Navadvīpa, Bengal Ed and translated by W Pertsch, Berlin 1852

3 Samples of Indian lyric in German translation are found among others in Th Aufrecht, Bluthen aus Hindustan, Bonn 1873 and Beitrage zur Kenntnis indischer Dichter, ZDMG 36, 1882, 361 ff and in Ind. Stud 17, 1885 168 ff, L von Schroeder, Mangoblüten, Stuttgart 1892, Joh Hertel, Indische gedichte, Stuttgart 1900, J J Meyer, Kāvyasamgraha, Leipzig, Lotusverlag, [Indische Gedichte aus vier Jahrtausenden in deutscher Nachbildung von Otto von Glasenapp, etc. Berlin 1925, P E Pavolini, Poeti d'amore nell' India, Florenze, 1900, and S. K De, Treatment of Love in Sanskrit Literature. Calcutta 1929]

poems full of deep sentiments, religious fervour and such internal natural feeling that for all the time has become special characteristic of Indian poetry in the songs of monks and nuns in Buddhist literature. We come by a love-song too in a Buddhist Sutta and find traces of a drink-song in a Buddhist Jātaka[1]. In the Aṇuogadārasutta of the Jaina canons some love-songs have been quoted as illustrations of sentiments in poetry[2]. The Jaina monk Hemacandra, in a narrative of the Pariśiṣṭaparvan has preserved for us match-songs to the accompaniment of the lute after the style of the Schnaderhüpfel of Germany.

The history of Indian metrics too makes it clear that love-lyrics were not only cultured early in India but also that they had developed a high degree of skill and poetic merit[3]. We have before us a fragment of the composition of the grammarian Patañjali, and that has been beautifully translated into German by Th. Aufrecht :[4]—

apī vijahīhi dṛḍhopagūham tyaja navasaṁgamabhīruvallabham |
arunakarodgama eṣa vartate varatano saṁpravadanti kukkutāh ||

"Loose the arms, that encircle closely about me;
Bashful darling, I must let thee go;
Heareth thou, the cry of the waking cock;
And how shines forth the red morning sun[5]."

The oldest love-song certainly must not have been composed in Sanskrit, but in popular languages. And it is why that a greater part of the Indian lyric poetry belongs to Prākrit literature. But in old Indian literature, however, a few traces of real folk-songs are preserved for us in Prākrit lyric poems. The great bulk of even Prākrit lyrics too certainly belongs to ornate court poetry, exactly as the whole of Sanskrit lyric. The ornate metres originated first of all on the soil of the latter, whilst the popular and the Prākrit poetry

1 See above II, 79 ff, transl 101 ff; 32, trans 42 (Dīghanikāya 21) and 116, transl p 143 (Jātaka 512)

2. Weber, Indische Stud. 16, 154 ff; Hertel, Ausgewählte Erzahlungen aus Hemacandras Parisistaparvan, p 204 ff.

3. See above, p 28, transl p. 32 [Partly quoted under Pānini I, 3 48]

4 Ujjvaladatta's Commentary on the Uṇādisūtras, ed, London 1859, p 150 Cf Weber, Ind. Studien 8, 172 f; Jacobi, ZDMG 48, 445

[5. The proper translation would be :
"Away with hard embrace, leave the husband who is timid in respect of the union that is recent It is dawn O beautiful-limbed girl, loudly declare the cocks"

employed mainly the simple Āryā metre, the proper metre for melodious songs[1]

Fortunately for us there is preserved in the Sattasaī[2] or the "Seven Hundred Stanzas" of Hāla Sātavāhana a collection of Prākrit songs, that gives us a nice representation of the way in which the people in ancient India sang about pleasure and sorrow of love As Prākrit was not a popular language, but probably a literary dialect formed on the model of and in conscious imitation of the spoken popular dialects, these Prākrit lays are not in fact folk-songs in the real sense of the word, but probably popular models of imitated creations of Indian ornate poets, who strove not only for describing the life and acitivity, above all the life of love, but would also reflect in the feelings and sentiments of the country girls and country lads, the herdsmen and cowherdesses, the female gardener, miller's wife, the hunter and the labourer. In this collection of songs (according to A. Wilbrandt) "the peaceful and private life of the Indian people, particularly in village and in nature, is described in songs and is sung; then these quatrains were intended to be sung. All the landscapes, the seasons and the pleasure and pain of weather play their part, but there is always the urging of the heart Feelings that are most tender and most

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1 The Āryā metre was first taken into Sanskrit poetry from Prākrit poetry, see Jacobi, ZDMG 40, 1886, 336 ff There is an inscription that proves the existence of lyric poetry in old Prākrit . see Lüders, Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen, p 62

2 The Sanskrit rendering of this title, that is in Prākrit, is Saptaśatī Other titles are . Gāthāsaptaśatī, Gāthākośa, Saptaśataka. Edition and German translation by A. Weber, AKM. V 1870, VII, 1881, cf ZDMG 26, 1872, 735 ff., 28, 1874, 345 ff, Ind Stud 16, 1883, and Deutsche Rundschau vol 42, 1885, p 223 ff The translations of Weber are wholly literal and have nothing of poetical reproduction Specimens of meterial translation have been given by H Brunnhofer, Über den Geist der indischen Lyrik, Leipzig, 1882, p 24 ff, and G Meyer, Essays und Studien, Strassburg 1885, p. 289 ff Brunnhofer has mostly doubled the small stanzas and he has rather composed his own poems on the basis of those of Ind a, whilst Meyer has often made his rendering more compact than the Indian poem from the stanzas of Hāla Adolph Wilbrandt has done the best (in a small selection of 32 stanzas published in the "Neuen Freien Presse" in Vienna on April 19, 1899 and in a second selection of 62 stanzas as published in Vol 87, 1900 in the "Westermanns Illustrierten Monatschriften), here the Indian stanzas have literally and faithfully been reproduced, and yet the translation is a poetical reproduction The text with the commentary of Gangādharabhatta has also been published in Km 21, 1889 [The satakas IV-VII with Harikāmrapitāmbara's commentary have been published by Jagadish Lal Shāstrī, Lahore 1942; Text with an elaborate introduction and Marathi trans by Jogalekar, Poona 1956 Cf Keith, HSL p 223 ff]

sensuous are often frankly expressed, the tender feeling dominates. It is not a man who often speaks, but it is a female voice that we hear in it more and more; the women who speak are old, young, friend, mother, daughter and aunt. They speak to young men and girls who are in love, to other girls or to their ownselves. They probably talk about so many things, yet the theme of the talk is always love."

Generally each of the stanzas is complete in itself, only now and then two or three such stanzas are combined to form one song. In the most concised form, in a few words a sentiment is expressed, a lament is made or the pleasure of the highest sensuous charms of love is described. A small picture, very often drawn with a few strokes from actual life, is brought in There we hear the words of a damsel in love who gives expression to her feeling of anguish on account of love or to her longings She requests the moon to touch her with the same ray-hands with which she had touched also her lover who is tarrying in a distant land. As in the whole of Indian love lyrics[1], so in these songs too, the wailing of the husband or of the beloved always occurs, likewise the longing of a man living in a distant place for his beloved staying in a foreign land So a traveller speaks to the cloud to thunder over his head as much as it likes, but it should not kill his beloved A woman counts on the fingers of her hands and feet the days that her husband has been away and weeps because there remains no finger for counting further (307) A young woman says.—

kallam kila kharahiao pavasihi piotti sunnai janammi |
taha vaddha bhaavaī nise jaha se kallam via na hoi ||

"They say that my hard-hearted husband is going away early in the morning tomorrow; sacred night, please extend theyself, that there never comes the dawn."

(Transl. according to A Wilbrandt)

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1 The same is still the case with popular poems in India, See F Rosen, die Indrasabhā des Amānat Leipzig 1892, p 28, where as an example has been quoted the fine Indian song

"My husband went out in search of gold, and my house became desolate he found no gold and has not returned back and my hair has become silver"
Km 1, 46

Another woman addresses her female friend in the following words.—

ajjaṁ pi tāva ekkaṁ mā māṁ vārehi piasahi ruantiṁ |
kallihiṁ una tammi gae jaī na muā tā na rodissaṁ ||

"O dear friend, only till today, only upto this day, do not prevent me from weeping In case I do not die when it is morning and he is away I shall weep no more[1]."
(Trans. according to Wilbrandt.)

What tenderness springs forth from the following picture·—

The beloved husband has returned back home, but the wife does not decorate hereself for his reception, since she does not like to hurt her unfortunate lady-neighbour, whose lover is still on his sojourn. She further sings many pathetic little songs in her continuous separation. A young farmer, whose wife is dead, asks the room to restore his former amorous pleasures, as the hiding place of his stolen property. The deepest is the idea expressed in a few words, that according to the translation of W i l b r a n d t can be rendered as:—

"When of the two, who have grown up closely together gradually for a long time in pleasure and pain, one dies, that one lives, but that (one who lives) is dead[2]."

samasokkhadukkhaparivaddhiānam kālena ṭūḍdhapemmāṇaṁ |
mihunānam marai jam tam khu jiai iaraṁ muam hoi ||

The following little song shows that the husband in a foreign land is not always an object of lamemtation for the wife left by him at home:—

"About me, the night, that is unkind, envelops everything;
Away is (my) husband, vacant is my house;
I am afraid; they may hence abduct me away;
So, O Darling, for my protection, please come in[3]."
(Translation according to that of G. M e y e r ; Km. 4, 35).

The following song too sings the secret love·—

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1. Km 6, 2

2 Km 2, 42 W e b e r compares with this stanza (142) the beautiful expression from Bhavabhūti's Mālatīmādhava

"He, about whom one who loves him thinks, is not dead".

[3 Literal transl of the stanza —Of the couple, who have deep love developed (for each other), who have grown.]

coriaraasaddhālu mā puttı bbhaṃasu andhaārammı ।
ahiaaraṁ lakkhıjjasi tamabharie dīvasīhavva ॥

"O girl, I caution you,
If you meet (your lover) in the dark,
The glitter will betray you,
Since your beautiful eyes are sparkling."

(Transl according to that of Meyer, Km. 5, 15)

It is understood that in many songs the theme is about the quarrel and skirmishes of the lovers. Here are two examples:—

de suaṇu pasia ehniṁ puno vı sulahāī rūsıavvāım ।
esā maacchı maalañchanujjalā galaı chanarāī ॥

"Can'st you quarrel still in the morning;
Do you yet have in mind there will be dawn again;
This illuminated full-moon night,
In amorous sport, please let it pass."

(Translated according to G Meyer, Km. 5, 66);

"When the stars were fading, I wanted to rebuke him,
I wanted to show my wrath and displeasure,
I wanted to scold him too,
And all, as you liked, you girl,
When I must not look at him."

(Transl according to that of A. Wilbrandt 743).

The following strophe Weber 498, Km 5, 98) presents a charming picture in its simplicity .

muhapecchao paī se sāvı hu savisesadaṁsaṇummaīā ।
dovı kaatthā puhaīṁ amahılapurısaṁ va maṇṇantı ॥

"He looks at her deeply into her face;
She is sunk in his vision;
Thus looking at each other in great joy
As if for them they were all alone in the world[1] "

In other songs the pleasures of love and beauty of youth have been depicted in glowing but in westerners' taste in altogether voluptuous colours. The bosom bulging out of the bodice has been compared with the moon rising

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1 W. has translated into a German verse as above The translator's rendering would be.—

"Her husband was looking at her face;
She too was maddened by gazing at him :
The two, who had attained their goal,
Seemed to feel as if the earth was devoid of women and men "

out from the clouds. The breasts of the female miller that have become dusty with flour are the two swans that have hidden their faces inside lotuses. In these songs often we find talk about bitings and scratchings as well. The crescent of the moon covered in the glue of the evening redness of the sky is compared with the nail-scratch on the bosom of a young damsel shimmering through red silk garment. They bring before our eyes the picture of family-life too The angry wife is obliged to smile when her little son with a jerk climbs on the back of her husband who has fallen at her feet. A pregnant woman, asked about her health, just casts her glance gently at her lover. A woman is enchanted to see the first little tooth of her child and shows it to her husband. In many stanzas (407, 449, 635) we find references to burning of widows While on one hand we find these pictures in which the village scenes prevail by far, we find on the other songs that belong to the city harem life, and there are many stanzas (thus 887f.) that can outright be designated as songs about courtesans.

In addition to these pictures from life of man we find in other songs pictures from nature . We find here a description of the summer midday or a touching picture of the rainy season or of the autumn in four small lines We see bees hovering about buds and blossoms. We meet with thunderstorms The pictures from the life of beasts are not rare. We find a pair of elephants in love, a bull and a cow in love, a monkey and a she-monkey in a funny situation. Shot with the arrow of a hunter, a she-antelope gazes for a long time at her consort At one place we find a peacock licking the dew-drops deposited over the blades of grass, and at another cranes with their curved neck sitting motionless, whilst they are obliged to hang their wings after it has rained. Often the picture is just a comparison. The clouds are dispersed—the Vindhyā mountain spreads out its mantle Or the earth bedecked with yellow flowers looks as if monks (with their yellow cowls) had sunk into the earth out of veneration for Buddha[1].

1. "The commentators try to find in each of these stanzas, an erotic meaning or some similar sense, although they have nothing to do with erotics Western scholars need not follow them always, even when they too often are correct."

We find a number of aphorisms in the Sattasaī. In one of these aphorisms it has appropriately been said that a miser utilizes his wealth to the same extent as a wanderer his own shadow. Other sayings describe the evils of the world. Thus it is said that it is no wonder that noble people are so rare in the world: the earth does not have so many geese as there are cranes. Another stanza (704) praises the deaf and the blind [Km. 7. 95]:

dhaṇṇā bahirā andhā te ccia jīanti māṇuse loe ।
ṇa sunanti pisuṇavaaṇaṁ khalāṇaṁ ṛddhiṁ ṇa pekkhanti ॥

"Happy are the deaf and the blind,
Who alone truly live in the world;
Since they hear not the harsh words
And do not see the prosperity of the ignoble."

Lastly there are a number of verses in this collection that have been brought in torn out from some other context; may be, they belong to some epic or dramatic composition, as for example the verses of which the love between Kṛsna and Rādhā or between Śiva and Pārvatī is the theme; or when it is said about captive women that they await rescue by some hero; or when the theme is more suitable for a narrative (as a type of fairy-tale verse), as for in the lines told about women abducted by robbers or as in those written about an unfaithful wife, who feigns scorpion-bite for the purpose of being carried to the house of her paramour for obtaining medicine (Km. 237).

The motely contents of "seven hundred stanzas" already point to the fact that here we do not have before us the work of a single writer, but that of a compiler. On the other hand, however, the songs show such a striking unified characteristic that we can in no case consider Hāla, to whom is attributed the collection, merely a compiler of an anthology, but rather a gifted redactor, who made the selection with dexterity and skill and probably gave to the stanzas the final poetical form for the first time. So is explained by the introductory stanza No. 3:—"From innumerable musical strophes, Hāla, the friend of poets, has made the collection of seven hundred beautiful (literally provid-

ed with alaṁkāras or means adornment) stanzas"[1]. Bāna too found in Hāla something more than a compiler, when in the introduction to his Harsacarita (verse 14) he says—"Sātavāhana (i.e. Hāla) with his beautiful songs composed in 101 faultless metres has built up an imperishable charming store, as (a king, an inexhaustible treasure, not collected from villages) with diamonds (of unadulterated purity)[2]. A tradition is that Bhāratī, the goddess of poetry, stayed for one and a half-day in the camp of Sātavāhana and generated taste in all people from the lowest down to the elephant-drivers and horse-grooms for Prākrit poetry and the king made his selection of 700 stanzas out of what they composed. Perhaps it will not be audacious to assume that this tradition just means that the king in fact made a collection of the songs from the mouth of the people and out of them made a selection of 700 stanzas and gave them a literary form[3].

In the purānas[4], Hāla appears as the seventeenth in the list of Āndhra - or Āndhrabhṛtya-rulers, all of whom bore the epithet Sātavāhana or Śālivāhana as their family title and who ruled in the Deccan from the middle of the 3rd century B.C. down to the beginning of the 3rd century A.D.[5]. Since

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[1 The stanza reads : *satta sattāiṁ kaïvacchaleṇa kodia majjhaārammi* l
hāleṇa viraïāiṁ sālaṁkārāṇa gāhāṇaṁ ll

2. The expression *agrāmya* "not boorish" is used intentionally for the purpose of conveying the meaning that although the poems belong to rural life, yet they are not "vulgar, crude". The verse has two meanings, hence the bracketed words in the translation.

3. Peterson (Kādambarī Ed., Introd. p. 74 ff) propounds the theory that Hāla had himself mainly composed the stanzas of the Sattasaī. In the commentaries written in later centuries, the Sattasaī is treated altogether as an anthology and in it we find names of writers of individual stanzas In respect of these names, however, the manuscripts differ very much from one another. most of them give names only in the beginning of the work and then stop. The commentaries of the Vulgata give 112 names, Bhuvanapāla gives 384 In the Km. edition the names of probable authors too are given in the gāthānukramaṇikā. Yet in many cases the names are wanting, and often Hāla himself is mentioned as the author. In the opinion of W. these names are quite unreliable A different view is that of Pischel (Grammatik der Prākrit Sprachen § 13), who concludes from the names given that the Sattasaī presupposes a very rich Prākrit literature, in which women also had their contributions.

4 F E Pargiter, The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, Oxford 1913, pp. 36, 71.

5. According to R. G. Bhandarkar (Early History of the Deccan. 2nd Ed, Bombay 1895, 31 ff., 36 ff.), the Āndhras ruled from 73 B C. upto 218 A D, according to Smith (ZDMG 56, 1902, 649 ff. and Early History 207 ff., 215 ff.) from 240 or 230 B C. to 225 A D., [according to K P. Jayaswal, JBORS, 16, 1930, pp. 258ff. and 278 ff. from 213 B C. upto 238 A D.]

Hāla[1] appears in the list approximately in the middle, he must have lived in the first or second century A.D. The correctness of this tradition is supported also by the fact that almost all the inscriptions of the Āndhra kings are in Prākrit[2]. Besides the repeated mention of the names of the Vindhya-hills and of the Godāvarī in the anthology lends further support to the view that the work of its compilation was done in the north-eastern part of the Deccan, and the Āndhras ruled just in the same region

The Sattasaī has come down to us in not less than 6 different recensions, and this points to its extraordinary popularity. These recensions differ from one another not only in respect of the form of the text and the order of stanzas, but also in that of the textual subject-matter. Only 430 verses are found in all the different recensions. From its appearance it seems that the collection originally had much of uniform character and bore the stamp of an independent work in a certain sense and it received all the form and character of a colourful anthology of Prākrit poems, first of all in the hands of the copyists, who collected Prākrit verses from miscellaneous sources and increased the bulk of the incomplete manuscript with their own collections. When we speak of the Sattasaī as a work perhaps written in the 2nd century A.D. we mean by it only the basic stock of the text. At the most only the stanzas that are found in all the recensions can be considered to belong to such a high antiquity[3].

Dandin states that Māhārāṣṭrī is the "best Prākrit" and this supports the view that the Sattasaī is the oldest work written in the Māhārāstrī dialect, and this points also to its far remote antiquity[4]

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1 Weber, who thinks that Sattasaī must have been written in the 3rd century A D at the earliest and in the 7th century A D at the latest, is of the opinion that since the word Hāla means "ploughman", the collection got this name from the country songs Smith, ZDMG 56, 660f places him in about 60 or 70 A D

2 Like Vikramāditya, who has been made the central point of Sanskrit literature, the name of Sātavāhana later got associated with the whole of Prākrit poetry of later years But since Sātavāhana (or Śālivāhana) is the family-title of all the Āndhra kings, all the traditions that refer to King Sātavāhana (e g in the Kathāsaritsāgara and in Prabandhacintāmani) do not have any historical value The Jainas have naturally made him a Jaina Saint Cf Ras S.V N Mandalik in JBRAS 10, 1873, 127 ff

3 On the high antiquity of the Prākrit lyrics in general see also Konow, GGA, 1894 476f. and Karpūramañjarī, p 192f.

4. Māhārāṣṭrī is the dialect of Mahārāṣṭra, the land of the Marāṭhas,

The great popularity of the work as well as uncertainty of the text is proved not only by its different manuscripts and recensions, but also by the large number of quotations from Hāla found in works of poetics. A majority of such quotations found in these works are not traceable in any of the known recensions[1]. The manner in which the rhetoricians quote Hāla, although he is not a Sanskrit poet, proves the high respect that the Sattasaī enjoyed at the hands of the scholars of poetics[2].

The dramas and anthologies show that Prākrit lyrics existed also in later times. Hemacandra in his Prākrit grammar cites a number of beautiful little stanzas in the Apabhramśa dialect[3]. We do not know the time when they were composed. But in their nature they differ so little from the songs of Sattasaī that some specimens are given here :

bitīe mai bhaniya tuhuṁ mā karu vaṅkī diṭṭhi ।
puṭṭhi sakannī bhallī jiva marai hiai paiṭṭhi ॥

"O girl, I told you do not send side-glances at me ; for those glances entering into the heart (of others) kill them as a spear with sharp bent edge" (VIII, 4, 330).

vippiāāraū jaī vi piu to vi taṁ āṇahi ajju ।
aggina daddhā jaīvi gharu to tem aggiṁ kajju ॥

"Friend, bring to me today my beloved, though he has offended me; for one has to do with fire even though it has burnt one's house." (VIII, 4, 343).

bhallā huā ju māriā bahini mahārā kantu ।
lajjejjaṁ tu vayaṁsiahu jai bhaggā ghara entu ॥

"It was well, O sister, that my husband was killed (in battle). I would have been put to shame in the

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in whose, metropolis, Pratiṣṭhāna, the Āndhra-kings resided. Since the work is written in musical stanzas (gāhā=gāthā) the linguistic form of the dialect has become problematic In the dramas too the musical stanzas are always in the Māhārāṣṭri dialect Cf. G Garrez in JA, p 6, part XX, 1872, 197ff. and Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen §§ 2 and 12 f.

1. Cf Weber's edition, introduction, p. XLIII ff. The same writer in Ind Stud 16, 202 ff. has given a list of the alaṁkāras employed in the Sattasaī

2 Ānandavardhana, particularly selects his examples for suggested meaning, irony etc from the Sattasaī, see Dhvanyāloka I, 4, II, 35; III, 16; 39.

3. R Pischel, Materialen zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṁśa, AGGW, N F Vol V, No 4, Berlin 1902. (On Apabhramśa lyrics of Jainas and Buddhists, see Jacobi—Sanatkumāracaritam, Introduction p. XVIII ff.)

presence of my friends if he had returned home defeated." (VIII, 4, 351).

vrāsu mahārisi eu bhanai jaï suisatthu pamānu ।
māyahaṁ calaṇanavantāhaṁ divi divi gaṅgā ṇhāṇu ॥

"Vyāsa, the great sage, tells that if the Vedas and śāstras are to be regarded as authoritative, then those who salute the feet of their mothers get the merit of bathing in the Gangā everyday (VIII, 4, 399).

Not from the Prākrit lyrics, but parallel with it, developed the Sanskrit lyrics. But since we know about the famous prized Buddhist songs of Aśvaghoṣa only in heresays, and about those of Mātṛceṭa only in fragments[1] and as only a few stanzas of Bhāsa's songs are found available to us in anthologies, for us, the first great lyric poet of Sanskrit is Kālidāsa. In his epic and dramatic poems Kālidāsa is more or less a lyric writer, and probably the best pieces that he composed in the form of musical poems are contained in many portions of his epics and particularly in his dramas. Kālidāsa is always at the summit of his art in places where he has depicted sentiment and where nature-description and human-feelings are mixed up together in pictures. His most famous lyric poem, however, is the Meghadūta "the Poem of the Cloud-Messenger"[2], that is counted by Indians among his great epics

1 See above II, 203, 211 f, transl 258-9, 271 ff

2 The exact title is (*meghadūtam kāvyam*) Commonly the title is given as the Meghadūta, the "Cloud-Messenger" Editions. by J. Gildemeister (with Latin Glossary), Bonn 1841; with critical notes and vocabulary by A F. Stenzler, Breslau 1874, with the commentary of Mallinātha by N B Godabole and K. P Paraba, 2nd Ed Bombay 1886, NSP The best edition is that of E Hultzsch with the excellent and oldest commentary of Vallabhadeva and a Sanskrit—English vocabulary, London 1911 Translations —in English verses by H H. Wilson, Calcutta 1813, with numerous interesting parallels from Classical and English poetry, that the translator gives in his notes The second edition (1843) is reprinted as a supplement to the very valuable German prose translation with notes by C Schutz, Bielefeld 1859 (Wilson's translation has again been published in his works, vol 4) Metrical German translations of Max-Muller (Konigsberg 1847), of E Meier, Die Klassischen Dichtungen der Inder, III, 90 ff, of L. Fritze (Chemnitz 1879), with the help of a manuscript of the prose translation of Stenzler), very much free and abridged by Max Müler in the "Buhne and Welt", V, 1, 1903, p 17 ff French by A. Guerinot. Paris 1902 An anonymous English translation in the Pandit, Vol. II. English prose translations of Jacob, Pathak and Nanaargikara have been mentioned by Hultzsch, ibid p XIV. [With Daksināvartanātha's commentary, ed. T. Ganapati Śāstrī, TSS 1919; with Pūrnasarasvatī's commentary, ed

(mahākāvyas). It can be designated as an "epic inasmuch as the lyric stanzas are clothed in an epic form. The subject-matter is as follows:—

A Yaksa, i.e. a class of celestial beings who are in the service of the god Kubera, had offended his master by some dereliction in the discharge of his duty, and for this his lord banished him for a year. He is obliged to leave his home and wife and to wander in the Rāma-hill in the south In the eighth month of his banishment, just in the beginning of the rainy season, he sees a thundering cloud, that is moving from the south towards his homeland that was in the north; then he implores the cloud to convey his message to his aggrieved wife separated from him. He accurately describes to the cloud the path that he will have to traverse to reach his home in the Kailāsa hill, where in the city of Alakā is situated his castle, in which his wife is sorrowing all alone. This offers the poet a great opportunity to describe nature in a splendid manner. With particular affection he tarries when he describes his own native town Ujjayinī and Alakā, the city of the Yakṣas. The poet throughout fills our mind with wonder with his forceful pictures and similes. The black cloud spreads along the stream that resembles the pearl-band of the earth, in the middle of which shines forth a black saphire. The Kailāsa, with its snow-covered peaks resembling waterlilies, rises up in the sky and looks every night like the thundering laughter of Śiva[1]. The city of Alakā, that is situated by the side of the Kailāsa hill, down which flows the river Gaṅgā, resembles a damsel lying in the lap of her lover (the hill, with her garment (the Gaṅgā) hanging down. The mansions surrounded by the clouds in the rainy season are comparable with a woman's dark hairs interwoven with a net of pearls. After the Yaksa has

K V. Krisnamacharya, Shrirangam 1909; with the comms of Mallinātha and Caritravardhana, ed Nārāyana Śāstrī Khiste, Vārānasī, 1931; Eng. trans. G J. Somayājī Madras 1934.]

1. Indian poets always describe laughter as white. We may approximately say: "Like the white shining teeth of loudly laughing Śiva", although the whiteness does not belong only to the white teeth, but perhaps rather also to the face that is shining on account of her laugh.

accurately described to the cloud the city and his castle, he begins to describe the beauty of his wife, as he imagines her after the prolonged separation. And lastly he communicates the text of the message that he should convey with his thundering voice to his beloved. He asks him to speak to her how he always anxiously thinks about her:—

śyāmāsvaṅgaṁ cakitahariṇapreksite dṛṣṭipātaṁ
gaṇḍacchāyāṁ śaśini śikhināṁ barhabhāreṣu keśān ।
utpaśyāmi pratanuṣu nadīvīciṣu bhrūvilāsān
hantaikasthaṁ kvacidapi na te bhīru sādṛśyamasti ॥
tvāmālikhya praṇayakupitāṁ dhāturāgaiḥ śilāyām
ātmānaṁ te caranapatitaṁ yāvadicchāmi kartum ।
asraistāvanmuhurupacitairdṛṣṭirālipyate me
krūrastasminnapi na sahate saṅgamaṁ nau kṛtāntaḥ ॥

"Perhaps I may see in the priyaṅgu creeper thy body, thy glance in the look of an amazed antelope, the shade of thy temple in the moon, thy lock of hairs in the tail of a peacock, the sport of thy eye-brows, in the slender waves of the river; but alas, O timid one, thy resemblance is not available in obeity at one place."

"Very often when I desire to paint thee in saffron colour over a slab of stone, showing thee in an angry pose in our quarrel of love, and to make myself fall upon thy feet (in order to apease thee), my vision gets obstructed with long deposited tears: the cruel god of fate does not tolerate our union even there[1]."

bhūyāścāha tvamapi śayane kaṇṭhalagnā purā me
nidrāṁ gatvā kimapi rudatī sasvanaṁ viprabuddhā ।
sāntarhāsam kathitamasakṛtpṛcchataśca tvayā me
dṛṣṭaḥ svapne kitava ramayankāmapi tvaṁ mayeti ॥

"He further says—once when you were although clinging to my neck (on the bed), you fell asleep and then woke up with a cry for some reason or other; and when I asked you repeatedly (the reason of that), you said with a suppressed smile — you rogue, I saw you, in my dream, frolicking with some other woman[2]."

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1. Translation into English from German by Max Müller.
2. Translation into English from German by L Fritze.

Goethe, who had known about the "Cloud-Messenger" through Wilson's translation expressed his admiration for the poem in the "Zahmen Xenien" in the following verse:

"Was will man denn vergnüglicheres wissen !
Sakontala, Nala, die muss man kussen;
Und Megha-Dūta, den Wolkengesandten,
Wer schickt ihn nicht gern zu seelenverwandten[1] !"

"What more pleasant, shall we know,
Than Śakuntalā, Nala, that we must kiss;
And Megha-Dūta, the cloud-messenger,
Who is there who will not like to send him to his soul !"

Alexander von Humboldt[2] praises "the admirable trueness to nature" with which the first advent of the cloud in the beginning of the rainy season is described in the Meghadūta. L. W. Schroeder[3] vouchsafes the value of the poem as "a treasure of unestimable value" and G. Meyer[4] describes it as "the most beautiful bewailing of a yearning lover, that one can read."

As regards the Indians themselves they have all the time esteemed the poem as a piece of extraordinarily high value. It is a thing that points to the circumstances in which the text has not come down to us in an unmutilated form, and that in it verses got interpolated already quite early[5].

The fame of the Meghadūta in India is proved also by the extraordinarily numerous imitations of the poem in later-day Indian literature. So is the poet Dhoī, the writer of

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1. About Meghadūta in the Noten und Abhandlungen zum Divan (Jubiläumsausgabe, Vol 5, p. 360) Goethe says: "The first acquaintance with such a work always makes an epoch in our life". And in the article "Indische und Chinesische Dichtung" (Vol 37, p. 210) he speaks in praise of the poem that it "describes purely human relationship" Cf. also P. Th Hoffmann, Der indische und der deutsche Geist, p 28 ff, 46.

2. Kosmos II, 40 He compares his own lovely description of the advent of the rainy season in the tropics of America in his "Ansichten der Natur" (2nd Ed 1826, I, 33 ff.), that he wrote before he had read Kālidāsa's Meghadūta.

3. ILC 548 ff.

4. Essays und Studien II, 99.

5. The history of the text is given clearly in the edition Hultzsch. On textual criticism see also Macdonell, JRAS 1913, 176 ff. and Hari Chand, Kālidāsa, p. 238 ff.

Pavanadūta[1] or Wind-Messenger", in which a Gandharva girl sends her message by the wind to King Laksmanasena, whom she loves. Another imitation, that is rather slavish, of the Meghadūta is the poem Śukasamdeśa[2] of a poet Laksmīdāsa, in which a parrot takes the place of the cloud. [Then there is one Bhramarasandeśa "The Bee-Messenger of Vāsudeva.]

Haṁsadūta of Rūpagosvāmin (16th century), Padāṅkadūta of Krsnas' arman Sārvabhauma (written in 1723 A.D), two different poems bearing the title Uddhavadūta, one of an unknown poet and the other of a poet Mādhava, who probably lived in the 17th century, are devoted to the love of Rādhā and Krsna[3]. More important than these and seemingly later imitations, in spite of their age, are the Jaina poems Pārśvābhyudaya and Nemidūta[4] already mentioned before. The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa was not only translated into Singhalese even by the Buddhists of Ceylon but was also imitated by them[5]. The fame of Kālidāsa extended upto Tibet as well and we have a Tibetan translation

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1 Edited by M Chakravarti in JASB, N S 1, 1905, 41-71. See above p 56, Pischel, H L 33 ff and Aufrecht, ZDMG 54, 1900, 616 ff, where nine more imitations of the Meghadūta are enumerated A second poem with the title Pavanadūta by a poet Vādicandra Sūri has been published in Km, Part XIII, 9-24 [On Dhoī, see Vidhuśekhara Bhattacharya, IHQ, 2, 1926, p 878 ff]

2 Edited by Mahārāja Rāmavarmā of Travancore in the JRAS 1884, 401 ff, where is provided a complete list of other similar imitations (Sandesas, i e, messages) The work is well-known in Malabar, see Rāmavarmā, JRAS, 1910, 638

3 Cf Eggeling, Ind Off Cat p 1467 ff, Haeberlin 374-400, 401-409, 323-347, 348-373 In the Padānka or Krsnapadānkadūta have been described the bewailings of a cowherdess, who discovered the footprint of Krsna in the grove and is reminded thereby of her absent lover In the Manodūta the poet Visnudāsa makes his own mind the messenger for the purpose of giving expression to his own feeling of devotion to Visnu; see Ind Off Cat p 1470 Another poem bearing the same title and composed by Vrajanātha (1758) is not really an imitation of Meghadūta It describes the message that Draupadī sends to Lord Krsna, while her garment is being removed from her body, see Km, Part XII, pp 84-130, Krishnamacharya 128 f There are number of verses in the Jātaka No 297 (cf Pischel, HL, 28 note), in which an impaled man gives a passing crow a love-complaint to his beloved · they are neither imitation nor prototype to these "messages", but are interesting parallels to these

4 See above, II, 338, transl p 512.

5 In Singhalese there is "Peacock-Messenge" (14th century) and a number of other "Messages"; see Geiger, Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen (Grundriss 1,10), p. 9, Hultzsch, loc cit p. VIII f

of the Meghadūta, probably written in the 13th century A.D. included in the Tanjūr[1].

With regard to the numerous other lyric poems that are attributed to Kālidāsa, it is doubtful whether the name of the great poet is correctly associated with them. Of them the Ṛtusaṃhāra[2] "Short description of the Seasons", on account of its antiquity, as also on account perfection may possibly be easily included in the works of the great poet[3]. In this poem the series of six seasons—the summer, the rains, the autumn, the winter, the time of frost and the spring—are described in splendid colours. These descriptions with their delicate observation of nature, lovely sketches about the happiness of animals and plants and glowing and often luxuriant presentation of amorous pleasures in each of these seasons are probably worthy of Kālidāsa. This conclusion will be confirmed by some probes according to the beautiful translation of P. V. Bohlen :—

From the description of the summer :

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1. The Tibetan translation of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, according to the red and black Tanjūr, has been published and rendered into German by H Beckh (Supplement to ABA 1906). Cf. G. Huth, SBA 1895, 268 f, 281 ff., and Beckh, Ein Beitrag zur Textkritik von Kālidāsas Meghadūta, Diss., Berlin 1907.

2 W. Jones had published the text in Calcutta in 1792; P. von Bohlen has published it with Latin and German metrical translations Lipsiae 1840 Of mediocre merit is the translation of A. Hoefer, Indische Gedichte, I, 65 ff. With the commentary of Manirāma, the text has been published in Bombay NSP. 1906. [P. Bohlen's German translation has recently been published by H Kreyenborg in the Insel Bücherei No. 280]

3. The authenticity of the Rtusaṃhāra is often likewise doubted as already stated. J Nobel (ZDMG 66, 1912, 275 ff; 73, 1919, 194 ff; JRAS 1913, 401 ff) is the last scholar to doubt its authenticity, whilst A. B Keith (JRAS 1912, 1066) has defended it. A Gawronski (The digvijaya of Raghu and some connected problems, p. 29, note 3) refutes the authorship of this poem to Kālidāsa. However, it is, generally admitted that the Ṛtusaṃhāra is already imitated in the Mandasor-inscription (472 A.D.) (see Kielhorn, NGGW 1890, 251 ff), therefore, it must have been of a time not far from the works of Kālidāsa. That Ṛtusaṃhāra, in many respects differs from the other poems of Kālidāsa can be easily explained from the fact, that it belongs to some other class. However, the circumstance that the Ṛtusaṃhāra is nowhere cited in the works of rhetorics speaks against its authenticity; see Hari Chand, Kālidāsa, p. 240 ff. In the beginning of the 15th century A.D. Viśveśvara, in his poem Ṣāḍṛtuvarnana, has already imitated it (see Krishnamachary a 128) [Hillebrandt, Kālidāsa p. 66 ff, considers the Ṛtusaṃhāra as "the earliest work of Kālidāsa written in the days of his youth See also S. K De, JRAS 1927, pp. 109-10].

1 *mṛgāḥ pracaṇḍātapatāpitā bhṛśaṁ*
tṛṣā mahātyā pariśuṣkatālavaḥ ।
vanāntare toyamiti pradhāvitā
nirīkṣya bhinnāñjanasannibhaṁ nabhaḥ ॥

2 *ravermayūkhairabhitāpito bhṛśam*
vidahyamānaḥ pathi taptapāṁśubhiḥ ।
avāṅmukhojihmagatiḥ śvasanmuhuḥ
phanī mayūrasya tale niṣīdati ॥

3 *tṛsā mahatyā hatavikramodyamaḥ*
śvasanmuhurdūravidāritānanaḥ ।
na hantyadūrepi gajān mṛgeśvaro
vilolajihvaścalitāgrakesarah ॥

4 *viśuṣkakanthāhṛtasīkarāmbhaso*
gabhastibhirbhānumatānutāpitāḥ ।
pravṛddhatṛṣnopahatā jalārthino
na dantinaḥ kesarinopi bibhyati ॥

5 *tṛṣākulaiścātakapakṣināṁ kulaiḥ*
priyācitāstoyabharāvalambinaḥ ।
prayānti mandaṁ bahudhāravarṣino
balāhakāḥ śrotramanoharasvanāḥ ॥

6 *sadāmanojñaṁ svanudtsavotsukam*
vikīrnavistīrnakalāpaśobhitam ।
sasaṁbhramālinganacumbanākulam
pravrttanrtyam kulamadya barhinām ॥

7 *nipātayantyaḥ paritastatadrumān*
pravṛddhavegaiḥ salilairanirmalaiḥ ।
striyaḥ suduṣtā iva jātavibhramāḥ
prayānti nadyastvaritaṁ payonidhim ॥

8 *payodharairbhīmagabhīranisvanais-*
tadidbhirudvejitacetaso bhṛśam ।
krtāparādhānapi yoṣitaḥ priyān
pariṣvajante śayane nirantaram ॥

1. "Tormented by the blazing sunshine, the deer with dried palate on account of intense thirst, beholding the powdered collyrium-like sky and thinking it to be water, have run to another forest"

2. "Incessantly scorched by the rays of the sun, heating with the heated sand on the path, the snake with his hood turned downward, not moving in an oblique manner, panting again and again, rests under (the shadow

of) the plumes of a peacock."

3. "The king of the animals, deprived of his valour and endeavour by excessive thirst, with his quivering mane, lolling tongue, yawning mouth and panting again and again, does not kill even the elephants that are not far away."

4. "The tuskers who have oozed out water-drops through their dried throat, tormented by the rays of the sun, suffering from increased thirst, desiring water, do not fear even the lions."

5. "Asked by the flocks of cātaka birds, tormented by thirst, the clouds, bending down with the weight of water, showering rains in torrents and producing sounds aggreeable to the ear, are moving slowly."

6. "Always sounding charmingly, eager for the lovefeast, looking beautiful with outstretched luxuriant plumage, the flock of peacocks, anxious for embrace and kiss, has now got engaged in dance."

7. "The rivers with turbid water, with increased speed, throwing down trees (standing) on their banks, are fast running to the sea, as wanton women, exhibiting amorous gestures."

8. "The women, repeatedly tormented with flashes of lightening and the clouds thundering terribly and deeply, incessantly embrace on their bed even their guilty lovers."

It is further doubtful whether the Śṛṅgāratilaka[1] "Decoration of Love", a small collection of stanzas with erotic theme, can be attributed to Kālidāsa. The following little song demonstrates that this anthology too contains beautiful stanzas :

indivarena nayanaṁ mukhamambujena
kundena dantamadharam navapallavena |
angāni campakadalaiśca vidhāya vedhāh
kānte katham ghatitavānupalena cetah ||[2]

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1. Published in Haeberlin 14-17 (21 stanzas), in Kālidāsae Meghadūta et Śṛṅgāratilaka ex rec J Gildemeisteri, Bonnae 1841 (23 stanzas) and as an appendix to the edition of the Rtusamhāra, Bombay NSP 1906 (31 stanzas) Śṛṅgārarasāṣṭaka, (Haeberlin 510 ff.), which also is attributed to Kālidāsa, is merely a compilation of erotic verses, of which the verse No 4 might be of Kālidāsa and the verse No 7 is taken from the Kumārasambhava.

2. Mangoblüten, p 11. [German metrical transl by L V. Schroeder.]

"Having made thy eyes with blue lotus, the face with blue lotus, the teeth with Jasmine, the lower lip with a tender shoot, the limbs with leaves of campaka, tell me then, O beloved, how did the creator form thy heart with a slab of stone."

Of the religious hymns, the authorship of which is attributed to Kālidāsa, a mention may be made of one Śyāmalādaṇḍaka[1], the famous stotra of the Goddess Durgā, with its greater part in prose and of hymns Sarasvatīstotra and Maṅgalāṣṭaka[2] translated into Tibetan in the Tanjūr.

In several manuscripts, Ghaṭakarpara[3], "The Broken Jar" too is attributed to Kālidāsa. It is a poem of 22 elegantly rhyming stanzas, in which a young damsel, at the advent of the rains, gives expression to her feeling of anxiety for her husband, who is away, and sends to him her greeting through the clouds — hence a counterpart of the Meghadūta. The poem has obtained this title from the fact that the poet in its last verse offers to carry water in a broken jar to any poet who may surpass him in the matter of rhyming. Rückert[4] has rightly said that had this "broken vessel" been a German one, it would not have been even worth picking up at all", and that in respect of rhyming the water did not reach the Nalodaya. It is certain that the work is not of Kālidāsa. Frequently it is ascribed to a poet Ghaṭakarpara, who (according to the fashion of Persian poets) inscribed his name in the concluding stanza[5].

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1. Published in Km., Part I, 8 ff

2. F.W Thomas in JRAS 1903, 785ff. The Mangalāṣṭaka is preserved in Sanskrit inscriptions as well, see Aufrecht, Leipzig No. 450 f.

3. Edited, translated (into German), imitated and annotated by G. M Dursch, Berlin 1828; Haeberlin 120 ff; French by Chezy in JA 1823, II, 39 ff; German by Hoefer, Indische Gedichte II, 129 ff, and P. V. Bohlen, Das alte Indien, Königsberg 1830, 380 ff; cf Legge-ling, Ind off Cat VII, p 1427 f.

4 Jahrbücher für Wissenschaftliche Kritik 1829, I, 521 ff Some verses have also been translated into German. See also Rückert-Nachlese I, 217

5 Ghatakarpara's name appears among the "nine jewels" of Vikramāditya (see above p 46), a thing that in any case proves that the poem enjoyed certain reputation in India, as is shown also by its large number of commentaries (see Aufrecht CCsv) Nītisāra (Haeberlin 504 ff) a collection 21 didactic stanzas, too is attributed to Ghatakarpara

The famous Amaruśataka[1] or "The Hundred Stanzas", of the poet Amaru[2] must not have been altogether of an age ver, far from the time of Kālidāsa. Next to Kālidāsa there is hardly any lyric poet who is esteemed by Indians and is referred to as a model by poeticians as Amaru Ānandavardhana in his poetics quotes the song-stanzas of Amaru as a proof that a poet can in single stanzas convey so much of sentiment that each of them appears like an independent poem in miniature[3]. And another teacher of poetics says: "A single stanza of the poet Amaru equals a hundred great poems". A proof of the popularity of Amaru's "Hundred"[4] is also the uncertainty of its text. The four recensions deviate from one another in the matter of the number of verses and their order of sequence. Besides we find in anthologies verses of Amaru that are not found in our śataka, whilst conversely verses of our Amaruśataka are attributed to other poets in anthologies[5].

About the time of Amaru we know nothing except that Ānandavardhana (about 850 A.D.) refers to him first of all by

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1. The name occurs also in the forms Amaruka, Amarū, Amarūka

2. R Simon (Kiel 1893) has edited the Amaruśataka in its different recensions with an introduction and extracts from commentaries Its supplement in ZDMG 49, 1895, 577 ff Published with the commentary of Arjunadeva in Kav. 18. [An edition with Hindi translation and commentary, Bombay 1914].

3. Dhvanyāloka III, 7 (Jacobi's German transl p. 81 f)

4. The actual number of verses in MSS and in commentaries varies between 90 and 115 The Kav edition has 102 strophes, and there are 7 parisiṣṭas, containing further 61 verses, that have been collected partly from commentaries and MSS and partly from Alankāraśāstras and anthologies. [See S K. De, Padyāvalī p. 184]

5 Only 51 verses are common to all the recensions None of them is in a position to claim to contain the original text. Simon has based his edition on the text of the South Indian recension just on practical grounds. According to Aufrecht. (ZDMG 27, 7 f) the verses composed in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre only belong to the original collection; but there are only 61 stanzas, among those that are there, that have this metre (in Rec. I and III) H Weller believes (according to a private communication) to have been able to prove that the rec III is the earliest. That was the view of Buhler (ZDMG 47, 1893, p 94), since this rec is attested by the oldest commentator Arjunavarman (between 1215 and 1218). [The different recensions are:— South Indian (Comm. Vemabhūpāla and Rāmānandanātha); Bengal (Ravicandra), West Indian that was used by Arjunavarman, and the mixed recension (Rāmarudra, Rudramadeva). For specimens, with translation, see S K De Treatment of Love in Sans Lit, Calcutta 1929, p. 28 f; HSL, pp 138 ff. C R. Narasimha Śarmā—Studies in Sanskrit Literature, Mysore, 1936 pp 1-30]

his name, whilst Vāmana (Circa 800) cites a verse from Amaruśataka[1] without naming its author. Almost nothing is known about the biography of Amaru. A tale narrated by some of the commentators and by the author of the so-called biography of Śaṅkara (Śaṅkaradigvijaya) goes to say that the real writer of the Amaruśataka is nobody other than the famous Vedānta philosopher Śankara. It is said there that with the help of magic he entered into the body of the Kashmiri king Amaru and had intercourse with the latter's hundred wives for the purpose of gaining first-hand knowledge of modes of love. As a proof of his knowledge of the science of erotics, he composed the śataka[2]. In the opinion of W. this tale is historical to the extent that it suggests that Amaru was a resident of Kashmir (as meant by S i m o n), as a king of the name of Amaru is wholly unknown there.

In the way the Sattasaī of Hāla is the chief work of Prākrit love lyric, we can consider the Amaruśataka as the main work of erotic lyric of Sanskrit. The common feature of the Amaruśataka and Sattasaī is that every individual stanza is a complete poem in itself in both of them. It is a thing that properly holds good for the whole of Indian lyric and didactic poetry, including works like Meghadūta or Ṛtusaṁhāra, where a long series of several stanzas is expressive of a single idea. This is especially the case with the śatakas or "centuries", that is to say, in collections of stanzas counted in hundreds[3]. Like the lyric strophes of the Sattasaī, those of the Amaruśataka too are in majority of cases miniature p a i n t i n g s from amorous life, however, in an environment that is quite different from the one that we have known from the Sattasaī. But as there, so here too, the talk is about separation and parting, about

1. Amaru 16, 30 (II. Rec.) and 89 in Vāmana III, 2, 4, IV, 3, 12, V, 2, 8.

2. Ravicandra, the author of the commentary Kāmadā, attempts to prove the authorship of the great philosopher even by explaining the verses as having two meanings, and that in addition to the erotic sense, each of them has also a theosophical idea conveyed in it. This commentary was published in Calcutta 1808 Cf K a t h a v a t e , Report p 14; E g g e l i n g , Ind. Off. Cat. p. 1520 ff

3 It is not correct to speak about a "Śataka lyric' or about "Centurian poetry" (see S i m o n, loc cit p 1f , P i s c h e l, KG., p 204) Since such a work is not characteristically composed of hundred stanzas there are poetical works with a smaller or greater number of strophes in them, but they are poems written insingle stanzas.

grievances and resentment; more frequently, however, it is about wilful surrender and affectionate embraces. The lays of Amaru have become considerably known [in Germany] through translations. Friedrich Rückert has already translated into German a portion of it under the title "38 Liedchen von Amaru."[1] Very often these songs have later evoked the talents of translators. A small selection is given below as a representation of the character of these poems:—

tadvaktrābhimukhaṁ mukhaṁ vinamitaṁ dṛṣṭiḥ kṛtā pādayos
tasyālāpakutūhalākulatare śrotre niruddhe mayā ।
pāṇibhyāṁ ca tiraskṛtaḥ sapulakaḥ svedodgamo gaṇḍayoḥ
sakhyaḥ kiṁ karavāṇi yānti śatadhā yatkañcuke saṁdhayaḥ ॥

"I bend down my face, that was opposite to his face; I cast my gance at his two feet; I close my two ears that remain anxious to listen to his words; I hide with my two hands the drops of sweat (gathering) on the temples of my two cheeks: O, friend, what can I do, since the knots in my upper garment get loose hundred times ?"

This according to the German translation of Rückert will be rendred as—

"Opposite to his face, shying I send my glance to his feet;
I close the ears that are pining for the pleasure of his embrace;
I cover with my hands the sweat that oozes in showers from the cheek;
O friend, what can I do when each knot in my bodice is bursting ?"

śūnyaṁ vāsagṛhaṁ vilokya śayanādutthāya kiñcitkṣaṇair-
nidrāvyājamupāgatasya suciraṁ nirvarṇya patyurmukham ।
visrabdhaṁ paricumbya jātapulakāmālokya gaṇḍasthalīṁ
lajjānamramukhī priyeṇa hasatā bālā ciraṁ cumbitā ॥

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1. In Wendtschen Musenalmanach for the year 1831, p. 127 ff., Rückert-Nachlese I, 242 ff, 270.

2 Selected strophes have been translated into German by L. V. Schroeder, Mangoblüten, p 77 ff; by Hertel, Indische Gedichte, and by Hans Lindach (Pseud. Hermann Weller), in the Lande der Nymphaen, Bilder us Indiens Liebesleben nach Amaru, Strassburg, and Leipzig 1908 The complete collection also in Bohtlingk's "Indischen Sprüchen". L. V. Schroeder, Reden und Aufsatze, Leipzig 1913, p. 158 ff. gives a beautiful appreciation of the lyrics of Amaru.

This according to the German translaton of Shroeder will be rendered as:—

"She is alone with him in the sleeping chamber,
The young wife finds her husband slumbering;
She gently rises up from her bed and looks at his face
For a long time, while he poses as fast asleep,
And now she kisses him gently again and again ;
And when little hairs on her cheek stand erect
On account of rupture and she gets ashamed,
He raises his face, raises up the head
And smiles and kisses her again and again for long."

sā patyuh prathamāparādhasamaye sākhyopadeśaṁ vinā
no jānāti savibhramāngavalanāvakroktisamsūcanam ।
svacchairacchakapolamūlagalitaih paryastanetrotpalā
bālā kevalameva roditi luthallolākairaśrubhih ॥

"The young girl, on the occasion of the first offence committed by her husband, because of no advice from her friend, knows not to give expression (to her feeling of grief) by particular manner of movement of the limbs and by talking in a figurative language; (so) she just breaks into tears that drop from the root of her bright cheeks and are white with her rollingly moving hairs, and her eyes look like widespread lotuses."

But according to the German translation of Leopold von Schroeder it is to be rendered as :—

"When for the first time, utters an offending word,
The husband, then begin to tremble violently
The limbs of the young wife; but still she knows not
To utter a single biting word—nor does she inform
Any of her friends about the matter;
She just casts her anxious lotus-eyes all round,
And her bright cheeks get covered
With white tears and shaking hairs."

bhrūbhange racitepi drstiradhikam sotkaṇthamudvīksate
ruddhāyāmapi vāci sasmitapadam dagdhānanamjāyate ।
kārkaśyaṁ gamitepi cetasi tanū romāñcamālambate
drste nirvahanam bhavisyati katham mānasya tasmiñjane ॥

"Even after the brows have been wrinkled, the eye gazes anxiously more and more; though speech is stopped, the cursed face looks smiling; even though the mind is hardened, the body ripples: (at the time) when that fellow is seen, how can the anger come to an end?"

But according to the German translation of Leopold von Schroeder:—

"She wrinkles her brows, but alas, the eyes
Still thirst eagerly for the beloved;
She keeps silent and does not utter a word,
But her face, even though aggrieved,
Presents a most graceful smiling appearance;
She tries to harden her heart, but the skin
Of her whole body begins to ripple;
She tries to appear sulky; still when she sees
Him standing face to face,
How can she make that come to end?"

Further

mugdhe mugdhatayaiva netumkhilaḥ kālaḥ kimārabhyate
mānaṁ dhatsva dhṛtim badhāna ṛjutāṁ dūre kuru preyasi |
sakhyaivaṁ pratibodhitā prativacastāmāha bhītānanā
nīcaiḥ śaṁsa hṛdi sthito hi nanu me prāṇeśvaraḥ śroṣyati ||

"O innocent girl, why have you begun to spend all (your) time in innocence? Show anger, please hold patience, cast off straight-forwardness in (respect of your) beloved. When (she) was thus advised by her friend, she with a terrified face replied—

"Please speak in a slow voice; the lord of (my) life, living in my heart, will hear it."

But according to the German translation of J. J. Meyer (Kāvyasaṁgraha, p. 20 f.) [1]

Ah, my innocent child,
Away with your innocence,
You know not, what sort of men are,
Have trust in my age,
Please be sulky towards your sweet'heart,
You most show yourself as hard:

[1. This stanza does not occur in Kāvyasamgraha, part II, where the Amaruśataka is printed at pages 20 f.]

This is usual in love.
In case you do this, he will remain your own."
Terrified by this she shouted—
"O my friend, please speak in a low voice,
Otherwise my husband stationed in my heart,
Will hear all this."

Further—

kānte sāgasi śāpite priyasakhīveśaṁ vidhyāyāgate
bhrāntyāliṅgya mayā rahasyamuditaṁ tatsaṅgamākāṅkṣayā।
mugdhe duṣkarametadityatitamāmuddāmahāsaṃ balād
āśliṣyacchalitāsmi tena kitavenādya pradoṣāgame ॥

"When I cursed my sweet'heart and he came in the guise of (my) intimate friend, I by mistake embraced him and told him my desire for meeting him. 'O innocent girl, that is difficult'—saying this, with a very thundering laughter, he forcibly embraced me. So I have been cheated by that wicked fellow at the advent of the evening to-day."

But according to the German translation of Hans Lindach:

"I had my love farewell
After a quarrel in love;
Then the wicked fellow came back to me
In the guise of my friend;
With him within my arms,
I divulged the secret of my heart—
That I was longing to be by him.
Then spoke he, "My child, that is really difficult";
He kissed me and embraced me long.
Thus he has played trick with me
Today, after the setting of the sun."

The testimony of Ānandavardhana seems to prove that there was actually a poet whose name was Amaru. Thereby it too becomes certain that with the help of the musical stanzas of Amaruśataka we have obtained the impression of a detailed description of the physiognomy of the poet. If this be not the case, we have to consider the Amaruśataka, as many researchers believe, as nothing but an anthology of musical stanzas composed by many different poets.

We know about the greater portion of Indian love-lyrics only from the anthologies, in which there occur numerous stanzas of even poets (and occasionally also of poetesses) who are otherwise unknown. One of the better known lyric poets is Mayūra, a contemporary of Bāṇa. He exhibits his accurate knowledge of Kāmaśāstra in his Mayūrāṣṭaka (Eight Stanzas by Mayūra)[1]. The story goes that in these verses Mayūra described the beauty of his daughter, the consort of Bāna, so minutely that she became very angry at her father and cursed him, and on account of this he became a leper. But later he was cured of this disease through the aid of the sun-god, whom he eulogized in his famous Sūryaśataka[2]. The (eight) verses contain the description of a beautiful young woman who has secretly visited her lover and returns back from his bed-chamber. The allusions to the wounds caused by scratches and bites as well as the words "even an old man becomes of Cupid" might probably have given currency to this story.

To the most famous love lyrics of India belongs the Caurīsuratapañcāśikā, "The Fifty Stanzas on Secret Amorous Sport"[3] of the Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa. These are fifty stanzas, each of which begins with the words *adyāpi* "even to-day." The poet describes in them, with a glowing erotic the amorous pleasures that he enjoyed with a princess and

1. Edited and translated into English by G.P. Quackenbos in JAOS 31, 1911, 343 ff. and The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra (Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series), p. 67 ff. [See also F.E. Edgerton, American Journal of Philology, (38, 1917, 435 . ff.)]

2. See below p. 136.

3 Neither the title nor its meaning is certain. The titles Caurapañcāśikā and Corapañcāśat too occur. That would mean "Fifty Stanzas of the Thief, Caura or Cora". This has led people to think of a poet Caura or Cora as its author. This ostensible name of the poet occurs first of all in Jayadeva's Prasannarāghava But there should be no doubt about Bilhana's being this poet according to Bühler, (Report 48 f. and Vikramānkadevacarita, p. 24. However, the theme of the poem and its association with the tale that is told about it make it the more doubtful The text of the Central Indian recension together with Bhartṛhari's centuries has been edited by P. v. Bohlen Berolini 1833, and in Haeberlin 227 ff. The fifty stanzas constitute just an enclosure in the South Indian recension, edited and translated by Ed. Ariel (JA 1848, s. 4, XI, 469 ff) and in the small poem Bilhanacarita "Adventures of Bilhana" that has been published in the Kāvyamāla, Part XIII, 1903, 145-169, wherein the story of Bilhaṇa's love with a princess is narrated, though differently in each of the two editions In "Die Kaśmir-Recension der Pañcāśikā" the text has been critically discussed, edited and translated into German by W Solf, Kiel 1886. Cf. also Jacobi in the Literaturblatt, für Orientalische Philologie III, 63 ff. and Winternitz in Oesterr Monatsschrift fur den Orient 12, 1886, 155 ff.

presents the sensuous pictures. It is said that the poet was in secret love with the daughter of a king, and when this fact became public, he was ordered to be put to death. At the place fixed for his execution, with death facing him, he composed the 50 stanzas that pleased and impressed the king so much so that he set him free and gave him his daughter as a wife. That this tale[1] does not have any historical basis is mainly suggested by the fact that in his autobiography (see above p. 94) he does not say a word about having a princess as his wife. This view gets further support from the fact that in several versions of the tale, the story narrated is not that of Bilhaṇa, but of some other personages The verses themselves just say that they have been composed about a princess[2], but thence we can deduce neither this that it deals with secret love nor this that the theme relates to the decision of the poet's being put to death[3]. The Kashmirian

1. The tale forms a part of the poem in the editions by A r i e l and in Km. and is narrated in the commentaries too. The name of the princess, in the ed. Ariel is Yāminīpūrṇatilakā, daugher of the Pañcāla king Madanābhirāma, against this, the princess in the Km. edition is Śasikalā, Candrakalā or Candralekhā (all the three meaning "digit of the moon"), a daughter of King Vīrasiṁha of Mahilapattana Hence in the Km. edition also the title Candralekhāsakti Bilhaṇakāvya, "Bilhana's Poem of his Affection for Candralekhā". In the MSS from Gujarat the beloved is one Caurā (i e Caudā or Cāpotkatā) princess. The commentator Ganapati, who, moreover, mentions Pañcāsikā as a "fragmentary poem (khaṇḍakāvya), speaks about a Brāhmana Caura as a world-famous man, who had sensuous association with a princess. Perhaps this poem is actually a fragment of another poem, of which the theme was love between a thief (caura) and a princess, and in which the poet put the verses into the mouth of a thief brought to the place of execution In a commentary, written in 1798, Rāma Tarkavāgīsa Bhaṭṭācārya explains the stanzas as constituting an invocation to the goddess Kālikā of a prince Sundara, son of Gunasāgara of Caurapallī, who composed it before King Vīrasimha, while he was awaiting his sentence of death on account of his secret association with Vidyā, the daughter of the king When the king heard the poem, induced by Kālikā, he offered him his daughter for the purpose of making her his wife. Cf. E g g e l i n g, Ind. Off Cat. VII, p. 1524f. In the edition Haeberlin Sundara is mentioned as the author.

In the Bengali poem Vidyāsundara of Bhāratacandra, the chief court-poet of Rāja Krsnacandra (18th century), the story of love that existed between Princess Vidyā and Prince Sundara is narrated, and here Sundara describes in stanzas (that correspond to the stanzas of the Caurīpañcāsikā) his love for Vidyā. The verses, however, are capable of being interpreted in two different ways and being taken simply as constituting a prayer-hymn to the goddess Kālī. Cf D i n e s a C a n d r a S e n, History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 650. f.

2. The stanza 37 (Solf), where the theme is regarding the princess, occurs in all the recensions.

3. Verse 48 (Solf), where the poet says that "even to-day in the hour of his death he has his mind absorbed in love" is wanting in the South Indian recension and perhaps is not relevant even on other grounds (see J a c o b i oc. cit.).

recension has two introductory stanzas, of which the second one appears to be the poet's words of farewell to his life in which he says that he will never return back when he will have once fallen in the net of coquettish glances of the wives of gods[1].

Just as doubtful as the frame, in which "the Fifty Stanzas" are to be fitted, is also the text of the poem that has suffered further worse in the hands of the copyists than any other popular work of Indian poetry. Of the fifty verses only seven are to be found in all the three chief recensions. Since the poet was of Kashmir and lived in the court of a South Indian ruler, each of the stanzas that are common to the South Indian and Kashmirian recensions should have at the most a claim to be genuine. There are 34 such verses. This great difference in recensions is, in any case, a proof of extraordinary popularity of the poem in India. And also from the stand'point of Indian sensuality the fame of this poem is easily understandable[2]. For the taste of the people of the West, the translators had to make the poem palatable by considerably toning down the ardour permeating Indian the verses[3].

To the 11th century A D. belongs also the Āryāsaptaśatī[4], "Seven Hundred Āryā Verses" of the poet Govar-

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1. This verse, however, stands in opposition to the preceding one, in which the poet tells his enemies—'happiness and fame will again soon get into his house'. The difficulties that are created by these two stanzas have been removed neither by Bühler, nor by Solf, nor by Jacobi [S. K. De, HSL p 369 is of the opinion that "Bilhaṇa's authorship can be asserted with as little confidence as that of Cora (in spite of Jayadeva's mention of a poet of that name in the Prasannarāghava) or of Sundara It is, on the other hand, not improbable that the stanzas were old floating verses of forgotten authorship, which were ascribed to Bilhana, Cora, Sundara and Vararuci in turn, and different legendary frame-stories were supplied."]

2 Krishnamacharya p 122 says that in India even to this day the poem is liked so much that no Indian child fails to commit to memory at least some of these stanzas In the West people will not like to place the poem in the hands of a young person.

3. So Hoefer, Indische Gedichte I, 117 ff, in his very free complete German translation and L V. Schroeder, who (Mangoblüten, p. 61 ff.) has reproduced in German a number of selected stanzas more beautifully but more freely. The Latin translation of v Bohlen and the literal German translation of Solf cannot naturally present any poetical beauty of the poem [Eng trans Edwin Arnold, London 1896 and E. Powys Mathers, Oxford 1919; Ital transl. G. de Lorenzo, Il canto del ladro, Napoli 1925]

4. Edited with Ananta Paṇḍita's, commentary written in 1624, in Km. 1, 1886 Cf. Weber. Foreword to his edition of Hāla's Saptaśataka, p. xxvi f., and Pischel, HL, p. 30 f.

dhana. The author is a contemporary of the famous Jayadeva, who says about him that nobody can surpass master Govardhana in excellent erotic descriptions. The poet boasts about himself (v. 52) that he has carried over to Sanskrit by force the type of poetry that usually found tasteful expression in Prākrit, in the same manner as Balarāma raised up into the sky the Yamunā, of which the water was suitable for a low plain. By this he means to say that upto his time the erotic poetry composed in the Āryā metre was brought to perfection and was usually cultured in Prākrit, and it was he who introduced it into Sanskrit. In fact his task was to write in Sanskrit a work that could throw into dark the fame of Hāla's Sattasaī by composing 700 stanzas in the Āryā metre with erotic themes, that are related in no way with one another and have been arranged by him in an alphabetic order (according to the initial letters). His task might have been more difficult than that of Hāla; but the Āryāsaptaśatī, lacking in popularity, cannot be compared with the Sattasaī. However, the work of Govardhana was the model on which the poet Bihārī Lāl composed in the Hindī language his Sat'saī, of which, the verses, in the opinion of Grierson[1], "show the charm and elegance of language, on account of which Kālidāsa would have envied him": and again this Hindī work has been imitated by a Sanskrit poet Paramānanda "in one Śrngārasaptatikā.

By the side of the erotic lyrics moved along also the old religious lyric and in addition to the large number of hymns dedicated to Sūrya, Visnu, Krsna, Rāma, Śiva, Durgā and other divinities that we find in the purānas and tantras, there are many pieces that are really ornate poetry. Many of these stotras are wholly philosophical, particularly containing ideas of the Vedānta; and often it is impossible to distinguish whether a work is to be included in the purāna and tantra literature or among the philosophical texts or in ornate poetry. Side by side with numberless prayers and litanies, that very often are nothing but invocations to and names of gods, besides in many prayers that are, however, small in number and appear as expression of a deep religious ardour, there occur numerous ornate poems in which the most

1 JRAS 1894, p. 110.

difficult metres and all the devices of poetics have come into play. The divinities too were believed to be won over better by use of rare and most difficult figures of speech. Most of these stotras probably are of recent origin Frequently they have the form of śatakas or "centuries".

One of the oldest poem of this type is the Caṇḍīśataka[1], "Hundred stanzas dedicated to Caṇḍī", by the poet Bāṇa. In 102 stanzas (almost all in the Sragdharā metre) the consort of Śiva, with her different names, one of which is Candī, and particularly her foot, with which she killed the demon, Mahiṣa, having the form of a buffalo, is praised and glorified. In each of the verses occurs at the end the benedictory formula "may she protect you", *sāvatādambikā vaḥ*. Famous is also the Sūryaśataka[2], "Hundred Strophes dedicated to the Sun-god" by Mayūra, a contemporary of Bāṇa[3], written likewise in the Sragdharā metre and in the same ornate style as the Caṇḍīśataka. In the poem, the rays, the horses, the charioteer, the chariot and the orb of the sun are praised one after another. The rays of the sun are the "ships by which man crosses the terrible ocean of rebirths, the origin of prolonged pains," the orb of the sun is the door of freedom, and the sun himself is the supporter of men and gods and upholder of the entire world-order, and is one with Brahman, Visnu and Śiva (verses 9, 73, 87, 99). In verse 50 Aruna, the charioteer of Sūrya, is compared to a stage-manager, who recites the prologue at the time of performance of a show. From the citations in manuals

1 Edited with commentary in Km, Part IV, 1 ff Cf above II, 340 (transl, p. 550) and Bühler, Ind Ant 1, 1872, 111 ff Text with English translation by Quackenbos, The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra... together with the Text and Translation of Bāna's Caṇḍīsataka, pp 243-357.

2. Edited in Haeberlin 197 ff, and with commentary in Km. 19, 1889; with English translation of Quackenbos, The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra, p 81 ff On "Sanna" or a literal rendering of the Sūryaśataka, composed in Cylon cf Rhys Davids in JRAS, 1894, p 555 [See above p 132. Italian trans. by C Berhheimer. Livorno 1905]

3. We learn from Bāna's Harsacarita too that Harsa's father and his predecessors were sun-worshippers, hence it is very probable that Mayūra was an older contemporary of Bāna Cf Bühler, Die indischen Inschriften, usw. p 14 ff; Peterson, Subh p 86, Zachariae, Bezz. Beitr 13, 1888, p 100 The Sūryasataka has been quoted by Ānandavardhana. One Khaṇḍapraśasti of Mayūra is cited by Ruyyaka But one Khaṇḍapraśasti (a poem on Viṣnu's incarnations), edited in the Pandit V, VI, is attributed to the monkey Hanūmat.

of poetics and in anthologies it is concluded that the Sūryaśataka is held in a higher esteem than the Candiśataka[1].

The authorship of a large number of hymns dedicated to Śiva or to Devī, the Divine Mother or to Visnu too is attributed to the celebrated philosopher Śankara[2]. Probably many of these hymns are really his own, and perhaps "a great majority of them are wrongly attributed to him. Some of such hymns are dedicated to Devī, i.e. "goddess" par excellence or the "Mother", an appallation by which she is referred to by the Śāktas In the cult of this sect the divine principle is not conceived as masculine, but as feminine; and the Śāktas believe that the most exhaulted creative principle cannot be most appropriately designated by the word "Father", but by the word "Mother". All the mythological feminine forms, above all, the consort of the god Śiva, who is praised and worshipped under numberless names like Umā, Pārvatī, Durgā, Candī, etc. as the "Mother of the Universe" (Jaganmātā) are revered by adherents of this sect as the divine "Mother"[3]. It is comprehensible that when the Indian poets refer to divinity as their "Mother" they utter the word from the core of their heart. It is why we find among these hymns, dedicated to Devī, many of the best pieces of religious lyrics As examples, a few stanzas from the Devyaparādhaksamāpana, "Prayer to Devī for Atonement of Sins", attributed to Śankara, are given below:—

vidherajñānena dravinavirahenālasatayā
vidheyāśakyatvāttava caranayorjā cyutirabhūt |
tadetatksantavyam jananī sakaloddhārini śive
kuputro jāyeta kvacidapi kumātā na bhavati ||

"Either on account of ignorance of thy command,
Or on account of poverty or idleness,

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1. Cf Quackenbos, ibid 98 ff The Sāmbapañcāśikā (in Km. 13, 1889), ascribed to a poet Sāmba, is a poem devoted to the sun-cult and is of unknown antiquity The name of the son of Lord Krṣna too was Sāmba, who is mentioned in the purānas in relation to the sun-cult There is also one Sāmba-upapurāna It is questionable whether Sāmba is actually the name of a poet

2 See also a collection of eight such hymns with English translation contained in S Venkataramanan, Select Works of Sri Sankaracharya, Madras

3. Cf on this sect Winternitz, Die Tantras und die Religion der Śāktas, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift IV, 1916, p. 153 ff A collection of hymns dedicated to Devī has been translated into English by Arthur and Ellen Avalon: Hymns to the Goddess, London, 1913

Or because I did not have the strength to follow thy command;
In whatever manner I erred in respect of thy feet;
O kind Mother, that freeth from all bonds,
May'st thou forgive all that
Many a time, it is true, a bad son is born,
But a bad mother, there is none and never."

prthivyāṁ putrāste janani bahavaḥ santi saralāḥ
paraṁ tesāṁ madhye viralataralohaṁ tava sutaḥ |
madīyoyaṁ tyāgaḥ samucitamidam no tava śive
kuputro jāyeta kvacidapi kumātā na bhavati ||

"Mother, thou hast many worthy sons on the earth;
But among them, I am one without worth;
Still, O Mother, thou can'st give me up :
A bad son is many a time born,
But a bad mother, there is none and never."

jaganmātarmātastava caranasevā na racitā
na vā dattaṁ devi dravinamapi bhūyastava mayā |
tathāpi tvaṁ snehaṁ mayi nirupamaṁ yatprakuruse
kuputro jāyeta kvcidapi kumātā na bhavati ||

"Mother of the universe, I have not served thy feet,
Nor have I offered thee rich wealth;
Notwithstanding this, that thou showeth
Affection, that is incomparable, towards me:
A bad son is many a time born,
But a bad mother, there is none and never."

Of the hymns that are ascribed to Śaṅkara and dedicated to Devī, a mention should be made of Bhavānyaṣṭaka[1], "Eight Stanzas to (the goddess of the name) Bhavānī", with the refrain "thou art my shelter, thou alone art my shelter, Bhavānī, and Ānandalaharī[2], "Wave of Happiness" in 20 Śikharinī stanzas deserve to be mentioned here.

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1 Edited and tranlated into German by A. Hoefer, Sanskrit Lesebuch, Berlin 1849, p 93 ff.; Ind Gedichte II, 157 ff.

2 Edited and translated into French by A. Troyer, JA 1841, s 3, XII, 273 ff, 401 ff Text also in Haeberlin 246 ff., translated into English by Avalon, Hymns to the Goddess, 62 ff. Other hymns to Devī, published in Km, Part IX, 1893, 114 ff 140 ff; Part XI, 1895 ff; the Ambāṣṭaka, "Eight Stanzas to the Mother" with a commentary in Km.,

Mūka might have been a contemporary of Śaṅkara. He has praised Devī in not less than 500 stanzas, Pañcaśatī[1]. Ānandavardhana wrote also a Devīśataka[2], hundred highly ornate stanzas, in which he exhibits his mastery over the most complex artifices of poetics, a thing that is contradictory to his own view that suggestion and not embellishment is the essential thing in poetry. At one place in his poetics, however, he says that in prayers to gods the sentiment (rasa) is of minor importance[3]. Utpaladeva, the teacher of Abhinavagupta, wrote (in the beginning of the 10th century) one Stotrāvalī[4], a collection 20 stanzas written in praise of Śiva, that contains partly simple invocations and partly fully ornate verses. Before the 11th century A D. must have lived the Vaisnava saint Kulaśekhara, who wrote one Mukundamālā[5] for the purpose of glorification of Visnu, in which for example he says:—

divi vā bhuvi vā mamāstu vāso
narake vā narakāntaka prakāmam ।
avadhīritaśāradāravindau
caranau te maranepi cintayāmi ॥

"Whether in the heaven, or on the earth,
Wherever I may live;
Whether in hell, whatever the place be,
O ender of hell, even in the hour of death, may I think

Part II, 1886, 154 ff, the Pañcastavī (Five Hymns to Durgā of unknown authors) in Km, Part III, pp 9-31 The hymns addressed to Śiva have been published in Haeberlin 496 ff, and Km, Part VI, 1890, 1 ff, hymns to Visnu in Km Part II, 1886, 1 ff

1 Edited in Km, Part V, 1888, 1 ff, where Mūka is mentioned as a modern poet. According to Krishnamacharya 119, traditionally he was a contemporary of Śankara, he was an idiot (mūka) in his youth and became a great poet through a sudden inspiration

2 Edited in Km Part IX, 1893, 1 ff with the commentary of Kayyaṭa, written in the year 978 (see Hultsch, Kalidasa's Meghaduta, p IX)

3 Cf Jacobi, Ānandavardhanas Dhvanyāloka, Separ, p 137 f (on III, 43)

4 Edited with the commentary of Ksemarajā in Chowkhambhā Sanskr Series No 15, Benaras 1902 On the author see Aufrecht CC 64 and Thomas, Kav. 29f In the 14th century A D Jagaddhara wrote his 38 hymns in praise of Śiva Stutikusumāñjali, Bouquet of Prayer of Songs" (edited with commentary in Km 23, 1891)

5 Edited in Haeberlin 515 ff (22 verses), another recension (34 verses) in Km, Part I, 11 ff One verse (Haeberlin 7, Km 6) is cited in an inscription of Pagan (13th century A D); see Hultzsch, Ep Ind 7, 197.

Only about thy feet, that outshine
The lotuses of the autumn."

In the 11th century Bilvamaṅgala wrote his Krsnakarnāmṛta, "Nectar for Krsna's Ears", 110 stanzas on the glorification of Kṛsna, a poem that in India is held in great esteem[1]. In about the middle of the 16th century A.D. Rūpadeva Vidyābhūsana, commonly called Rūpa Gosvāmin, a follower of Caitanya, wrote his songs in praise of Krsna, Stavamālā[2] and also Mukunda muktāvalī[3].

In about 1540 A.D. the astronomer and poet Sūrya deva or Sūrya, son of Suganaka Jñānādhirāja, wrote his Rāmakrsnakāvya, a poem that can be read both from the top and the bottom (vilomāksarakāvya), and in which Rāma and Kṛsna have been extolled in different hemistichs. There is a commentary on the work written by the poet himself[4].

The Nārāyanīya of Nārāyana Bhaṭṭa[5], completed in the year 1590 A.D. is a stotra and fairly extensive kāvya at the same time. The poem contains the entire subject-matter of the Bhāgavatapurāna and consists of ten decades (daśakas[6]). In Kerala it has the value of a prayer-book like the Bhāgavata, and pious people read a section from it everyday. The legend goes that the poet was a Brāhmana of Kerala, suffering from rheumatism and was cured of this disease with the help of his prayers to Krsna. At the completion of recitation of each of its decades he was healed of one-tenth of his malady[7].

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1. The title is also Krsnalīlāmrta, and the poet is called also Līlāśuka: according to a legend he was reborn as Jayadeva, the author of the Gītagovinda, see Aufrecht, Bodl Cat 128 and Krishnamacharya 121 f., who says that the poem is daily sung by young people and many verses are very much suitable for dance.

2 Edited with commentary in Km. 84, 1903; see Ind. Off. Cat. p 1497 f

3. Edited in Km , Part II, 1886, 157 ff ; see Ind Off Cat , p 1469 f. To Krsna is addressed also Ānandamandākinī written in the 15th century by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, published in the Pandit N. S 1, 498 ff and in Km Part II, 1886, 138 ff.

4. Edited in Haeberlin 463 ff and Km , Part XI, 1895, 147 ff.

5. Edited with the commentary of Ganapati Śastrī in TSS No. 18, 1912

6 Beside the division into decades there are 12 skandhas in the decades, and this goes to make it a kind of purāna.

7. Cf. also the legend of Mānatunga, Mayūra and Bāna, above II, 340; transl 550.

In the 17th century Rāmabhadra-Dīkṣita composed his different hymns in the highest kāvya-style, in which he has praised the arrows of Rāma, Rāmacāpastava., Rāmabāṇastava and Astaprāsa or Rāmāṣṭaprāsa; further in one Varṇamālāstotra, written in 51 stanzas in a very simple language with their first letters arranged alphabetically Rāma has been praised[1]. In the same century Jagannātha flourished as a lyric writer. He sang in praise of Laksmī in the Laksmīlaharī[2] and Gangā in the Gaṅgālaharī[3] and composed in 30 literary stanzas a hymn to the sun, the Sudhālaharī[4]. Rāmabhadra's teacher Nīlakaṇṭha Dīksita wrote a philosophical work Ānandasāgarastava in a simple dignified language in praise of the Devī[5].

The peculiar manner in which the Devī-cult came to flourish is shown by a poem of unknown antiquity, the Caṇḍīkucapañcāśikā, "50 Stanzas on the Breasts of Caṇḍī" by a poet Lakṣmana Ācārya, son of Benīmādhava[6]. A half-religious and half-erotic is the peom Bhikṣāṭanakāvya of Śivadāsa, who calls himself Utprekṣāvallabha. In this poem the writer describes the feelings and reaction of the female devotees of Śiva when he goes about in the garb of a holy mendicant[7].

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1. Published in Km., Part XII, 1897, 1 ff; Part X, 1894, 18 ff and Part XIII, 1903, 1 ff. Rāmabhadra, a disciple of Nīlakantha was also a dramatist, see Krishnamacharya, p 110.

2. Published in Km part II, 1886, 104 ff

3. Jagannātha is said to have married a Muhammadan girl, and on account of this he was excommunicated One day he with his wife sat on the highest (52nd) step of a ghaṭta on a bank of the Gangā and began to pray to the holy river. With completion of each stanza the river continued to rise When he recited the 52nd stanza the water of the river reached him and his consort and washed off their sin They were drowned in the river and were never seen again. The poem, Gangālahaiī, however, is well-known in the whole of India Cf R L Vaidya, Bhāminīvilāsa Ed, Introduc p 12 ff, Aufrecht, Leipzig, No 441 Amrtalaharī, edited in the Km, Part I, p 99 ff is a poem written in praise of Yamunā, The Karunālaharī, published in Km Part II, p 55 ff sings the miseries of human fate

4 Edited in Km, part I, 16 ff

5 Edited in Km, Part XI, 1895, 76 ff

6. Edited in Km, Part IX, 1893, 80 ft Notwithstanding the title the poem contains 83 verses, verses 1-18 form the introduction and 69-83 constitute the conclusion

7 Cf. Aufrecht, ZDMG, 27, 12 f, Eggeling, Ind Off. Cat. p., 1448 f.

In India erotic and religious lyrics seem to have got mixed up together. The most famous religious erotic poem is the Gītagovinda[1] of Jayadeva, the son of Bhojadeva of Kindubilva (modern Kendulī) in Bengal, the court-poet of Laksmanasena. The Bhaktamāla[2], a book of legends of the followers of the Krsna-cult, written in the Hindī language, contains about the poet several legends, in which he is extolled as a saint and miracle-worker[3]. In his youth he led the life of a wandering ascetic, but is said to have married later when a Brāhmana forced upon him his daughter. In the status of a married man he composed the poem Gītagovinda, in which Lord Krsna aided him to describe the loveliness of Rādhā, when his mortal powers failed. The complete title of the poem is Gītagovindakāvyam, i.e. "the poem, in which Govinda is extolled through songs." Govinda is the name of the cowherd god Krsna,

1. Cf Pischel, HL, p 19 ff. Editions Gita Govinda, Jayadevae Poetae Indici drama lyricum. Taxtum .. recognovit interpretationem latinam adjecit C Lassen, Bonnae ad Rh. 1836 The Gīta-Govinda of Jayadeva with the Commentries Rasikapriyā of King Kumbha and Rasamañjarī of Mahāmahopādhyāya Śankaramiśra Ed M R Telang and W L S Pansīkar, 3rd Ed, Bombay 1910, NSP An English translation by W Jones had already appeared in the Asiatic Researches, 3, 184ff The last-named one gave rise to the German rendering by F H v Dalberg (Erfurt 1802), F. Majer (in the Asiat Magazin II, 294 ff) and A W Riemens-chneider (Halle 1818) A German translation by F. Rückert (first of all made in 1829 according to a Calcutta impression and then recast according to Lassen's edition) appeared in Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes I, Gottingen 1837, p 128 ff, (in addition to philological notes, p 286 ff) also in Rückert-Nachlese I, 346 ff Recently it has been published in the Insel-Bücherei No 303 The work, that has appeared under the title "Frühlingsliebe von Reinhard Wogen leicht übersetzt aus dem indischen Gitagowinda des Dschajadewa" Halle a S 1911, is worthless The best representation of the original is given by the French translation by G Courtillier (avec une préface de S Lévi, Paris 1904) On the large number of commentaries on the Gītagovinda see Ind. Off. Cat VII, p 1454 ff [Translated into Dutch by B Faddegon, Santpoovt 1932 See Keith, HSL, 190 ff, S K. De, HSL, p. 388ff. Eng transl by Edwin Arnold. The Indian Song of Songs, London 1875; French transl also by H Fouché, Paris 1850]

[2 Written by W. as Bhakta Mālā.]

3 These legends were communicated by H H Wilson, Works, 1, 65 ff and E Trumpp, Die altesten Hinduī-Gedichte (SBay. A 1879, I), p. 6 ff There occurs also a small Hindi poem of Jayadeva in text and in translation, which is the oldest poem in the Ādigrantha. The poetical part of the Bhaktamāla was written by Nabhajī towards the end of the 16th century A D. Cf also M. Chakravarti, JASB N. S. 2, 1906, 163 ff. who reports a story from the Sanskrit Bhaktamālā of Candradatta [See also Garcin de Tassy, Histoire de la Littérature Hindoue et Hindoustanie, Paris, 1870 II, 69 ff. and Grierson, Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan, Calcutta, 1889, Section 51.]

and the theme of the poem consists of his love for Rādhā, who keeps herself aloof from him on account of jealousy, the longing of the loving pair and their final entreaties and reconciliations. The simple activity, if it can be so called is narrated in a few recitative verses, whilst the main portion of the poem consists of rhyming dance-songs with a refrain[1]. The melody and cadence, according to which they are to be sung and that are to accompany the dance, are always given. These songs, that are alternately put into the mouths of Rādhā, her friend and Krṣna, describe in pictures full of sentient ardour the events and the sentiments. Here and there are inserted also benedictions, and in the concluding stanza of each song the name of the poet is mentioned, and it is said that he is a devotee of Hari[2]. The recitative verses that follow each of the songs—such verses number upto three—are not sung, but are to be recited in an artistic manner. They describe many a time the situation, and often the appearing person is further brought into the song. The narrative and the recitative parts have been interwoven in this work as can be seen by casting a glance at the contents of the first canto.

After a foreward in four stanzas by the poet, there is a hymn to Visnu (Hari), in which the god has been extolled in his ten physical incarnations, and then follows a second hymn for the glorification of God with the refrain jaya jaya deva hare, "triumph to the Divine Hari". Then there is a narrative stanza that reports that while the confidante of Rādhā speaks to her, thereafter the song[3] follows, in which the confidante describes how Krsna in the thicket rejoices in the company of cowherd-maidens and dances with them. Three recitative stanzas describe the spring and reports that Rādhā's friend once more addresses her in the follow-

1 Usually they have 8 strophes, therefore, in many manuscripts they are called Aṣṭapadī · and since these songs form the nucleus of the poem, the latter is often designated as Aṣṭapadī, i e "The Poem with 8 Strophes"

2. Since arbitrarily Rückert has omitted these religious accessories, his translation does not rightly represent the poem.

3. It is to be sung in the "Spring Melody", to which the notes were communicated by W Jones (As. Res 3, 86 f) In India particular melodies are prescribed for particular seasons and particular time of the day See J D. Paterson. As Res 9, 1809, p 454

ing octaves: and this prabandha describes how the cowherdesses are attracted towards the young god, crowd about him, admire him and allure him:

kāpi kapolatale militā lapitum śrutimūle |
cāru cucumba nitambavatī dayitam pulakairanukūle ||
harirriha mugdhavadhūnikare o ||
kelikalākutukena ca kācidamum yamunājalakūle |
mañjulavañjulakuñjagatam vicakarsa karena dukūle ||
harirriha mugdhavadhūnikare o ||
ślisyati kāmapi cumbati kāmapi kāmapi ramayati rāmām |
paśyati sasmitacārutarāmaparāmanugacchati vāmām |
harirriha mughdhavadhūnikare o ||

"One young girl turns to the side of his cheek,
With a desire to whisper something into his ear;
She kisses her sweet'heart stealthily and makes him amazed;
Him, whose joy has become transparent;
Hari in the merry crowd of maidens;
With the sporting girls, he jokes in pageantry of joy.
One damsel, on the strand of the Yamunā,
In ecstasy of whirl of rupture,
Pulls him by his cloth,
Him who has retired into an airy grove;
Hari in the merry etc.
One, charming girl, he embraces, another he kisses;
He brings a third one to his heart;
With a lovely smile he looks at yet another
And follows still an other attracting one;
Hari in the merry, etc. [1]"

Then the poet narrates how in jealousy Rādhā leaves the scene and retires into a grove, and in the next prabandha, she complains to her confidante about her sweet'heart being unfaithful; but on the contrary, in another prabandha she gives expression to her ardent longing for him and to her wish that her lover may approach her and embrace her. It is followed by a narrative stanza: tortured by love Krsna leaves the cowherdesses and full of repentance searches for them. His bewaling

1. Translation according to the German rendering of Rucker (I 14, 41, 44).

is contained in the next song. This is followed by recitative verses in which Kṛṣṇa addresses partly the god of love and partly Rādhā and gives expression to his longing for his beloved. This ends in a benedictory verse, in which Kṛṣna, the lover of Rādhā, is invoked for conferring fortune and happiness upon the audience. Narrative stanza: the friend of Rādhā comes and speaks to her love-lorn Kṛṣṇa. In the song that follows, she describes the agony of love-sick Rādhā resulting from her separation, and in two more songs she portraits her further misery caused on account of love. The conclusion is again a benedictory stanza. Narrative stanza: Krsna wants the confidante to go to Rādhā and to bring her to him It is followed by a song, in which the friend of Rādhā narrates how Krsna has got emaciated on account of his longing for her and that he with an ardent yearning is expecting her in the grove. A narative strophe describes the place where the lover is awaiting. Then follows a song, in which the confidante, in warmly glowing words, breathing wild sensuousness, commands Rādhā to give up her anger and to hasten to embrace Kṛṣna. How musical sounds the refrain of this song: *dhīre samīre yamunātīre vasati vane vanamālī* in

patati patatre vicālitapatre śankitabhavadupayānam |
racayati śayanam sacakitanayanam paśyati tava panthānam ||
dhīre samīre yamunātīre vasati vane vanamālī |
mukharamadhīram tyaja mañjīram ripumiva kelisulolam ||
cala sakhi kuñjam satimirapuñjam śilaya nīlanicolam ||
dhīre samīre.... ||

Rückert translates into German the verse V, 10 of this poem that can be rendered into English as follows —

"When a bird moves about and stirs among the
leaves, He thinks that thou hast come.
He prepares the bed with His eyes amazed: He is anxious
to meet thee.
In the sweet-smelling grove, on the bank of the
Yamunā, in the gentle breeze, the lotus-garlanded
(God) is awaiting.

Away with the anklet, that is sounding and is set in
motion and acts as a traitor in matter of love;
O friend, start for the bush, that is fully
enveloped in the dark, and put on a blue garment.
In the sweet-smelling etc."

The following recitation-verses are merely a continuation of the friend's speech contained in songs, etc.

This poem has often been designated as dramatic. Lassen has called it "a lyrical drama". L. v. Schroeder has referred to it as "a lyric-dramatic poem" and a "refined yātrā"[1]. That the poet himself called his poem a "kāvya", i.e. an epic poem is proved by its division into sargas or "cantos." On the other hand, he has undoubtedly interwoven in the frame of the kāvya songs composed on popular models, that cannot be conceived without music, song and dance. In one of the verses (IV, 9), in which the poet has mentioned his name, he says about himself that his song is to be staged in mind (*manasā naṭanīyam*). Hence it follows that the poet had no intention to write a dramatic poem, in no case a proper drama[2], but his task was to write a book in which popular dance-play with music and tunes served as a model for songs, that constitute the nucleus of the book[3].

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1 ILG., p 563 ff, 580ff. Nisikānta Chattopādhyāya, Indische Essays, Zürich 1883, p. 4 too calls Gītagovinda "a type of yātrā in Sanskrit" ,Cf. Lévi, 234 ff. and preface to Courtillier's transl, p vff Pischel (HL 22) says "It is further removed from the first beginnings of drama, because the poet has left no room for improvisation, even the transition-verses having been cast by him in a firm mould" and he has called the poem a "melodrama" (KG 209) For a manuscript with very precise directions in respect of the gesticulations (movement of the hand and the head etc) see A C Burnell, A Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS in the Palace at Tanjore, London 1880, p 157 f. One Krsnanāṭaka, that is a "lyrical drama", that is said to be of the type of Gītagovinda, is played in Malabar even during these days, and that not by professional actors, but by men who have been especially trained for this purpose; see K Rāmavarma Rāja, JRAS 1910, 638.

2 More than the yātrās, that nevertheless are dramatic works, that presuppose a stage and a dialogue, the Indrasabhā of Amānat, translated by Fr. Rosen (Leipzig 1892), brings to mind the Gītagovinda, even though this song-play is more dramatical.

3. Pischel, KG 209 says: "The poem, in which rhyme and alliteration play a great role, appears to go back to an original in Prākrit". This is hardly correct in the present form. The poet did not work on a particular Prākrit model, but his Sanskrit songs have been written in the form of songs in the popular language [Cf Keith, HSL, p. 197 f; S. K. De, HSL, pp. 392 ff; S. K. Chatterji, ODBL p. 24]

In fact the songs of Jayadeva are sung even in temples and on days of religious festivals and they accompany dance as well[1]. Since attempt has been made by every commentator, hardly correctly, to interpret many of its erotic verses as having a mystical meaning, love of human soul (Rādhā) for God (Kṛṣna), in any case it is true that the poem has a religious character and that in the opinion of the poet the whole eroticism of the poem is merely a part of the *bhakti*, the religious devotion to God Krsna.

It is true that Jayadeva belongs to the greatest poetical genii of India. It is, however, astonishing that he was able to combine so much passion and sentiment of love, so much alliteration in language, that often resounds as pure music in our ears, with such an ornate and yet artificial a form. It is no wonder that in India the poem enjoys unusual popularity and has always found admirers even outside India. It is so difficult to bring into translations the brilliance of languge that they can reproduce its charms just partially. Even extracts from a defective English translation of the poet by W. Jones engendered feeling of wonder in Goethe. He deplores the fact that although "the incomparable Jones" had remained within the limits of decorum, the German translator Herr v Dalberg has gone for away in his German translation and the great poet expresses his intention even to translate the poem[2].

The Bhakt-Mālā narrates that the Rājā of Nīlācala in Orissa too had written one Gītagovinda and he invited Brāhmanas to make the book known. But they did not like to approve of it. It was decided that both the books, that is of Jayadeva and of the king, should be brought into the temple of Jagannātha and to leave the decision to the god himself. Then the god put the book of Jayadeva about his neck like a neklace and threw

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1 As late as in the time of W Jones (As Res 3, 183) at Kenduli, the place of birth of Jayadeva, was celebrated a feast, in which the Gītagovinda was sung with a dance during the night In an inscription of the year 1499 King Pratāparudradeva ordains that female dancers and female Vaisnava singers should learn and sing only the songs of Gītagovinda One verse from the Gītagovinda has been quoted in an inscription of the year 1292 Cf M. Chakravarti JASB, N S 2, 1906, 166 ff. [S K De, HSL, p 590]

2 Goethes Werke, Jubilaumsausgabe Vol 37, p 210 ff; Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe, II, p 303-309

the book of king out of the temple Although the god decided in favour of the work of Jayadeva, the succeeding generations have not, however, failed to imitate his poem again and again. In a large number of poems, their writers have not only glorified the love of Rādhā and Krsna, but they have composed new poems describing the love between Rāma and Sītā and between Śiva and Pārvatī as well in a similar manner, in slavish imitation of the Gītagovinda[1].

At the first sight it may appear probable that in love-lyrics of Indians, in contrast to the love-ballads of other nations, the element of thought prevails over all other The truth is that this is strong in love-songs of India for the taste of Westerners, that is already strongly prepossessed: the beautiful ladies bend down under the load of their breasts, their hips are like trunks of an elephant, the lovers remove with violence the garment of the loving women, often the theme is biting and scratching—but lovers and beloved forget these too on account of their longing and die for love. It is also true that like court ornate poetry, the Indian lyrics, for the taste of Westerners, are all the more important for their form, and really they are often nothing more than an ingenious play But not seldom we come across also true and deep feelings and internal devotion likewise in erotic and religious lyrics. In India, in lyric poetry, as in the whole of Indian poetry, the deep natural feeling is genuine and unaffected[2]

Gnomic and Didactic Poetry

Closely connected with lyrics is gnomic poetry. In many works lyric stanzas and didactic passages are blended into a single whole in such a way that one may be in doubt in the

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1 Cf Aufrecht, Bodl Cat 1, 129 and ZDMG 41, 489 ff. Eggeling, Ind Off. Cat, VII, p 1443 ff, 1460 ff, 1480, V Henry, Les littératures de l'Inde, p 293 f, Bhandarkar, Report 1882-1883, p 9 Such works are · Gītagangādhara of Kalvāna (see Pischel, HL 21), Gītagiriśa of Bhānudatta; Gītagiriśa [of Rāmabhatta]; Rāmgītagovinda, wrongly attributed to Jayadeva, Lalitamādhava of Rūpagosvāmin, Gītarāghava of Prabhākara . Gītadigambara of Vamśamani (Haraprasād, Report I, 18)

2 "The deepest natural sentiment has in all times been the principal characteristic of the Indian mind", Th Goldstücker (Allegemeine Betrachtungen über das in dische Naturgefühl) in Alex v. Humboldt, Kosmos, II, 115ff

matter of grouping them. Perhaps Indians have not attained such perfect mastery in any sphere as in gnomic poetry. They have not more wonderfully succeeded in anything as in the art of giving brief and accurate expression to an idea in two lines Most of the epigrams are written in the form of ślokas—and they describe accurately or often lay out a beautiful picture either from nature or with the help of a strikingly deep thought simile. Numerous narratives, aphorisms and statements in literature, however, also prove the existence of rich treasure of "nice saying" (*subhāsita*), that has been stored up by Indians of all the ages[1] Nowhere else do these epigrams occur more beautifully and with greater grandeur than in the Sāvitrī-peom in the Mahābhārata As we have already seen above, we find abudance of aphorisms also at other places in the Mahābhārata, both in the epic proper and in the didactic sections in particular[2]. These epigrams are in no way always 'conventional moral lessons', but have reference partly to wordly wisdom (*artha, nīti*) and partly to duty (*dharma*)[3] They are, very often, in fact, the sequel to extensive personal experience, and there is no sphere of human life that has not been touched by them Even up to this day it is a necessary part of education to know suitable epigrammatic stanzas, that are fit to be quoted in appropriate places in course of conversation[4]. That it was so in earlier times too is proved by an aphorism quoted in anthologies[5] ·

"Wrongly we call tongue a tongue,
That knows not a beautiful term,
It is a piece of flesh, stuck into the mouth,
For fear, lest a crow may detect it[5] "

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1. Cf. e g Bohtlingk, Ind Sprüche 2595, 3135, 4186, 4776, 7194 Manu 2, 239, Subhāsitāvali 2349

2 Cf above I, 320 f, 323, 341, 359 ff, 376 f, transl p 376 f, 380, 399, 416 f, 425 f

3 The term 'Ethical Poetry" in Macdonell, Hist of Sanskrit Literature 377 is not correct In the Mahābhārata (e g V, 33-37) too wordly wisdom and moral lessons have been taught without distinguishing between them

4 "A man is not considered to be a learned person, probably rightly, unless be can quote at least a few of the poet's famous epigrams that throw light on the question forming the topic of conversation, in which he participates" says the Indian Krishna Śāstrī Bhatavadekar in his foreword to the collection of maxims published by him, see Pantschatantra, transl by L Fritze, p XI f

5 Transl into German by Fritze, Indische Sprüche 387 (Bohtlingk, Ind. Spruche 4776)

The Indian poets had a fancy for inserting aphoristic stanzas throughout. We find them in the epic, in the prose novel and even in the drama They form a component part of the Buddhist and Jaina religious literature[1], as also of the religious and mundane narrative literature. The Śunahśepa-legend of the Aitareyabrāhmana points to the existence of aphoristic literature even in the Vedic age. The scientific literature on law and politics (dharmaśāstra and nītiśāstra) is so full of poetical aphorisms that drawing a line of demarcation between gnomic poetry and scientific literature is often difficult. Numerous epigrams, that were current in literary circles and whose authors in usual course would have been forgotten, were brought together in collections, preferably in śatakas or "centuries" and many authors themselves wrote the whole collections of epigrams. The lines of demarcation between compilation and self-composed poems were often obliterated because of the fact that the latter, in case they became popular, were mutilated and added to by copyists in course of time

One of the most popular aphoristic collections is the one that is attributed to C ā n a k y a [2], the minister of the Maurya king Candragupta. Cānakya is the model of the wise and clever minister. The authorship of the famous manual of polity, the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra, is attributed to one Kautilya "crookedness". In the same way as all laws are traced back to Manu, the mythical first king, who has been made the author of not only of manual of morals and law but also of a large number of legal and moral maxims that have even been in circulation, all the teachings on polity and wordly wisdom are traced back to Cānakya, famous in legends, who has at last been made the author of a great collection of proverbs, that perhaps originally consisted only of the principles of polity (rājanīti), but in course of time, has assumed in the hands of copyists more and more the character of a variegated mixed collection of sayings There are not less than seven different recensions of this work that appears under different titles in the

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1 See above II, 26, 49, 60, 64 f, 84, 99, 116, 312 f, 343 f, 349 f; transl. 31, 67, 76, 82 f, 108, 124, 144, 466 f 562 f, 573 f.

2 The name, rather the personality of Cānakya reminds us of Kautilya, who appears in the Mahābhārata (I, 140) as a teacher of nītisāstra and as a type of Machiavelli

manuscripts[1]. There is nothing to think about the minister Cānakya being the real author of these wise sayings. It is also not correct at the same time to find in them "popular poerty" and to equate them with adages[2], that circulate from mouth to mouth, without being considered to have belonged to a single author. The proverbs originated rather in literary circles and partly they go back to works in literature and partly they were composed by the authors, whose names are forgotten. It is, however, assumed that we are not able to attribute a collection of this type to any definite period

The form in which the collection has come down to us shows all the characteristic traits of Indian aphoristic poetry in general, including those in respect of variety of its contents. Although in its title there usually occurs the word rājanīti ("king's politics"), comparatively it contains few maxims on the art of administration On the other hand, we find many common rules of conduct, that are as "Macchiavellistical" as the rules of administrative polity, in addition to numerous contribution. on the knowledge of human nature and life, on wealth and

1 Rājanītiśāstra, Cānakyarājanīti, Rājanītisamuccaya, Cānakyanīti Cānakyanītidarpana, Vrddhacānakya, Laghucānakya, Cānakyanītisāra Cf O Kressler, Stimmen indischer Lebensklugheit, where he investigates into the collection of aphoristic stanzas that are attributed to Cāṇakya and has translated them into German from one of the recensions. Leipzig, 1907 (Indica, edited by E Leumann, Heft 4) Other editions Haeberlin 312 ff, J Klatt, De trecentis Cānakyae poetae Indici sententiis Diss Halis Saxonum, Berol 1873; Weber, Indische Streifen I 253 ff und Monatsberichte der k Akademie Berlin 1864, 400 ff On the numerous Indian editions see Kressler, ibid, p 38 ff Cānakyasārasamgraha, a work, widely known among the Buddhists of Nepal, too is reported to contain 830 aphorisms (see Rājendralāla Mitra, Sanskrit Buddhist Lit. of Nepal, Calcutta, 1882, p 282 f) One Cānakyanītisāstra is found also in the Tibetan Tanjūr; see G Huth, SBA 1895, p 275 The wisdom aphorisms of Sānāq (i e Cānakya) found in the Arabic work Sirāj al-Mulūk by at-Tortūsī (12th century) are also probably based on Cānakyanītisāra, see Th Zachariae in WZKM 28, 1914, 182 ff The aphorisms have been repeatedly translated : so thus into Greek by D. Galanos, [See J van Manen, Foreward to the 2nd edition of Cānakyarājanītisāstram, ed by Iśvara Chandra Śāstrī, Calcutta Or Ser, 1921, p III], into English by Muir, Metrical Translations from Sanskrit writers, into German by Böhtlingk in the "Indischen Sprüchen" Cf also G M Bolling, The Recension of Cānakya used by Galanos for his Ἐκ διαφορῶν ποιητῶν JAOS 1921 p 49 ff Rightly remarks Bolling that the last word has not yet been said with Kressler's book on the "Original Cānakya", since much of the materials for establishment of the text has not yet been used [Another English transl is by K Raghunāthaji, Bombay, 1890].

2. As has been done by Kressler, ibid, p. 27.

poverty, on fate and human activity, on women and lastly on all sorts of padagogical, religious and ethical teachings. Only in a few cases in its contents we find groups of connected stanzas after so variegated passages jumbled up together. So in the verses VI, 15-22, where twenty things are enumerated that man should learn from animals, one from the loin, one from the heron, four from the cock, five from the crow, six from the dog and three from the donkey, one in the wholly seemingly compact "breviary of life". Likewise in the group of verses XI, II-17, different types of Brāhmanas are enumerated. More often we find pairs of homogeneous verses. But in general each verse is a unified whole

Popular are the maxims in which different but a little similar things—many times not without humour—are named just for the sake of principle of enumeration, as we have found in the Aṅguttaranikāya and in the Thānamga This sort of enumeration certainly became popular before it got extended to all over the work with such pedantry in the Buddhist and Jaina literatures. For example I, 9 f —"Not for a single day should a man stay at the place where five are not to be found: a rich man, a scholar, a king, a river and a physician. And man should not turn his step towards the place, where the five are not met with means of livelihood, security, modesty, politeness, and generosity,". Or IV, II: "One devotes himself to penance all alone, studies in the company of two, sings in the company of three, travels in the company of four, cultivates the field in the company of five and goes to the field of battle in the company of many". Or VII, 4: "One should show oneself satisfied in respect of three: in respect of his wife, in respect of his meal, in respect of wealth; in respect of three he should not feel satisfied :— in respect of study, penance and gifts". XVII, 19 : "A king, a courtesan, Yama (the god of death), fire, a robber, a child, a beggar and as the eighth a village magistrate—all these do not perceive the grief of their neighbours". Often the point of the saying appears in the form of a superlative at the end of enumeration; So IV, 13. "vacant is the house of the childless man, vacant is the region in which there

dwells no kinsman, vacant is the heart of the fool, and poverty is vacuum itself". Popular are the enumerations that are joined to catch-words or contain some sort of definition For example IV, 14 "Poison is the book that has not been studied thoroughly, poison is the food that is not digested, poison is the knowledge to the poor and poison is a young girl for an old man"[1].

Pictures and similes in epigrammatic poetry are always popular, and particularly numerous are the sayings in which the subjects spoken about are illustrated with the help of examples from nature. E.g III, 14 f., "Through a single nice tree, that is in blossom and smells well, the entire forest gets permeated with odour; likewise a whole family with a single noble son becomes 'fragrant', i e. attains honour With a single dry tree, that is set on fire, the entire forest gets into flame; likewise with a single bad son it gets burnt" i.e. comes to ruin"; V, 18: "With truth is sustained the earth, with truth glows the sun, with truth blows the wind : all rest on truth" XII; 7. "In the company of the noble the bad become noble, but the noble do not become bad in the company of the bad: the sweet smell that the flower emits makes the earthen vessel fragrant, but the flowers do not take the smell of the pot"[2].

If Cānakya is just a name, that has been used as the supporting pillar for gnomic poetry, Bhartrhari, whose three śatakas or centuries—Śṛngāraśataka, Nītiśataka, and Vairāgyaśataka[3], are included among the most famous works of Indian poetry, is a real poetic personality This is shown particularly by the first of the three collections, the Śṛṅgāraśataka, "The Hundred on Love".

1. Wholly of the same type are the aphorisms of Bharata, that A Schiefner (Mahākātjājana und Kōnig Tschanda—Pradjota, Mémoires, de l'Academie de St Pétersbourg, Part XXII, No 7 1875, p 54 ff) has translated from Tibetan.

2 All citations and translations are from the German renderings from Vṛddhacānakya of Kressler.

3 Editions Bhartrihari sententiae . ed , latine vertit et commentariis instruxit, P a Bohlen, Berolini, 1883 Haeberlin, 143 ff The Nītisataka and Vairāgyasataka of Bh , with Extracts from two Sanskrit commentaries, ed by K T. Telang, BSS No 11, 1885 Subhāsita-Trišatī of Bh with the Commentary of Rāmacandra Budhendra, ed. P. Parab Bombay 1902 NSP. Edition with Tīkā and Bhāsātīkā of Gangāvisnugupta and Khemarājāgupta, Bombay 1885

This, at the same time, is also a characteristic collection of erotic stanzas, like the Amaruśataka. Whilst the strophes of the Amaruśataka present to us pictures from amorous life the verses of the Śṛṅgāraśataka are expressive of general ideas about love and women The Śataka begins with verses in which the pleasure of love and beauty of women, on one hand, and the force of love and its joys, particularly the change of seasons, on the other, are described. Then follow the verses in which the joy of love has been compared with the peace of mind, attained through penance and wisdom; and in the last quarter of the śataka the poet comes to realise more and more that wife is merely a sweet poison, just a snake lying on the way, and that love is merely an allurement that attracts one to wordly pleasures, whilst real happiness can be found only in renunciation of the world and in God (Śiva, Brahman) Now it is possible that these stanzas have been so arranged by an able compiler that they bring before us a picture of the oscillation of the Indian mind between sensuousness and renunciation of the world. It is possible that the same compiler, whilst he had added the Nīti-śataka, "The Hundred of Wordly Wisdom" and the Vairāgya-śataka, "The Hundred of Renunciation of the World" to the Śṛṅgāraśataka, he pursued the objective in the three "centuries" of selected maxims on the path of the wise, from sexual pleasure to virue and performance of duty and wished to describe as the highest goal, the renunciation of the world.

But against this commonly accepted hypothesis that Bhartrhari's śatakas are merely anthologies[1] stand two strong facts. Firstly the unanimous and unbroken tradition of India. It is not suggested that a similar tradition has made Vyāsa the poet of the Mahābhārata and Cānakya the writer of the collection of sayings that are associated with his name. Vyāsa is an old sage, whom the people voluntarily made the author of old venerable texts, that were desired to be accorded

1 So Colebrooke, Misc Essays, II, 174, v Bohlen. Praefatio, p. VIII of his edition· Aufrecht, Leipzig No 417 (Spruche von verschiedenen Dichtern, Welche in fruher Zeit in drei sogenannten Zenturien Zusammengestellt und einem Dichter Bhartrhari Zugeteilt wurden) and CC, p. 397, Pathak, JBRAS 18, 348 ("Collection of elegant extracts for many of which Bh was indebted to previous writers) and particularly Hertel, WZKM 16, 202 ff, Tantrākhyāyika-Übersetzung I S 4, and LZB. 1907, 3 Aug.

a special religious status Cānakya is a very famous chancellor who on account of his wisdom in administration has been made the carrier of all epigrams concerning statesmanship and afterwards also of those concerning wordly wisdom. But the name of Bhartṛhari is famous just as a writer of gnomic stanzas and as that of a grammarian : then the tales, that have got tagged to his name are of very late origin and perhaps originated in the first place on the basis of the epigrammatic stanzas that pass under his name. In the second place, not only the three śatakas, but rather the Śrngāraśataka alone exhibits completely explicit physiognomy of the poet The verses of the Śrngāraśataka and also a majority of verses of both the other śatakas bear such definite individual traits, that J. J Meyer could call Bhartrhari "one right charactersistic brain of old India" that represents the "typical Hindu" in his wavering between glowing sensuality and asceticism and that H. Oldenberg[2], notwithstanding the fact that he doubts the authorship of Bhartrhari and leaves the question "how far to him, an individual, does the definite personality correspond", openly calls him an Indian living in a forest". What is so especially a characteristic for Bhartrhari, that is attainment of the renunciation of the world from pleasures of lust, has never been said so clearly as in the verse in which he says :

yadāsīdjñānam smaratimirasamcārajanitam
tadā sarvam nārīmayamidamaśesam jagadabhūt |
idānīmasmākam patutaravivekāñjanadrśām
samībhūtā drstistribhuvanamapi brahma manute ||

"When in the darkness of love,
Ignorant, I wandered about, I saw nothing,
Nothing in the wide world, but only women;
But just when I was cured of the blindness,
Through knowledge, the ointment for the eye,
Forthwith appeared all calmly over my eye,
And I saw in the world only one Brahma[3] !"

When, in the verse, in which he remarks that love and

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1 Daśakumāracarita—Translation (German), p 1 f [See also S.K De, Treatment of Love in Sanskrit Literature, p 33 ff]

2 LAI p 226

3 Śrngāras 98, translated into German by L V Schroe r, Mangobluten, p 24

wisdom are the extremities of life, but represent the two paths to happiness, as he says

samsāresminnasāre parinatitarale dve gatī panditānāṁ
tattvajñānāmṛtāmbhahplavalalitadhiyām yātu kālah kadācit ।
no cenmugdhānganānām stanajaghanābhogasaṁsarginīnāṁ
sthūlopasthasthalīsu sthagitakaratalasparśalolodytānām ॥

"In this world, full of deceipt, with vaccilating consequences,
There are two paths in which a mortal being delights:
He may drink in wisdom from religious writings either,
Or he may sink into the bosoms of young maidens."

Or rather more appropriately —

kimiha bahubhiruktairyuktiśūnyaiḥ pralāpair
dvayamiha purusānām sarvadā sevanīyam ।
abhinavamadalīlālālasam sundarīnām
stanabharaparikhinnam yauvanam vā vanaṁ vā ॥

"Why make words unnecessarily;
You can attain pleasure in two ways:
Either rejoice in the company of young damsels,
Or enjoy peace and tranquility by retiring into a forest[1]."

Thence it seems likely that there existed on old work in the śatakas of Bhartrhari, and possibly the Śrngāraśataka has, at least apparently, retained the original order of stanzas, whilst the Vairāgyaśataka and more particularly the Nītiśataka, on account of inaccuracy and arbitrary action of the copyists, have, in fact, become more or less anthologies, of which only a small portion contains the genuine verses of Bhartrhari.

As yet it has not been possible to arrive at a decision with regard to the problem of the poet Bhartrhari being identical with the grammarian Bhartrhari, the author of a commentary on the Mahābhāsya of Patañjali and of the Vākyapadīya, a treatise on the philosophy of language. About this scholar Bhartrhari the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing says that he was a faithful follower of Buddhism and became famous in the whole of India and died "forty years ago". Since I-tsing wrote his report in 691 A.D., Bhartrhari must have died in about 651 A.D[2] I-tsing, however,

1 Śrngārasataka 19, 53, translated into German by P V. Bohlen.

2 I-tsing, A Record of Buddhist Religion, transl by J Takakusu, p. 178 ff.

says nothing as to whether this grammarian was also the writer of the aphoristical stanzas, but he narrates a noteworthy story He became a monk seven times in succession and returned to hearth each time. Once when he had already overcome his sensuous desires and had retired into a cloister he had to ask a young man to keep a vehicle ready for him outside the cloister and then he felt that even then he was not fit to become a monk. I-tsing has quoted also a verse in which Bhartrhari rebukes himself on account of his inability to withstand the glamour of the world On the basis of this report Max Muller[1] has presumed that the grammarian Bhartihari might have been also the poet of our śatakas The fact is that the story about our poet narrated by I-tsing fits him very well But on the other hand, it is remarkable that the Chinese pilgrim, who speaks so much about this man, has not directly mentioned the work on account of which his name has become famous in the whole of India, even though the grammatical and philosophical works mentioned by him have become almost extinct Moreover, Bhartrhari in the śatakas is not a Buddhist, but a declared devotee of Śiva in the Vedāntist sense[2] Now it is possible that Bhartrhari was a Śaiva Brāhmana, who was at first a court-poet[3] and householder, became an adherent of Śaiva Vedānta, and lastly embraced Buddhism[4] In this case we must assume that I-tsing did not either mention the śatakas or would not like to say anything about them, because they were written by the poet before he had embraced Buddhism But this sort of hypothesis does not appear very probable after we take into consideration the very story told by I-tsing In case it cannot be admitted that in the very indefinite statement of I-tsing on the works of Bhartihari there is also an allusion to the śatakas[5], all that

1 Indien in seiner weltgeschichtlichen Bedeutung, p 302 ff , [India, what can it teach us ? London 1883 p 337 On the identity of the grammarian Bhartrhari, see Barnett, JRAS, 1923, p 422]

2 Cf Telang, Introduction to his edition, pp IX f , XXIII f and E La Terza in OC XII, Rome 1899, I, 201 ff

3 The numerous stanzas in the Vairāgyaśataka in which he has spoken about the disgust and humiliations of servants of princes point to his once having been a court-poet

4 According to K B Pathaka, JBRAS, 18, 1893, 341 ff , it is probable that Bhartrhari, the grammarian might have been a Buddhist

5 When for example he says that the Bhartrharisāstra does not treat grammar only but also the principles of human life, and that in the book Peina, he describes the excellences of human principles

remains is to admit that I-tsing had merely heard about the works of the grammarian Bhartṛhari[1] and that the stories that were told him about Bhartṛhari related to a poet of this very name, who was the author of the śatakas. In that case this poet must have lived considerably before 650 A.D.[2].

The legends and stories that make Bhartṛhari a brother of the famous legendary king Vikramāditya are of no value for a biography of the poet Merutuṅga, in his great collection of literary anecdotes[3], narrates one such tale, and another one, the story of the wandering fruit is found in the commentary on the Nītiśataka (verse 2)[4] where it serves to explain the verse:

yām cintayāmi satatam mayi sā viraktā
sāpyanyamicchati sa jananyasaktaḥ ।
asmatkṛte ca parituṣyati kācidanyā
dhiktāmca tamca madanamca imām ca mām ca ॥

"She, about whom I think always: she likes me not;
She loves another man, who loves an other girl;
And yet there is another woman, who seeks my love:
Fie on her, on him; rebuke me and him and the god
of love."

Whilst these tales have clearly been fabricated to explain a single stanza or have been dragged in for this purpose, there are other tales that make Bhartṛhari a disciple of Gorakṣanātha, a Śaiva saint of th 15th century[5]. It still remains to be decided whether this is just a bold anachronism or if it has been said about a different Bhartṛhari.

Bhartṛhari probably is the first Indian poet, to have become famous in Europe. The Dutch Calvinist missionary Abraham Roger got the moral teachings of Bhartṛhari

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1 It cannot be assumed that I-tsing had himself known this work. Besides his remarks are so very indefinite. See Buhler in Takakusu, ibid p 225

2 We cannot draw any conclusion, with regard to chronology, from the verses that Bhartṛhari has in common with other works (Tantrākhyāyika, Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā, Viśākhadatta's Mudrārāksasa), since we have no means to know if the relevant verses originally belonged to Bhartṛhari or not.

3 Prabandhacintāmani, transl by C H Tawney, p 198

4 Also in the introduction to Simhāsanadvātrimśikā and also in the Hindī rendering of the Vetālapañcavimsatikā, see Weber, Ind Stud. 15, 210, 212 ff, 270 ff and H Oesterley, Baitāl Pachisī', p 13 ff 176.

5 One of these tales has been dramatized in the Bhartṛhariniryeda, see Gray, JAOS 25, 1904, 197 ff A V W Jackson in Ujjain had heard another, see JAOS 23, 1902, 313 f.

explained to him by a Brāhmana Padmanābha and included them in his translation of this book "De open Deure tot het verborgen Heydendom", (The Open Door to Heathendom) published at Leiden in 1651[1]. From this book Herder knew about the epigrammatic stanzas, from which he translated some selected ones into German[2]. Since then more stanzas of Bhartrhari have repeatedly been translated[3]. A few probes will go to show that the fame of Bhartṛhari is well justified :—

nūnaṁ hi te kavivarā viparītabodhā
ye nityamāhurabalā iti kāminīnām ।
yābhirvilokataratārakadṛstipātaiḥ
śakrādayopi vijitā abalā katham tāh ॥

"Certainly such poets are a bit off,
As do always sing of the debility of woman;
With whose eye-glance even Indra and others get fettered,
How can she be called weak"

tāvadeva kṛtīnām hṛdi sphuratyesa nirmalaviwekadīpaḥ ।
yāvadeva na kurangacaksusām tādyate capalalocanāñcalaiḥ ॥

"The torch of wisdom burns bright and clear
Only so long as beautiful eyes wink:
Thereafter it extinguishes quickly."

kadarthitasyāpi hi dhairyavṛtter-
na śakyate dhairyaguṇah pramārṣtum ।

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1 A Roger's "Offne Tür zu dem verbborgenen Heydenthum, translated from Dutch into German, Nürnberg 1663, p 459-536, "Dess Heydnischen Barthrouherrn hundert Spruche von dem Weg Zum Himmel, and hundert Sprüche von don vernunftigen Wandel unter den Menschen" That is, therefore, merely a translation of the Vairāgyaśataka and the Nītiśataka The Brāhmana it appears did not like to translate to him the "love-stanzas" on one or the other ground

2 At first in 1792 in the "Gedanken einiger Brahmanen" (Herders samtl Werke 1828, Zur Litteratur und Kunst, Bd 9, 141 ff), also in the "Vermischten Stucken aus verschiedenen morgenlandischen Dichtern",ibid p. 157 ff , some also in J G. v Herders, "Blumenlese aus morgenlandischen Dichtern," Berlin 1818

3 A complete German metrical transation by P. von Bohlen, Hamburg 1835 selected Sayings translated by Ruckert (Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes II, Göttingen 1837, p 14 ff , Rückert—Nachlese, I, 341 ff), Hoefer (Indische Gedichte, I, 141 ff , II, 168 ff), L. V Schroeder (Mangoblüten 21 ff , cf Reden und Aufsatze, p 163 ff), E Meier, Klassische Dichtungen der Inder, III, 75 ff , included entirely in Bohtlingk, Indische Spruche too [English trans by C H Tawney, "Two Centuries of Bhartrhari, Calcutta 1877, and Ind Ant 4, 1875 and 5, 1876), by B Hale Wortham, The Śatakas of Bhartrhari (Trübner Or. Series), into Greek by D Galanos, Athens 1845, into French by Regnaud, 1875]

adhomukhasyāpi kṛtasya vahner-
nādhaḥ śikhā yāti kadācideva ॥

"As the flame of light, even when turned down, goes up,
So do the noble, even afflicted by fortune, aspire up."

chinnopi rohati taruḥ kṣīnopyupacīyate candraḥ ।
iti vimṛśantaḥ santaḥ na viplutā loke ॥

"Whether in trouble or in sorrow,
Steady remain the noble :
The moon, reduced to half, becomes full again;
The roots of a tree, even after its fall, may push up again."

śakyo vārayitum jalena hutabhukchatrena sūryātapo
nāgendro niśitānkuśena samado daṇḍena gogardabhau ।
vyādhirbhesajasamgrahaiśca vividhairmantraprayogair viṣam
sarvasyausadhamasti śāstrairihitam mūrkhasya nāstyaus-
adham ॥

"Fire can be restrained with water,
With an umbrella, the heat of the sun,
With a stick, the cow and the ass,
An elephant is controlled with a sharp goad;
Fever is checked with medicine,
And snake-bite with incantations :
Thus everything has its remedy,
But wickedness alone has none."

mahī ramyā śayyā vipulamupadhānam bhujalatā
vitānam cākāśaṃ vyajanamanukūlyamanilaḥ ।
sphuraddīpaścandro viratiyanitāsangamuditaḥ
sukham śāntaḥ śete muniratanubhūtirnṛpa iva ॥

"The earth as the bed,
The arm as the pillow,
The sky , as the canopy,
The zephir, the favourable breeze,
Renunciation, the wife,
The moon, the blazing lamp:
A hermit sleeps in comfort,
Like a king possessing great wealth."

mātarmedini tāta māruta sakhe tejaḥ subandho jala
bhrātarvyoma nibaddha esa bhavatāmeṣa praṇāmāñjaliḥ ।
yusmatsangavaśopajātasukṛtodrekasphurannirmalo
jñānāpāstasamastamohamahimā līye pare brahmaṇi ॥

"Earth, thou art my mother, the atmosphere, the father,
And thou fire, my friend, the water, my relation,
And my brother, the ether, I address you with folded hands,
The merit that I attained in your company,
When I was living below on earth;
With the brilliant knowledge,
That I gained, as a consequence thereof,
Now I go to the other world, abandoning you all,
Love brother and friend, love well father and mother[1]."

Bhartrhari has had his imitators till the most recent times. Inferior epigones have sought to surpass his skill in respect of more artificial metres and kāvya-style, but they have never attained the height of his thought, but have moved within the orbit of his model[2].

Similar to the Nītiśataka of Bhartrhari is the Bhallaṭaśataka[3] of the Kashmirian poet Bhallaṭa, who lived under King Śaṅkaravarman (883-902)[4]. The stanzas are composed in different metres. As an example an allegorical stanza is quoted below with translation:

je jātyā laghavah sadaiva gananāṃ yātā na ye kutracit
padbhyāmeva vimarditāh pratidinaṁ bhūmau nilīnāściram |
utksiptāścapalāśayena marutā paśyāntarikse sakhe
tungānāmuparisthitiṁ ksitibhrtāṁ kurvantyamī pāmsavaḥ ||

"The dust, light by nature, is deemed nought; day by day it is trampled beneath our feet and trodden into the ground;

1. Śṛngāraś. 10, 55, Nītisa 75, 84, Supplement 1, Vairāgyaś 89, 96, according to the German transl of P v Bohlen.

2 Rasiapaāsana is an old Prākrit work of the type of Bhartrharisatakas It consists of 400 gāthās composed by the Buddhist poet Vairocana. They (according to some probes that have been given by S P. V Ranganathasvami Aryavaraguru, JASB, N S, 6, 1910, 167 ff) contain original ideas

3 Published in Km Part IV, p 140 ff

4 According to Rājatarangiṇī, 5, 204, where about this king it has been said that on account of his hatred for science he shunned important people It was on account of this that a poet like Bhallaṭa lived in poverty Verses written by him have been quoted under Aucityālankāra in the Kāvyaprakāśa and in anthologies, see Peterson, JBRAS, 16, 167 ff and Subh 75 ff.; Aufrecht, ZDMG, 41, 488 The fact that a verse written by Ānandavardhana is found in our Bhallaṭaśataka shows that in this collection too stanzas written by other poets occur, see Jacobi ZDMG, 56, 1902, 405

but see, dear friend, the fickle wind has tossed it high, and it settles now on the summit of the lofty mountains.[1]"

An imitation of Bhartrhari's Vairāgyaśataka is the Śāntiśataka, "The Hundred of Peace of Soul[2]" of Śilhana[3], who also came from Kashmir, but carried his literary activities in Bengal. Some of his verses are found also in Bhartrhari and one of his stanzas is found also in the Nāgānanda of Harsadeva. A great majority of the verses are, however, such as are found in anthologies other then the Śāntiśataka. Since Silhana himself says that he "wrote" (*vidadhe*) the work, in the opinion of W., he is to be considered as the author and not as a compiler of the aphoristic stanzas, in case he had no intention to cite accurately. The Śāntiśataka is a piece of pure religious poetry in which the hollowness of life and the grandeur of renunciation of the world and of the life of ascetics have been described in a considerably monotonous manner. Many of the stanzas of Bhartrhari have not been borrowed verbatim, but they have been modified. Some of the alterations have been made on account of Bhartrhari's considering Śiva as the Highest God and Silhana's view being that Vishnu is the Supreme God. As in all other works of this type, the manuscripts differ from one another very strongly, so that it cannot be said with certainty as to which of the verses belong to the original collection and which have been interpolated[4].

Under the name of Nāgarāja, one of the kings of

[1 Keith, HSL, p. 232]

2 Edited with introduction, critical apparatus, German translation and notes by K. Schönfeld, Leipzig 1910. Cf. A. B Keith, JRAS 1911, 257 ff Also in Haeberlin 410 ff

3. The name is written differently. Pischel presumes that the author of the poem is Bilhana, since this name is often written as Silhana or as Cilhana, and a verse of Bilhaṇa occurs in many MSS of the Śāntiśataka.

4 One of the imitators of Bhartṛhari is Dhanadarāja, who wrote three śatakas in the year 1434 A D (published in Km, Part XIII, 1903, 33ff) Janārdanabhaṭṭa wrote one Śṛngāraśataka and one Vairāgyaśataka (published in Km, Part XI, 1895, 133 ff, and Part XIII, 131 ff Appaya Dīkṣita wrote one Vairāgyaśataka (edited in Km Part I, 91 ff) There is one Śṛngāratilaka written in ornate metres by one Naraharī. It has been published in Km Part XII, 1897, 37 ff. The name Naraharī occurs so often as an author that it is not possible to determine his time. In 1220 A D. one Narahari wrote a commentary on the Kāvyaprakāśa, see Peterson, Rep. IV, p. LXIX.

the Ṭāka-dynasty, is found one Bhāvaśataka[1], a kind of collection of riddles. In each verse it is said about some person that he would do this or that in certain situation; sometimes the reader is expected to conjecture why he did this or that; sometimes it is told at the end of the verse. Of indefinite age is the Upadeśaśataka[2] of Gumāni. In it common moral lessons are taught with the help of allusions to well-known myths and fables. Anyoktimuktālatā is another śataka, consisting of 108 ornate allegorical stanzas, of Śambhu, who lived in the court of King Harṣadeva (1089-1101 A D.) of Kashmir[3].

Kusumadeva, a poet otherwise unknown, is the author of Drstāntaśataka (or Drstāntakalikā[5]; a collection of hundred proverbs, in which the wisdom-lesson, taught in the first line, has been illustrated with an example (drstānta) in the second line, e g. verse 10:

uttamaḥ kleśavikṣobham kṣamaḥ soḍhum na hītarah ।
maṇireva mahāśānagharṣaṇaṁ na tu mṛtkaṇaḥ ॥

"Only the noble can bear the stroke of pain: jewel alone resists the pressure of grindstone, not the lime."

Smaller collections of proverbs—whether compilations

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1 Edited in Km, Part IV, 37 ff Cf Bhandarkar, Report 1882-83, p 9 f 198, Peterson, 3 Reports p, 21 f, 338 f There is one Śṛngāraśataka also by Nāgarāja His time is not definite According to R Schmidt, Das alte und moderne Indien, Bonn and Leipzig 1919, p. 184 Nāgarāja was merely the patron of the poet Bhāva, and not the author of the Śatakas

2 Edited in Km, Part II, 1886, 21 f

3 Ed ted in Km, Part II, 61 ff Śambhu's poem Rājendrakarnapūra (edited in Km I, 22 ff) is written for glorification of King Harsadeva A son of Śambhu has been mentioned by Mankha (Śrīkaṇṭhacarita 25, 97) among his contemporaries

4 The Anyoktiśataka of Bhaṭṭa Vīreśvara, edited in Km, V, 89 ff, the Anyāpadeśa śataka of Nīlakantha Dīksita, edited in Km VI, 1890, 143 ff and another Śataka bearing the same title of Madhusūdana of Mithilā, edited in Km, Part IX, 1893, 64 ff Subhāsitanīvī (edited in Km Part VIII, 1891, 151 ff) of the Vedānta scholar Venkatanātha is a collection of subhāsitas in twelve sections and twelve stanzas The author is often referred to simply as Vedāntadeśika and probably lived between 1268 and 1376 A D · see Krishnamacharya, 48 f, 123 f A collection of 94 stanzas is the Lokoktimuktāvalī of Daksināmūrti, published in Km, Part XI, 1895, 65 ff.

5. Haeberlin 217 ff In Vallabhadeva's Subhāsitāvalī, 287-307, have been quoted 21 stanzas from this collection (but not in the same sequence as it is in our text) Kusumadeva must, therefore, have been anterior to Vallabhadeva.

or independent, poems, a thing that cannot be confirmed, are the Nītisāra, ascribed to Ghaṭakarpara, the Nītipradīpa of Vetālabhaṭṭa and the Nītiratna, ascribed to Vararuci[1]. Vararuci is best known as the author of a Prākrit grammar, but in anthologies stanzas written by him too are found, and Rājaśekhara mentions him in the list of his predecessors[1]. The following verses attributed to Vararuci in the Nītiratna are worthy of a good poet :—

itaratāpaśatāni yathecchayā
vitara tāni sahe caturānana |
arasikesu rasasya nivedanam
śirasi mā likha mā likha mā likha ||

"O Brahman, do avenge so much as you will,
My all such actions as are wicked ;
Yet write not this much, write not
The pass-word of fate, I implore you,
That those who have no taste,
May become poet, on their forehead."

saṁsāravisavrkṣasya dve phale amṛtopame |
kāvyāmṛtarasāsvāda ālāpah sajjanaih saha ||

"On the poison-tree of life,
There grow two nectar-like fruits ;
Taste of nectar of poetry
And of talk with noble men."

kākasya cāñcuryadi hemayuktā
mānikyayuktau caraṇau ca tasya |
ekaikapakse gajarājamuktā
tathāpi kāko na ca rājahamsah ||

"Even if the beak of a crow be plated with gold
And its feet decorated with rubies,
And its wings have pearls hanging from them,
It can still never become a flamingo."

Jagannātha's Bhāminīvilāsa[3] is partly

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1 Text in the Haeberlin 502 ff, 526 ff, translated into German Bohtlingk, Indische Spruche.

2 He ascribes to him a poem Kanthābharana "necklace" : see Peterson, JBRAS 17,59

3. The title means "The Sport of a Beautiful Woman" or "The Sport of Bhāminī", in case *bhāminī* is to be taken as a proper noun. The text with French translation published by A. Bergaigne, Paris 1872 (Bibl. des hautes etudes I, 9), edited with a Sanskrit gloss by Lakshman Rama-

lyric and partly gnomic. We have seen above that this author was a scholar of theory of poetics and likewise a lyrist[1]. Like the Śatakas of Bhartṛhari, Bhāminī-Vilāsa too contains stanzas of which the theme oscillates between morality, erotics and renunciation of the world, and it is their common feature that the text of both of them is uncertain and the number of stanzas differs in different manuscripts. The first part, of which the number of stanzas varies between 100 and 130, contains moral lessons, of which many are allegorical[2]. The second part, of which the number of stanzas varies between 101 and 184 as in the manuscripts, contains erotic verses. The third part, consisting of only 18 to 19 strophes, is an elegy on the death of a beloved wife. And the fourth (31 to 46 stanzas) contains verses on happiness of the soul, renunciation of the world and entry into the soul of the universe identified with Kṛṣṇa. Some probese may represent the nature of poetry of Jagannātha. :

nairgunyameva sādhuyo dhigastu gunagauravān ।
śākhinonye virājante khaṇḍayante candanadrumāḥ ॥
"Better it is to be without virtue;
Fie on the person who is possessed of merits;
Other trees remain flourishing,
While the sandal-trees are cut by man". (I, 86)

hariṇīprekṣanā yatra grhinī na vilokyate ।
sevitaṁ sarvasaṁpadbhirapi taddhavanaṁ vanam ॥
A house may be full with all the objects of enjoyment; but in case the housewife, with glances like those of a deer, is not visible there, it is not different from a forest". (II, 154)

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chandra Vaidya, Bombay 1887 (In the introduction Vaidya gives a list of the work of Jagannātha) Trente stances du Bhāminī-Vilāsa accompagnées de fragments du commentaire inédit de Manirāma, publ et trad par. V. Henry, Paris 1885 D Galanos has translated into Greek 98 stanzas of the first book in his Ἰνδικῶν Μεταφράσεων Πρό οδρομος (Athens 1845) P. v. Bohlen has published the third book and translated it into German in the supplement to his edition of the Rtusaṁhāra, Lipsiae 1840 The same book has been translated into German by A. Hoefer, Ind Gedichte II, 141ff [Editions also by Shivarama Mahadeva Paranjape, Poona, 1895, with introduction, English translation and notes; by B G Bal, Bombay 1895, with Sanskrit gloss and English translation; edited critically with his own commentary by Har Dutt Sharma, Poona 1935.]

1. See above, p 30, 141.
2. Hence called also Anyoktivilāsa.

sarvepi tasmin vismṛtipathaṁ viṣayāḥ prayātā
vidyāpi khedakalitā vimukhībabhūva ।
sā kevalaṁ harinaśāvakalocanā me
naivāpayāti hṛdayādadhidevateva ॥

"When all the objects of senses have been forgotten and learning acquired by exertion too has turned away its face from me (has left me), only the fawn-eyed lady, never disappears from my heart, like the deity presiding over it." (III, 3)

dhṛtvā padaskhalanabhītivaśātkaraṁ me
yārūḍhavatyasi śilāśakalaṁ vivāhe ।
sā māṁ vihāya kathamadya vilāsinī dyām
ārohasīti hṛdayaṁ śatadhā prayāti ॥

"My heart breaks into hundred pieces, when I think how you, O beautiful one, should have now ascended the heaven without me, you, who at the time of the marriage stepped on to a slab of stone by holding my hand for support, through fear of slipping of your feet." (III, 5)

The fourth part is entirely devoted to glorification of Krsna-Vișnu. In IV, 40 the poet attests through a pun and not directly that the wretched, who do not get pleasure from the "songs of Jagannātha" - *jagannāthabhaṇiteh* - that can mean so much as the Bhagavadgītā, are already dead, although they may be alive.." [Jagannātha is credited also with the authorship of an ornate didactic poem Aśvadhāṭī-kāvya [1], so named on account of the fact that it is composed in verses written in the aśvadhātī metre].

Greater or smaller didactic poems on some topics, either religious or secular, are associated with some gnomic stanzas. A famous religious gnomic poem is Mohamudgara, "Hammer for Confusion" containing 17 or 18 rhyming stanzas,[2]

[1. Ed. with a commentary in Subhasitaratnākara, Bombay 1918.]

2 Text in Haeberlin 265 ff and A Hoefer Sanskrit—Lesebuch 74 ff. The text with English translation has been published by W. Jones in As Res 1, 34 ff After this translation Herder gave a free rendering of some of the stanzas of the poem in "Die Entzauberung, Lehre der Brahmanen" (Herders Werke, edited by P Suphan, Vol 26, 419, f.). German translation. by P. v Bohlen, Das alte Indien, Konigsberg 1830, p 375 ff, by Bs Hirzel (Morgenblatt 1834), A Hoefer, Ind. Gedichte II, 149, ff and H Brockhaus (Über den Druck sanskritischer Werke mit lateinischen Buchstaben, Leipzig, 1841, 85 ff.) Text with French transl. by F. Nève in JA, 1841, s 3, t. XII, 607 ff.

that are attributed to Śaṅkara. The verses describe the voidness of the universe and blessings of mental peace and of knowledge of Visnu. A few verses are quoted below:—

mā kuru dhanajanayauvanagarvam
haratı nımeṣātkālah sarvam ।
māyāmayamıdamakhılaṁ hıtvā
brahmapadam pravıśa suvıdıtvā ॥

"Be not proud of your wealth or youth,
Not of your men. time rolls all ın a moment;
Away from all that is pervaded by Māyā,
Know the Highest Lord and reach him without delay."

yāvajjananam tāvanmaranaṁ tāvajjananīyaṭhare śayanam ।
iti samsāre sphutataradoṣaḥ kathamıha mānava tava santosah ॥

"How often are we born? How often dead? How long lying in mother's womb? How great ıs the prevalence of vice in this world? Wherefore, O man, art thou satisfied here?"

suravaramandıratarutalavāsah
śayyā bhūtalamajınam vāsaḥ ।
sarvaparıgrahabhogatyāgaḥ
kasya sukhaṁ na karoti vırāgah ॥

"To dwell under the mansions of the high-gods at the foot of a tree, to have the ground for a bed, and a hide for vesture; to renounce all extrınsic enjoyments; whom does not such devotion fill with delight?"

To Śaṅkara ıs attributed also the Śataślokī, a gnomic poem in 101 sragdharā stanzas, ın which the teachings of Vedānta have been set forth partly ın figurative language[1].

The Cātakāṣṭaka[2] "The Eight Strophes of Cātaka" is a very famous ornate poem, that ıs partly lyrical and partly gnomic, of an unknown wrıter and of an unknown age The bird cātaka, according to the Indian belief, has the rare peculiarity that ıt does not drink any water, other than the pure liquid of the cloud, and rather remains thirsty, but does not in any case drink the terrestrial water of streams, lakes and swamps.

1 Select works of Srī Sankaracharya, p 85 ff.

2 There are old and recent poems of this name (Pūrva- and Uttara-Cātakāṣṭaka), both ın Haeberlin 237 ff Edited and translated ınto German by H Ewald ın Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, IV, Bonn 1842, p 366 ff German by Hoefer, Ind Gedichte II, 161 ff; English by Cowell, JRAS 1891, 599 ff.

Hence it always flies high up in the sky to ask the cloud for its drink. The Indian poets have special fascination for describing in lyrical stanzas the longings of the cātaka for the cloud, and proverbially the bird is the model of the noble person who scorns at all meanness in contempt and maintains his honour.

A religious and philosophical poem of an unknown age is the Visnubhaktikalpalatā[1] of Purusottama, son of Vishnu. The theme of the poem is meditation and exhuberance of devotion for God Viṣnu. In the 17th century Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita wrote one Śāntivilāsa[2], a poem of 51 stanzas in simple and unartificial language on the "Charm of Peace of Soul". The same Nīlakaṇṭha is the writer of an apparently uninteresting gnomic poem Kalividambana[3].

As in the case of lyric, so in the case of gnomic poetry too, we find sometimes admixture of religion and erotic. A work of this type is the Rasikarañjana, written at Ayodhyā in the year 1524 by Rāmacandra, son of Laksmanabhaṭṭa, a poem that permits of a two-fold interpretation, in which each stanza can be taken as having an erotic as well as an ascetic meaning.

Partly erotic and partly theosophical is also the Śṛṅgārajñānanirṇaya, "Distinction between Love and Knowledge", contained in a dialogue between Śuka and Rambhā (Rambhāśukasaṁvāda) by an obscure author of an obscure age. They are stanzas with the refrain "*vṛthā gataṁ tasya narasya jīvitam*: useless is the life of that man". Rambhā throughout recites stanzas composed in the lucid language of Indian erotics and containing the idea" "useless is the life of the man, who has not tasted love", that is retorted by Śuka in a stanza in which

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1. Edited with commentary in Km 31, 1892, Cf Ind. Off Cat. p. 1475 f.

2. Edited in Km. Part VI, 1890, 12 ff

3. Edited in Km. Part V, 1888.

4 Edited in Km., Part IV, 80 ff. with a commentary, without which the text cannot be understood. Published for private circulation and translated into German by R. Schmidt, Stuttgart 1896; cf his 'Liebe und Ehe in the alten und modernen Indien, Berlin in 1904, 31 ff

5. J.-M. Grandjean, Dialogue de Śuka et de Rambhā sur l'amour et la science suprême. Texte (32 stanzas) with French translation in the Annales du Musée Guimet t. X, 1887, 477 ff.

it is said "vain is the life of the man, who has not attained the highest wisdom, who has not worshipped Nārāyaṇa" etc.

Exclusively erotic is the subject-matter of the gnomic poem of the Kashmirian poet Dāmodaragupta, who was the chief minister of King Jayāpīda (end of the 8th century A.D.). His kuṭṭanīmata[1], "Teachings of the Procuress," is an instructive poem in kāvya-style, in which a prostitute is being instructed by a procuress as to how she should feign true love for a rich young man and employ all the arts of erotics without letting him take note of the fact that all this is done simply for extracting money from him. The poet tries to parade his knowledge of alaṅkāraśāstra, of Sanskrit vocabulary as well as of the kāmaśāstra. Since Kalhana calls him a poet (kavi) and verses from the Kuṭṭanīmata are quoted in treatises on poetics[2] this work has to be considered as an ornate poem according to the opinion of the Indians, although western scholars would include it in the works on pornography. In verses 778 ff. it has been described how a prostitute shows her skill as an actress in staging the drama Ratnāvalī, in which an interesting peculiarity of representation has been demonstrated.

A work of a similar type, perhaps an imitation of the Kuṭṭanīmata is Ksemendra's Samayamātṛkā completed in 1050 A. D. This prolific-writer, whom we have met so many times and whom we shall meet again, has worked in all the spheres. Throughout the period Ksemendra worked as a poet, he always remained basically a scholar-teacher and his poems are all the more or less gnomic poems, whether they fall within the region of religion and morality or in that of erotics. The Samayamātṛkā is of interest also from the view-point of

1. Edited in Km, Part III, 1887 32 ff The German translation of J J Meyer, Altindische Schelmenbücher II, Lotos-Verlag, Leipzig, (1903) [Beside the title Kuttanīmata there appears also the (synonymous) title Śambhalīmata. [Cf also Dasharatha Sharma in COJ, I, 1934, 348 ff]

2 Rājatarangiṇī 4, 496, Mammata and Ruyyaka cite stanzas from the Kuṭṭanīmata Buhler (Ind Ant 14, 1885 354) mentions the work as "an early specimen of Indian pornography". J. J Meyer has overrated the poet and his this work terribly

3 Edited in Km, 10, 1888 Rendered into German by J J Meyer loc cit Meyer translates the title as "Charm Book for Prostitutes" that can with difficulty be justified with the help of I, 3 But according to VIII, 127 and 129 Samayamatṛkā simply means "the procuress" or literally "teaching mother" i e to say ' she, who is the mother (of the harlot) through her teachings" (and not a physical mother)

cultural history and is partly more brilliant than the work of Dāmodaragupta.

So is the description of the life of the procuress in chapter II not devoid of interest. As a girl of seven years, she happens to become a thief and a harlot at the same time, marries several men one after another, lives as a rich widow and in turn is a thief, nun, procuress, female swindler, a wealthy public house-keeper, food-vendor, beggar, flower-dealer, sorceress, landlady, holy Brāhmaṇa lady and lastly again a procuress. She is brought to the harlot Kalāvatī by a barber, who is depicted in a very realistic manner, for the purpose of training her in the exacting profession. She is now old and has become repulsive—IV. 7.

ulūkavadanā kākagrīvā mārjāralocanā |
nirmitā prāninām aṅgairiva nityavirodhinām ||

"Owl-faced, crow-necked and cat-eyed, she was,
it seems, as if created with the parts of the body of the
everlasting devilish animals."

Highly witty, although not always tasteful, anecdotes are inserted into the teaching of the procuress, and lastly it is narrated, how a young trader is cheated by the harlot and her "mother" and her father, an old niggard is swindled.

Notwithstanding the boundless desire of the writer to make it a book of moral lessons, this work too has fallen within the boundary of pornography[1]. The Kalāvilāsa[2] of Ksemendra has a greater value from the point of view of cultural history and literature. It is a poem having morality as its subject-matter and is divided into ten sections on various occupations and follies. As in his all other works, here too Ksemendra is a tedious and biting pedant. Still he exhibits great experience of life and knowledge of man and

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1 Rightly remarks Pischel (DLZ, 1903, p. 3002) that Samayamātṛkā and Kuṭṭanīmata are not "rogue books", and notwithstanding their obscene subject-matter they follow a decent line

2 Edited in Km Part 1, 34 ff One of the manuscripts described by Eggeling, Ind Off Cat VII, p. 1491 f has only 9 sargas. Translated into German by R Schmidt in the "Festgabe ehemaliger Schüler zum 70 Geburtstag des Professors Ernst Mehliss in Eisleben" 1914 and in WZKM 28, 1914 406 ff Cf J J Meyer, Altindische Schelmenbücher 1, p. XL ff.

speaks about many things and men about whom other writers rerely report.

The sales-man Hiranyagupta brings his son Candragupta to Mūladeva, the famous teacher of all sorts of wickedness, and requests him to undertake training of his son. Mūladeva agrees, takes the young man to his house and trains him in all arts, trickeries and cunning. The teachings of Mūladeva form the subject-matter of the book. At the central point of all sorts of cheatings and pranks stands hypocrisy. The religious hyprocrites have been particularly subjected to description, full of satires, concerning their life, and finally a story is told (I, 65 ff.) about the creation of Dambha (hypocrisy). This Dambha is painted as a great sage (muni) with holy grass, a book, a garland, "a staff of which the horn-handle is as croocked as his heart", muttering prayers with rosary in his hand etc. He appears to be such a great saint that the seven sages offer him the highest respects. The creator Brahman himself praises him for his extraordinary penance; but even in Brahman's mansion he requests the god to speak slowly and to close his mouth with his hand so that he may not get polluted with his breath. This Dambha descends upon the earth too and influences in thousand ways all beings. For ever he has pitched his tent in the moon and on the face of the high officials, and has captivated also the hearts of ascetics, astrologers, physicians, servants, traders, goldsmith, actors, soldiers, singers, bards, wizards, birds like the cranes, that stand like sages on the beach and the trees that dress themselves in bark as ascetics.

In section VII the poet turns severely against the touring people like singers and bards, who are described as real gyspies. They go round carrying their utensils, things in carts with several children and dishevelled hair and rob the rich of their gold; but still they have nothing, as whatever they earn in the morning they already sqander by midday. The goldsmith, in section VIII, is described as arch-thief and swindler. A sample card of different types of swindlers is placed before us in chapter IX. There is a physician who just for gaining know-

ledge of his science administers his remedies to patients suffering from all sorts of diseases, one after another, has killed thousands of people and then becomes a famous person: then there is an astrologer, who with his facial contortions pretends to be meditating on the planets and is ready to predict whatever his clients wish to hear, but does not even know what his wife is doing behind his back: there is the seller of patent medicines, whose skull is as bald as a copper kettle, but he is yet prepared to guarantee an infallible cure for baldness and finds purchasers, etc.

A poem, teaching moral like Kalāvilāsa, is the Darpadalana[1], "Smashing of Pride", of Ksemendra. Here in seven sections have been described the seven types of pride. Alternating with gnomic stanzas, it has proved how thoughtless and useless the pride is, no matter due to high birth, riches, knowledge, beauty, heroism, charity or ascetism. Each section begins with a series of gnomic expressions, then follows the narrative, in which the leading character delivers a long speech which is not different in meaning from the maxims. The story told in section II is Buddhist. Buddha himself enters as "the friend of the unfortunate, the stream of pity". Then appears Śiva in section VII, where he "denounces the troubles of the world" and explains to his wife that some ascetics do not merit redemption, since notwithstanding their ascetism their passion still clings to them. In this otherwise tedious gnomic poem, here and there we find traces of humour: thus when the poet jeers at the learned and saints who have not been able to overcome their passions. A type of practical hand-book of morals is Caturvargasamgraha[2], "Collection of (teaching on the) the Four Aims of Life". It is vain to find in this book anything that is original. Throughout the stanzas are prosaic; only the erotic stanzas in the section on pleasure of desire (kāma) the metres and style are poetical. The Sevyasevakopadeśa[3]

1 Extracts edited and translated by B A Hirszbant. Über Ksemendras Darpadalana, St. Petersburg 1892 Complete text edited in Km, Part IV, 1890, 66 ff and translated into German by R. Schmidt in ZDMG 69, 1915, 1 ff

2. Edited in Km, Part V, 1888, 75 ff. Cf. Lévi, JA 1885, s. 8, VI, 404 f.

3. Edited in Km., Part II, 1886, 79 ff

"Instruction for the Servant and the Served" in 61 stanzas deal with the subject of serving the master. The Cārucaryāśataka[1], "The Hundred Stanzas on Excellent Life", is tolerably a dull gnomic poem, in which have been described, the ways of life of pious and noble men, what he does and what he will like. In it myths and tales have been provided as examples.

Dyā Dviveda in his Nītimañjarī[2] utilized and imitated the Cārucaryāśataka of Ksemendra. The former is a collection of current maxims in ślokas, each of which in the attached prose commentary, written by the author himself, is illustrated through some stories occurring in the Rgveda The work has 200 stanzas, that are divided into 8 chapters corresponding to the 8 aṣṭakas of the Ṛgveda The author has quoted copiously from Sāyana's commentary on the Rgveda; hence he could not have lived before 15th century A.D[3]. The work is of importance for Brāhmanical fable-literature. But the maxims themselves do not have anything of importance

A mention has still to be made of Mugdhopadeśa[4] "Instruction for the Fool" by the Kashmirian poet Jalhana of the 12th century A D., a gnomic poem in 60 stanzas that contains warnings against the snares of harlots.

Anthologies

Gnomic and lyric stanzas in a very large number are found in anthologies, in which generally the names of the poets of individual stanzas are also given. Although such statements are not reliable in all cases, still we are able to learn from these collections about a large number of names of otherwise unknown poets, and many stanzas of high poetical value have in this way come down to us.

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1. Edited in Km, Part II, 128 ff Cf Peterson, Rep 1882-83, p 4 f

2 Cf F Kielhorn, Ind Ant 5, 1876, 116 ff and NGGW 1891, 182 ff, A B Keith, JRAS 1900, 127 ff, E Sieg, Die Sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda, Stuttgart 1902, P 37 ff, A A Macdonell, Brhaddevatā, Ed HOS Vol 5, p XVII ff Winternitz knew of the work from Max Muller's MS which was then in Tokyo

3. According to Nilmani Chakravarti, JASB, 1907, p 211 the date of the work would be 1494 A D, but see also A B Keith, JRAS, 1900, 796 ff

4. Edited in Km Part VIII, 1891, 125 ff

Of unknown date is one Vajjālagga, a Prākrit anthology compiled by the Śvetāmbara Jaina Jayavallabha, hence also called Javallaham[1]. The work stands out with its collection of stanzas[2] composed in the Āryā metre in Jaina Māhārāstrī. The stanzas are arranged in chapters (vājjā) according to their subject-matter. Jayavallabha explicitly says that his idea was to collect the sayings of great poets on matters concerning the aims of life (dharma, artha, kāma). Still only one-third of the verses are gnomic and relate to the aims of life, whilst their two-thirds are erotic. The stanzas contain nothing about Jainism.

One of the oldest Sanskrit anthologies has been found in a 12th century manuscript in Nepal. Neither the title of the anthology nor the name of its compiler has come down to us. F.W. Thomas has edited it under the title Kavīndra-vacanasamuccaya[3]. One section of the work is devoted to Buddha and one to Avalokiteśvara, whilst the rest of the sections have the same themes as the other anthologies have. None of the large number of poets, whose verses have been included in this collection of 525 stanzas, is of an age posterior to 1000 A.D.

Saduktikarnāmrta or Sūktikarnāmṛta[4] "The Ear-nectar of nice Sayings" of Śrīdharadāsa, son of Vatudāsa is a very extensive anthology compiled in the year 1205 A D. Both the father and the son were in the service of Laksmanasena of Bengal, and the collection contains verses mainly by Bengali poets, e g. Dhoī and Jayadeva. In the

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1. A Sanskrit rendering (chāyā) was written by Ratnadeva in the year 1336 Cf Bhandarkar, Report 1883-84, pp 17, 324, ff., Pischel, Grammatik der Prākrit Sprachen §§ 12 and 14; Jul Laber, Über das Vajjālaggam des Jayavallabha, Bonner Diss., Leipzig 1913, H Jacobi, Bhavisattakaha von Dhanavāla, p 61 f

2 Probably it had 700 stanzas as in the Sattasaī, although the two available recensions have only 692 and 652 stanzas respectively

3 Bibl Ind, Calcutta 1912, Cf Haraprasād, Report I, 20 f The probable title is included in the introductory stanza

4. Published in parts in Bibl Ind, Calcutta 1912 Aufrecht, ZDMG 36, 1882, 361 ff, 378 ff; 509 ff gives abundant information with German translation of individual stanzas Cf Thomas 7 f [Edited by Rāmāvatāra Śarmā, with a Critical Introduction in English, by Har Dutt Sharma and an Introduction in Sanskrit by Padma Singh Sharma, POS, p 10 15, Lahore 1933 Cf also Manomohan Chakravarti, JASB, 1906, p 157-76, D c, HSL, p 413]

entire work verses of 446 poets have been cited, amongst those of others of Gaṅgādhara, who is known from an inscription dated 1137 A.D. and of five other poets related to him, all of whom lived during 1050 and 1150 A D.[1], Very important is also the Subhāsitamuktāvalī. "A Chain of Pearls of Beautiful Sayings"[2] of Jalhana, [1257 A D], who after his father Lakṣmīdeva became the advisor of the South Indian king Krsna, who came to the throne in 1247 A.D.[3]. The anthology, of which there is a bigger recension as well as a smaller one, is arranged systematically. A section deals with poets and poetry and is of special importance for history of literature. Other sections contain stanzas on happiness, wealth, charity, fate, wickedness, wisdom, separation, union, misfortune, love, service to king, politics, etc. One of the most famous anthologies is the Śārṅgadhara-paddhati[4] i.e. the Paddhati, "The Guide" (viz. of poetry) of Śārṅgadhara", compiled in the year 1363 A D.[5], The collection is divided into 163 sections according to the topics that have been treated. Often the names of the poets are appended to the stanzas; not seldom, however, is "somebody" given as the writer. Among these names occur nine names of poetesses. Śārangadhara himself too is a poet, but the stanzas of which he calls himself the author are not significant. Amongst others, the verse No. 3927 is ascribed to Kālidāsa, that is:

payodharākāradharo hi kandukah
karena rosādiva tādyate muhuh |
itīva netrākrtibhītamutpalam
tasyāh prasādāya papāta pādayoh ||

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1 Cf Kielhorn, NGGW, 1893, 196 ff; Ep Ind 2, 330 ff, M Chakravarti, JASB, N S, 2, 1906, 174 f

2. The title occurs also as Sūktimālikā or Sūktimuktāvalī Cf Bhandarkar, Report 1887-91, pp (I)-(LIV), Peterson, JBRAS 17, 1889, 57 ff, Thomas, 13 ff

3. Cf Bhandarkar, Early History of the Dekkan, 2nd ed, Bombay 1895, 112 f [De, HSL, p 414, the name of his father was Lakṣmīdhara The work has been edited by Embar Krishnamacharya, in GOS, Baroda 1938]

4 Ed by P Peterson, BSS, No 37, 1888 The edition has 4689 stanzas, whilst in the 56th verse their number is given as 6300 Cf Aufrecht, ZDMG, 25, 1871 455 ff, 27, 1873, 1ff, where many verses have been translated as well Bohtlingk, ZDMG, 27, 626 ff

5 Hall, Vāsavadattā, Introd, p 48 Śārangadhara is the son of Dāmodara and the nephew of Rāghavadeva, who lived in the court of Hammīra of Śākambharā

"The round ball resembles your round breasts,
That you always hit as if out of anger;
Therefore, perhaps on account of fear of your dark eyes,
The lotus has fallen from your breasts down :
It postrates at your feet in order to pacify you."

A beautiful stanza attributed to Bilhaṇa preserved in the Paddhati is No. 3427 ·

aratiriyamupaiti māṁ na nidrā
gaṇayati tasyā gunàn mano na dosam ।
vigalati rajanī na sangamāśā
vrajāti tanustanutām na cānurāgah ॥

"Anxiety afflicts me, sleep is shunning me from away;
My heart sees her noble qualities and not her errors;
The night is passing away, not my desire to meet her again;
My body is waning, but not the real love."

The verse No. 3953 attributed to Bhartrmeṇṭha—

madhu ca vikasitotpalāvataṁśam
śaśikarapallavitam ca harmyaprstham ।
madanajanitavibhramā ca kāntā
phalamidamaithavatām vibhūtayonyāh ॥

"A cup garlanded with blossoming lotuses,
A balcony illuminated with the beams of moonlight,
Marks of anguish on the face of a woman in love,
More than fortune, blesses it the wealth."

A useful maxim found in the Paddhati is:—

pratyaham pratyavekṣeta naraścaritamātmanah ।
kim nu me paśubhistulyam kim nu satpuruṣairiti ॥

"Each day a man should examine his conduct and question himself—
What have I in common with the beasts and what with noble men"

Throughout copious is also the Subhāsitāvali[3] of Vallabhadeva, compiled apparently with utilization

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1 "So wrote, of course, Kālidāsa, and none after him"—remarks Aufrecht, ZDMG, 27, 17

2 Translated into German by Aufrecht, ZDMG 37, 59 f.

3. Ed. by P Peterson and Pandit Durgā Prasāda, BSS, 1886. Cf Buhler, Ind Ant 15, 1886, 240 ff, German translation of a number of stanzas by Aufrecht, Ind Stud 16, 209 f. and 17 168 ff. Barth in Revue crit. 1887, 1, p 421 ff. and C Cappeller in the Album Kern 239 ff have contributed towards textual criticism.

of the Śārangadharapaddhati in the 16th century[1] We are not in a position to assert whether a stanza attributed to Vallabhadeva in this work is a composition of the compilor himself or from the pen of some other poet The anthology contains 3527 stanzas of more than 350 different poets. The stanzas 1119-1127 contain the whole of the canto XI of Mankha's Śrīkanthacarita, from which further extracts are given in 1444-1448 and 1659-1663. The verses are arranged according to the subject-matter. At least two deserve to be quoted here One (1353) of them is attributed the B h ā s a , for whom it may be suitable.—

duḥkhārte mayi duhkhitā bhavati yā hrste prahrstā tathā
dīne dainyamupaiti rosaparuse pathyam vaco bhāsate |
kālam vetti kathāh karoti nipunā matsamstave rajyati
bhāryā mantrivara sakhā parijanah saikā bahutvam gatā ||

"She is deeply aggrieved, when I am in pain,
She becomes happy when I am so,
When I am sad, she gets sadness,
When I am angry and become harsh,
She speaks wholesome words ;
She knows the time, she talks cleverly,
And is pleased when I am praised.
Wife, a wise advisor, friend, servant .
She alone, she has become many"

A beautiful gnomic stanza of an unknown writer is No. 225:

nirgunesvapi sattvesu dayām kurvanti sādhavah |
nahi samharate jyotsnām candraścāndālaveśmani ||

"The noble show pity even to the being that has no

1 So according to A u f r e c h t , CC 555 According to P e t e r s o n Subh 114 he could not have lived before Jainollābadīn (1417-1467) [His name was Kāshmīraka Vallabhadeva and was directly quoted by Sarvānanda in his commentary on the Amarakośa This has been taken note of by WK, p 180, and here the time has not been given so definitely, but it has been said that in the form in which the Subhāsitāvalī is available, it could not have originated earlier than the 15th century, since Jonarāja, who died in 1459, has been quoted above A compromise has been sought to be made by assuming the presence of its earlier recension from which Sarvānanda might have quoted in 1160 A D —D e, HSL, p 413]

2 These words remind of the stanza No 66 of canto VIII of the Raghuvamśa, where probably Kālidāsa had in mind this verse of Bhāsa

quality: the moon does not stop his rays from entering into the house of a Cāṇḍāla."

There is another Subhāṣitāvalī by one Śrīvara, the son or disciple of Jonarāja (2nd half of the 15th century). This anthology contains stanzas by more than 380 poets[1]. Down upto the recent times anthologies have been compiled[2]. The most copious anthology, especially of gnomic stanzas, has been compiled and translated into German by the German scholar Otto Böhtlingk in his volumes of "Indische Sprüche[3]."

DRAMATIC POETRY[4]

Early History of the Drama

The most valuable testimony of court ornate poetry is the drama. And when the Indian poeticians say that drama is

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1 Buhler, Report 61, Peterson, OC VI, Leiden 1883, III, 2, 339 One more Subhāsitāvalī of Sumati (?), see Ind Off Cat. 1533 f.

2 Worthy of mention are the anthologies Padyāvalī, the anthology devoted to the praise of Krsna of Rūpa Gosvāmin (Ind Off Cat 1534 ff; Pischel, HL 9ff, 25, Thomas 11), probably of the 17th century A D., [critically edited by S K De, Dacca, 1934; cf. also COJ, II, 277 ff], Padyavenī of Venīdatta, descendant of Nīlakaṇṭha and Padyāmrtaraṅginī of Bhāskara, son of Āpājibhaṭṭa (Bhandarkar, Report 1887-91, p. (LX) ff, and Aufrecht, ZDMG 37, 1883, 544ff; Thomas, 10f); Harihārasubhāsita of Harihara (published in Km 86, 1905), perhaps identical with Harihārāvalī (or Hārāvalī or Subhāsitahārāvalī) of a poet Hari, who was a contemporary of Akbar, the Great, and had assumed the title of "Akbarīyakālidāsa" (see Peterson, Report II, 57 ff; Krishnamacharya 126; Thomas 14), Padyaracanā of Laksmanabhaṭṭa Ankolakara (published in Km 89, 1908), Anyoktimuktāvalī of Hamsavijaya Gani (published in Km 88, 1907), perhaps an independent work written in 1679, A D (see Gu érinot, JA, 1909, s 10, t XIV, p 47 ff, No 1106), Padyasamgraha of Kavibhaṭṭakṛtala (Haeberlin 529 ff) Compiled in the early 19th century are the anthologies Subhāsitaratnabhāndāgāra of K T. Parav (Bombay 1886, new edition, 1891, cf Hertel, WZKM 22, 1908, 119 f. and Subhāsitaratnākara of K. Bhāṭavadekara (Bombay 1872, new edition 1888) See also Thomas 10 ff. In the addenda W. says that Harihārasubhāsita and Harihārāvalī are two different works. [See also Sūktimuktāvalī of Harihara, edited by Ramānātha Jhā, Patna, 1949]

3 Sanskrit und Deutsch 2 Aufl., St. Petersburg 1870-73, 3 vols. with 7613 epigrammatic stanzas Index to it by A. Blau, Leipzig 1893 (AKM IX, 4) A selection from these epigrammatic stanzas has been rendered into German verses by L Fritze, (Indische Sprüche, Leipzig, Reclam Univ. Bibl). The Indian fashion of composing epigrammatic poems was taken over to Pāli literature, see J. Gray, Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources or the Nīti Literature of Burma, London 1886

4. Literature on drama in general· H. H Wilson, Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, London 1827 (Works, Vol XI, XII); Theater der Hindus, aus dem Englischen übersetzt, 2 Teile, Weimar 1828, 1831; Sylvain Lévi, Le Théatre Indien, Paris 1890; J L. Klein, Geschichte

the best type of poetical composition[1], we should probably insert into their statement that it is the best for the reason that in it other types of poetical compositions too are included and epic, lyric and imitative representations of life are united into a single artistic whole. This union of all the literary skills is, however, not the highest objective, but nevertheless in its still undeveloped form, it is the starting point of poetry. Rightly remarks E. Grosse[2] that almost "every primitive story is a drama", since the narrator is not satisfied by just telling his story in a simple manner, but he makes his work lively with the help of corresponding mimic intonations and gesticulations— he represents the event dramatically, so that in a certain sense the drama is the beginning of all types of poetry. And an American scholar[3], from a study of the ballads of different nations, has shown that recitation of ballads was originally always combined with music and dramatic dance, so that the statement that popular drama developed from such dance-music appears to be correct.

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des Dramas, 3rd vol Leipzig 1866; M. Schuyler, A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama, New York 1906 (CUIS 3), R Pischel, GGA 1883, p 1217 ff; 1891, p 353ff, A. Barth, Revue critique 1892, p 185 ff; G A Grierson, Ind. Ant 23, 1894, p 109 ff, A Hillebrandt, Alt-Indien, p 150 ff and Über die Anfänge des indischen Dramas (SBay. A 1914. 4 Abh); E J Rapson in ERE IV, 883 ff; Winternitz, Österr Monatsschrift für den Orient 41, 1915, 173 ff; H Luders, Die Śaubhikas, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des indischen Dramas, SBA 1916, 698 ff, Oldenberg— Die Literatur des alten Indien, Stuttgart and Berlin 1903, Sten Konow, Indian Drama, Grundriss II., 2 D, 1920 Keith. The Sanskrit Drama, London 1924, 1954 and JRAS, 1916 On the Origin of Indian drama see also A. B Keith, JRAS 1916, 146 ff and Sten Konow in the Archiv für Culturgeschichte 14, 1219, 321 ff. W says in the addenda that printing of the section on drama in his HIL was over when Sten Konow's Das indische Drama was published [See also D R Mankad The Types of Sanskrit Drama, Karanchi, 1936, R V. Jagirdar, Drama in Sanskrit Literature, Bombay 1947, Chandra Bhan Gupta The Indian Theatre, Banaras, 1954]

1. So already Vāmana, Kāvyālamkāra; 1, 3, 31; cf Gangānāth Jhā in the foreword to his edition of the Kāvyaprakāśa (Pandit, Vol· 21, p XIV). Similarly R Gottschall (Poetik, 2nd ed, Breslau 1870, II, 184). "The drama is the blossom of poetry, the union of the epic and the lyric in the uninterrupted vivacity of an actual performance developing itself in the spirit of the age to come"

2 Anfänge der Kunst, Freigburg i B and Leipzig 1894, 253 f Even children and uneducated persons are "not in a position to directly communicate any idea without having the corresponding countenance and gesticulation" Silent pantomimes played in Australia are extremely full of actions (Grosse, ibid 256 f)

3 G Morey Miller, The Dramatic Element in the Popular Ballad 1905, (University Studies of the University of Cincinnati, s II, vol. I, No. 1, 1905, particularly p. 17 ff). He calls these pieces "ballad-plays".

In India too, the drama has at least one of its main roots in such proto-ballad poetry, that we have seen continued from the Veda down through the epic, purāṇic, Buddhist and Jaina literatures, and in it we are obliged to trace the origin of old Indian epics. In the same way in which the epic developed from these ballads, while the narrative moment became more prominent in the face of the dramatic-dialogical foreground, the drama developed from the dramatic elements of these same ballads. Since in our opinion in earlier ages poetry of the type of these ballads could not have a wider circle of listeners, otherwise than by means of lively recitation combined with mimicry, the origin of drama is capable of being easily explained from this type of poetry. It is also understandable that there are many scholars who will like to see real drama in this balladic poetry[1].

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1. See addenda to Vol I, p 89, not included in the transl . [That the dialogue-songs of the Ṛgveda, that have been termed as the "ākhyānat hymns" by O l d e n b e r g, are to be entirely explained in the manner that that they go back to stories in mixed prose and verse of which we have now before us only the poetical dialogues, and that have not come down to us directly. These dialogical songs can best be designated as b a l l a d s. We can translate ā k h y ā n a straightway as "ballad", in case we understand by it a dramatic narration in the form of dialogues, that are either wholly in verse or in verse mixed with prose We already have come across such ballad poetry in the purānas (I, 469, trans p. 560-61), in the Jaina Uttarajjhayana (II, 312 ff) but quite especially in Buddhist literature S. L é v i (Le Théatre Indien, p 301 ff), J. H e r t e l (WZKM 18, 1904, 59ff , 137ff) and L v S c h r o e d e r (Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda, Leipzig 1908) have tried to find in these dialogue-songs more or less perfect dramas. Probably they are not so, on the other hand, they are primary rudiments of real dramas, and in fact many of the ākhyānas can be considered to be a type of primitive dramas or ballad likewise. Cf above vol. 1, p 161 f ; trans., p. 184f). A B a r t h (RHR 19, 1889, 130f. Oeuvres II, 5 f) has already stated that we cannot think of a better pendant to the narrative of Purūravas and Urvaśī in the Śatapatha Brāhmana—than the ballad of King Rasālū in T e m p p l e's "Legends of the Panjāb". J H e r t e l (Indische Marchen, p 344, 367 f) compares the Suparnākhyana, designated by him as "vedisches Mysterium" with the swāngs of modern North-West India, that have been described by T e m p l e as half epical and half dramatic

The S u p a r n ā d h y ā y a (Sauparna, Suparnākhyāna) is an apocryphal work of the late Vedic period, of which the author spasmodically tries to imitate the hymns of Rgveda in respect of the language, accentuation and external form, with the intention of letting his work pass for one as belonging to the Rgveda. The age of this work is wholly indefinite, and the opinion of H e r t e l that it is more than 2500 years old has not been proved Hertel (WZKM 23, 1909, 273 ff) tries to prove that the poem, the theme of which is the well-known purānic story of Kadru, Vinatā and snakes (see above 1,232; transl. p 389) and from which he has also given a German rendering (Indische Marchen. 1919) shows the existence of a dramatic poetry, that served as the connecting link between the "Vedic drama" the dialogue-verses of the Ṛgaveda and the classical drama. But the text that we have nearly a series of ballad. It is possible that it was meant to serve

The oldest ballad or dance-music of this type was, however, such in which stories of gods and demi-gods were narrated in sacrifices and feasts. Since, as in the case of other countries, so also in India, the drama has its deepest root in the religious cult. Already in the Vedic ritual texts several ceremonies are described that can straightway be designated as a type of drama[1]. In the post-Vedic period dramatic performance got associated with Indra's festival celebrated at the end of the rains, and more particularly with the cults of the gods Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa, Rāma) and Śiva[2]. The cult of Krsna was especially associated with mimic dances. The Viṣṇupurāna (V, 13) describes how the cowherdesses got attracted by the nocturnal music of Kṛsna and Balarāma, flocked about the pastoral deity for the purpose of meeting him in the

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for a dramatic representation Cf. Oldenberg, Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa, p 611 ff., also NGGW 1919 p 79 ff etc and above II, p 44 f 98 A, 114, 119 A, 225; transl pp 59 f, 125 (note, 1), 140, 146 (note 2), 289. When Grierson had read the opinion of Winternitz on the Buddhist ākhyānas he wrote to him (9th and 19th Dec 1912) that they reminded him of the khyāls of Rājasthānī, written in the Mārwārī-dialect They contain a sort of popular sayings either in metrical dialogues or in prose narratives mixed with versified dialogues They are either recited aloud by a single person or played on the stage, in which the stage-manager speaks out the narrative part, whilst individual actors recite their own parts There is neither a scenery nor an introductory act Hence they are also literary documents that may be designated as "ballads" or "dramas" likewise E Schagintweit, Indien in Wort und Bild II, p 12 describes how up to these days the kathakas or "narrators", "the modern successor-representatives of the old Indian court-actors', practise their art, their articulation, supported with gesticulation, is adapted for fully poetical declamation the pauses fill the music and their graceful dance", K Rāmavarma Rājā (JRAS 1910, 637) describes the performance of dramas in modern Malabar by the so called Cakkyars, who entertain the audience on festive occasions with purānic narratives and moral preachings, of which the text, in general, is taken from prabandhas and campūs In the description of these Malabar Brāhmanas, who are considered to represent the purānic sūtas, no sharp distinction is made between dramatic performances and epical recitations between actors and bards (naṭas and sūtas) It is also remarkable that in Sanskrit expressions like bhārata and kuśīlava, probably "bard-singer" can also be interpreted to mean "actor"

1 Cf A Hillebrandt, Die Sonnwendfeste in Altindien, p 43, and Vedische Mythologie, I, 81.

2 Haraprasād Śāstrī (JASB, N S 5, 1909, 351 ff) tries to prove that the Indian drama originated on the occasion of Indra's flag festival (*indradhvaja*), cf Hopkins, Epic Mythology, Grundriss, III, 1 B, p 125 f) On the extensive contribution made by the Śiva-cult in the development of the drama see BLOCH, ZDMG 62 1908, 655, and L v. Schroeder, Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda, p 17 ff On the Krsna-cult and its importance for the drama see Winternitz, ZDMG 74, 1920, 118 ff On the hypotheses of A B Keith (ZDMG 64, 1910) 534 ff and JRAS 1912, 411 ff, see ibid p 124

rāsa-dance and dancing they "imitated the deeds and adventures of Krsna". Exactly in the same manner, as the numerous facts regarding folklore prove, dance and mimic are inseparably associated with one another among the people, mostly also as constituent parts of religious or magical ceremonies[1]. And the mimic dances of the primitive people contain the germs of evolution of dramatic art—germs that have not bloomed so luxuriantly in any country as in Greece and in India.

The terminology of the drama further proves that in India too such dances were at the root of dramatic performances. The common word for "drama" in Sanskrit is the neuter nāṭaka, and the same word as masculine has exactly the same meaning as *nata* "actor", whilst *nāṭya* means "mimic" or dramaturgy" and *nāṭayati* conveys the sense of "mimic representation". All these words go back to the root *naṭ*, a Prākrit form of the root *nart*, "to dance". The fact that the literary dramas, that we have, begin with an introductory prayer goes to prove that this mimic dance and the dramatic performance, that originated from it, constitute an essential element of the religious cult. This nāndī is, however, just a remnant of a longer religious ceremony, a kind of consecration of the stage (pūrvaraṅga), that preceded the performance and in which homage to the divinity was paid in the form of music, song and dance. This consecration of the stage is elaborately described in the Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra, where, however, Bharata remarks that it should not be of long duration, so that on its account the audience may not feel tired. Later it seems to have been shortened more and more and at last it got limited to the nāndī-song, that, however, could never be dropped[2]. The condition of

1. The Mexican spring and crop festivals, according to K. Th Preuss (Archiv für Anthropologie 1904, p. 158 ff), are celebrated with mimic dances and ceremonial dramas The Javanese shadow-play too has a wholly religious character; see W W. Skeat, Malay Magic, London 1900, 503 ff and H Bohatta in Mitteilungen der Anthropolog. Ges in Wien 1905, 278 ff. On China see W Grube, Geschichte der Chinesischen Litteratur, p 362 f, 396, on Japan see K. Florenz, Geschichte der japanischen Litteratur, p 373 ff In general cf W. Wundt, Völkerpsychologie III, 2nd, edn and L v Schroeder, ibid, passim.

2 Probably the nāndī was originally recited by the stage-manager (sūtradhāra) in a prescribed manner. The Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra (5, 107 ff Grosset, 99 ff Bombay Ed) gives the text of one such nāndī, that is a wholly a simple prayer in ślokas. Like any piece of Indian poetry, that

the society in which during all the centuries tales about gods and religious legends, especially relating to Rāma and Krsna have continued to provide the poets with plots for their dramas, and the fact that even Buddhist poets are found tempted to reproduce dramatically the scenes from the Buddha-legends goes to point to the religious origin of the drama. Even in present-day India popular dramas are staged on festive occasions and in holy places, and they still continue to be a religious affair[1].

As it is upto this day in India, during the pauses in the yātrās and in the dramas played during spring-festivals and on other occasions, the actors appear in grotesque garments and with painted faces and create all sorts of crude funs for cheering the audience[2], so already in early India sober dramatic and lively recitations were intercepted by popular plays, in which the artists, who entertained the assembly with presentation of scenes from actual life, appeared. We are in a position to infer the existence of such popular plays in ancient India from the fact that in earlier literatures—the post-Vedic epic, Buddhist texts—"comedians" (as we may always call them) are mentioned repeatedly in Sanskrit by the word and sometimes also by śāilūṣa or kuśīlava, expressions that later came to be used for "actors". They belonged to a class of touring actors, who were welcome on festive and ceremonial occasions in gatherings, but enjoyed a very inferior social status In the Mahābhārata it is said at one place that one of the duties of the

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begins with a benedictory expression The poet writing a drama begins his work with one such, that in course of time usurped the place of nāndī Consequently in our dramas the nāndī is composed always in the kāvya-style and that in a fully ornate metre

1. So the Bhavāis in Gujarat (see H H Dhruva in OC IX, London 1, 305,307), the yātrās in Bengal (see Nisikānta Chattopādhyāya, Indische Essays, Zurich 1883, p 1 ff), that have, in most cases, been written by Brāhmanas, and likewise the swāngas of the Panjab, that are partly recited and sung and partly played as dramas by a priest with his associates on the occasions of religious festivals (see R C Temple, The Legends of the Panjāb 1, p VIII and No 6, 10, 15, 16, 18 and 30) R C Temple describes one of the plays representing the Rāma-legend, acted at Firozpūr on the occasion of the Dasaharā festival in the Ind Ant 10, 1881, 289f . "in all the great ceremonies of the Kālī Pūjā and the Durgā Pūjā during the Basant (Vasanta) and the Holī, the plays are staged in India In most cases these mimic representations still bear a religious character, e g they represent episodes from the legendary stories of the divinity, that is extolled" (F Rossen, Die Indrasabhā des Amānat, Neuindiches Singspiel, Leipzig 1892, p 1

2 Nisikānta Chattopādhyāya, ibid, p. 10 f

king was that he had to see that in his capital there were pugilists, dancers and comedians for the entertainment of the people. At another place here it is said, however, that the comedians (naṭas), dancers and singers, staying in a town, must thence be removed when it is seized by an enemy[1]. It is understandable that we have none of these popular pieces, that were obviously improvised to the greatest possible measure. They were planned just for some occasion and disappeard with it. They were hardly put to writing. But the ornate poets, who composed dramas, had seen such popular reproductions of scenes from actual life and probably they wished very much to create the same impression on the audience, and indeed they tried their best, not only to refine and improve upon them, but also to imitate them[2]. The dramas that we possess are nothing less than popular, and they wholly belong to ornate poetry, and in fact are composed exclusively for the cultured public, and often they are straightway meant only for persons endowed with highly refined literary taste.

In the different types of dramatic poetry and the most conspicuous characteristics of the Indian drama we find traces partly of primitive religious ballads or of dance-songs and partly of those of the popular mimus. The fact that the Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra distinguishes between ten types of dramas (daśarūpa), of which we find examples in the extant literature for only some of them, proves that dramatic literature and the art of stage were very important and elaborate in India - a thing that we are able to conclude from the small amount of literature of the ancient times that we possess[3]. The ten types of drama are the following —

1. The Nāṭaka. This is the most important form of drama and the rules prescribed for it, as given in the Nātya-

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1. Mahābhār. 12, 69, 60 3, 15, 14

2 Lévi (329 f, 335) and Barth (Revue crit 1886, p 263) assume that a Prākrit drama, belonging to literature, preceded the Sanskrit drama; thus they do without any solid evidence The unwritten mimus, not literary Prākrit drama, is the precursor of the Sanskrit drama.

3 Konow, Indian drama p 27 conversely concludes, on the basis of a large number of subsidiary dramas, "that dramatic poetry was still in its beginning and that they had not evolved any definite form" But the great number of upa-rūpakas, mentioned in later-day theoreticians, goes to show that with the growth of dramatic poetry its types and sub-types became more and more distinct

śāstra, come in the first line[1] The hero of a nātaka should always be an honourable or highly placed personality, a king, a demi-god or a god The theme is to be taken either from mythology or from some old story, that can be modified in any manner at the option of the author All the sentiments, especially those of love and heroism, should find expression in a nāṭaka. The language should necessarily be dignified and elevated. On the stage, there should be no crowding and only four to five persons should enter there at one time A nātaka should have at least five or utmost ten acts[2].

2 The Prakarana This is distinguished from the nātaka inasmuch as in it the plot is a creation of the author and the hero is of an inferior status He is a Brāhmana, a minister, a grosser, etc , but never a king or a god Slaves, epicurean, prostitutes etc may appear in a prakarana. It should have five to ten acts, and otherwise its requirements should be same as those of a nātaka.

3. The Bhāna. It is a monologue in one act. A sly worldling (vita) appears and narrates his jokes in conversation with imaginary persons, whose talk he repeats. All possible situations come to be represented and different sentiments are aroused through this conversation and through a great display of mimics. The fable is fashioned by the writer in a manner as he likes, and in most of the Bhānas, that we possess, it is erotic.

4. The Prahasana or farce in one or utmost in two acts. The theme, that is mostly erotic, is fabricated The hero is an ascetic or a Brāhmana, a king or a rogue, and the rest of the characters are courtiers, eunuchs, servants, beggars, bon-vivants (vita), villains, prostitutes and procuresses It is meant to stimulate the sentiment of humour

5. The Ḍima It is a fantastical piece of show-play in four acts and it has as its theme some fable taken either from mythology or from popular sayings Gods, demigods or demons appear as heroes Excepting the sentiments of love and of humour any sentiment may be generated according to option

1 In the titles of the dramas that we have and in the colophons of the manuscripts, every big drama is designated as a nātaka, even when according to the terminology of the Nātyaśāstra it should have been called otherwise

2 In the pieces that we possess, seven acts are quite usual, but there are others that have even 14 acts

6. The Vyāyoga. It is a military show-play in one act. The theme is generally well known; the hero is a famous person and only a few women appear in it

7. The Samavakāra. This is a drama played in the heaven. In it gods and demons appear and the hero is a great and famous personality[1].

8. The Vīthī. A light single-act play, in which only two persons appear It is a little different from Bhāna.

9. The Utsrstāṅka, shortly called also aṅka[2], an one-act play, in which the sentiment of pathos (karunā) is dominant. The characters are generally human-being. Screaming of women occurs. The theme is some well-known story that is elaborated with interpolations.

10. The Īhāmrga. It is a play in four acts. Its theme is partly legendary and partly invented by the poet. The characters are either human or divine beings. There is the description of abduction of some divine female, but the battle that is to follow is avoided through artifice.

In addition to these ten principal types of dramatic kāvya (rūpakas), we find an enumeration of eighteen subsidiary ones (uparūpakas), in later-day treatises (e.g. Viśvanātha) on poetics. In them dance, music, song, and pantomimic play a more prominent rôle than the literary characteristics. Only two of these uparūpakas deserve to be mentioned here : they are the nātikā, that is intermediate between nāṭaka and prakarana and has four acts, in which the sentiment of love is dominant, the women play the main rôle and there is much song, dance and music[3], and the trotaka, that has five to nine acts and is played partly in the human-world and partly in the divine world. Of the ten main types of dramas, the nātakas and the prakaranas are preponderantly

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1. Bhār.-Nāṭyas 18, 109 According to Daśarūpa 3,61 and Sāhitya-darpana 515 ff. the samavakāra has a theme, such as, for example, the churning of the ocean, three acts, of which the duration is accurately observed, and twelve heroes

2. The word anka means "act" of a drama The original meaning of the word apparently is "curve", "bending inward", hence "division" of a drama Lévi, p 58 holds a different view According to poetics an "act" (aṅka) came to be so designated because the stage is not vacated, when one such is over.

3 The nāṭikā (Daśarūpa 3, 46 ff; Sāhityad 539) corresponds to the nāṭī in Bhār Nāṭyaś 18, 106 ff

represented among the pieces that have come down to us; the vyāyoga has several pieces, the bhānas and the prakaranas are represented only by pieces written in later days; the ḍima has only one specimen, that is an insignificant modern drama. The examples of nātikās are the dramas like the Ratnāvalī and the Priyadarśikā. A trotaka is the Vikramorvaśīya of Kālidāsa. On the whole we can say that among the enumerated types of rūpakas and uparūpakas are to be found all the types of dramatic compositions, that are known to the people of the West· show-plays and pleasure-plays, song-plays, opera, ballets, burlesque and farce. Only one, namely the tragedy, has never existed in India. The best type of dramatic kāvya, the nāṭaka, is never a tragedy, but always what in the West is called a "show-play". Mostly it is serious and comic and its end can never be tragic. A tragic catastrophe—battle, defeat of the patron, death, siege of a city etc. must never be shown on the stage, but these can just be indicated in an interlude. The death of a hero or of a heroine, however, must never occur even in the interlude[1]. These rules hold good in full for the nāṭaka and also for the prakarana and above-mentioned show-plays.

Now whilst the subject-matter of the drama shows greater affinity with early religious or semi-religious ballad-poetry in the portions dealing with mythological or epic materials in the nātakas, the influence of popular drama holds the ground more in the prakarana, the "civic show-play". It is in the very nature of thing that the prakarana has very much in common with the narrative literature[2]. This too has, then, developed in dependence on popular models The prahasana, "farce", must have grown up directly from popular pieces. The influence of popular model is seen in

1 The basis of this precaution (Bhār. Nāṭyaś 18, 18 ff) is clearly avoidance of an evil omen Daśarūpa, 3, 39ff and Sāhityad , 278 further mention other things that should never take place on the stage long travel, calling from a distance, uproar, speaking aloud of a curse, eating, bath, love-embrace, anointing, wearing of garment biting, scratching and other improper things The dramas that are available do not always adhere to this rule. Interlude (viskambhaka or praveśaka) between two acts, in which a monologue or dialogue, that is not to be presented on the stage is communicated, is found in all the big dramas

2 Cf L H Gray, The Sanskrit Novel and the Sanskrit Drama, WZKM 18, 1904, 48 ff Mimos and aretalogy (tale and adventure romance) stand beside one another in Greece too,, see R Reitzenstein, Hellenistische Wunderzählungen, Leipzig, 1906, p 12

certain peculiarities, that are seen in all the dramas, including the nātaka, mentioned above. Besides, not-infrequent insertion of such popular scenes in which all sorts of persons of lowly classes appear, among its characteristics are the prelude, that gives a view of the improvised extempore conversation that takes place between the stage-manager and his wife or his assistants, the use of popular dialects beside Sanskrit and the rôle of the joker (vidūsaka). These are the noteworthy characteristic peculiarities of the Indian drama.

It must first of all be mentioned that a drama begins with the nāndī, the introductory prayer. Immediately after the nāndī follows the prastāvanā, i.e. the prologue or the interlude. The sūtradhāra or stage-manager appears and starts talk with an actress, who is supposed to be his wife, or with his assistant, one of the actors, for the purpose of saying a few words in praise of the author of the piece[1], that is being staged, in order to attract the attention of the audience towards the play and to prepare them for its presentation. The interlude always ends with an allusion to the characters that are to appear in the particular play thus for example in the Śakuntalā the stage-manager says: "Here comes King Dusyanta."

This sūtradhāra[2] or stage-manager, according to our dramas, as also according to the Nāṭyaśāstra must be a highly cultured man. He should be capable of winning applause of the public not only in music and in the art of stage-technique, but should have command over language and should possess knowledge of poetics, prosody, art, astronomy, geography and history (that is the genealogy of royal families). His wife is presented in our dramas in the preludes as a nice house-wife. Since he has to perform also certain religious ceremonies, in the pūrvaranga, of the consecration of the stage, it may be assumed that he does not belong to a despised caste. It may further be assumed that, as in Greece, so in India too, "a part of the nimbus that surrounded religion" was for the bene-

1 This allusion to the author in the prelude is wanting only in the dramas of Bhāsa.

2 The sūtradhāra has two assistants, the sthāpaka (or sthapati) and the pāripārśvika. Sūtradhāra ('the holder of the measure-string)" as well as sthāpaka, "erector" originally meant "cha nber-boy" or "builder". Apparently the duty of the sūtradhāra was to arrange for setting up of the tent of the theatre and to take care of the stage. Hence the name. Cf. Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde II, 503.

fit of the actor. But in fact, however, it appears that already in early times in India the actor enjoyed the same social status as in Rome, where slaves and enemies were trained as actors and the actresses as a rule were harlots[1]. Probably in ancient India, there were dramas of different types In the earliest period, ecclesiastical dramas might have been played by Brāhmanas[2], and the actors, who were associated in the performance of sober ornate dramas, must have occupied a higher status than the comedians, who exhibited their skill in markets in unrefined popular dramas From literature we learn that actors often enjoyed the patronage of kings and the relationship existing between actors and poets was very intimate.

The sūtradhāra was generally the main actor, who played the chief rôle, that is of the hero In the Indian drama original characters are rare Certain types mostly recur as a rule. Thus the hero or the lover is mostly young and handsome, refined and endowed with all good qualities, but he is always ardently loved as well The heroine is always beautiful and full of love, but of different types, who is either the wife of the hero, or a different woman or a harlot. Of the other characters that appear in dramas the most remarkable person is the vidūsaka or joker As a rule he appears in prakaranas and mostly in other bigger dramas too However, he is missing in such pieces of Bhāsa as have their plot taken from the

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1 Cf B Warnecke in Neue-Jahrbucher fur das Klassische Altertum usw 33 1914, p 95 ff In Indian literature, particularly in the the kāmaśāstra, there is hardly any difference between an actress and a harlot It was one of the accomplishments of a harlot to win admiration with her skill even as an actress Already during the age of Patañjali (2nd century A D) the naṭas belonged to despised and excommunicated classes, and the wives of the naṭas, who belonged to any man of their choice, are compared to consonants that can be combined with any vowel (Mahābhāsva 6, 1 2, Vārtt 5) [The words are —

vyañjanāni punarnaṭabhāryāvadbhavanti | taḍyathā naṭānām striyo raṅgagatā yo yaḥ pṛcchati - kasya yūyam kasya yūyamiti | tam-tam tava tava-ityāhuḥ | evam vyañjanānyapi yasya yasyāca kāryamucyate tam tam bhajanti ||

It can be translated as —consonants are like wives of actors As when on the stage whosoever asks the wife of an actor "Whose are you, whose are you", to him, she replies "Your, your", so consonants come to the service of the vowels that have some prescribed work] But are we to understand "actors" by the term naṭas ? In Manu (4, 214 f , 10, 22) all sorts of stage-artists belong to impure classes as in Rudrayāmalatantra (see Colebrooke, Misc Ess II, 184 f)

2 As even today the swāngs are staged in the Panjāb by priests, see above p 183, footnote 1.

epics, that may be considered to be the direct successor of the old ballads. The vidūsaka is always a Brāhmaṇa or rather a caricature of a Brāhmaṇa. He has a grotesque appearance in respect of his physique, dress and language. He is dwarfish, hump-backed, bald-headed, with protruding teeth and red eyes, voracious eater, quarrelsome, stupid and ignorant. But he is the trusted companion of the king, whom he always serves faithfully, but often in an uncouth manner, in his love adventures. He is freely teased by other characters. In the Nāṭyaśāstra he is depicted more grotesque than he appears in our dramas. In many of the classical dramas, the grotesque goes wholly into the background and the fidelity towards his friend comes to the forefront. It is very likely that the vidūsaka has been taken over to the literary drama from the popular mimus[1]. Next to the vidūsaka stands the viṭa, one of the typical figures of the drama, although he too does not appear in all the pieces. This viṭa is compared with the parasite of the Attic comedy. He is an expert artist, who moves in the sphere of the world of love, but since he is reduced to poverty, he no more belongs to the world of lovers. He is a cultured talker, an admirer of beauty, and very often himself a poet, expert in the art of coquetry[2] and knows to act in different situations. In any case he belongs to the city-life and has been taken over probably also from popular plays, in which the activities of harlots and their associates are presented.

Lastly it may here be added that one of peculiar characteristics of the Indian drama is the great amount of variation in respect of the language — a thing that too points to its development on the basis of popular models. To begin with, we find prose dialogues intercepted by verses

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1 Cf Lévi 358 f; J Huizinga, De vidūṣaka in het indisch toneel, Groningen 1897; Konow, DLZ 1898, p 1263ff, M Schuyler in JAOS 20, 1899, 338 ff The theory of popular origin of the vidūsaka has been refuted by J Hertel (LZB 1917, p 1198 ff; Jinakīrti's "Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla", p 121 A), who shows that the vidūsaka, like the viṭa, appears in narrative literature in the retinue of the king, hence appertains to the court-life. Vidūṣaka and viṭa belong, however, as we learn from the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, where they appear in the retinue of the city-wordlings, not to the court-life particularly, but to the city-life The epics too do not know about a vidūṣaka or a viṭa, being in the courts of the kings

2 *veśyā-cārakuśalaḥ*, Bhār—Nāṭyaś. 24, 104, J. J. Meyer, Altindische Schelmenbücher, I, p. XXIII ff renders *viṭa* as "Hurenschranze (harlot's parasite)" and calls viṭas as "veterans of love."

composed in different metres, and these verses are partly recitative and partly musical. On the whole the drama is inseparably connected with music, song and dance According to the treatises on dramaturgy, the ten types of songs that are to be sung either loudly or otherwise and constitute the essential part of woman's dance[1] form indispensable "ornaments" of the drama. But variation is not only between prose and verse, but the actors speak different dialects according to the characters they represent. Sanskrit is spoken only by members of higher classes, the hero of the piece, kings, Brāhmanas and men of rank and according to treatises also, by nuns, the first queens, minister's daughters and harlots. In the dramas that we have these women too, like all women on the whole, speak Prākrit[2]. The vidūsaka, notwithstanding the fact that he is a Brāhmana, speaks Prākrit like uncultured people. Generally speaking the assignment of particular languages to particular characters was certainly meant just to reflect the conditions of real life[3]. In the Mṛcchakaṭikā the harlot Vasantasenā, therefore, speaks Prākrit as a rule, but Sanskrit in verses. The harlots, at whose place was witnessed much of social culture, understood it clearly and were capable of expressing themselves in Sanskrit as in Prākrit. Men, who speak Prākrit, sometimes go over to Sanskrit, particularly in verses. In Bhāsa's Pañcarātra Arjuna, in the guise of Eunuch Brhannalā, speaks Prākrit, but in conversation with his brother Yudhiṣṭhira, he speaks Sanskrit. And when King Virāṭa wants him to narrate the events of the battle and he as Brhannalā begins to narrate it in Prākrit the king interrupts him with the words, "It is an important work, speak in Sanskrit !" and he jumps over to Sanskrit. In the Mudrārākṣasa, there enters a spy as a snake-charmer, and in this rôle he speaks Prākrit; but the moment he is alone he speaks Sanskrit and discloses to the audience that really he is not a snake-charmer, but a man of a

1 Lāsya is the woman's dance as opposed to the tāṇḍya, the man's dance Cf Bhār - Nāṭyas[1] 18, 170 ff , Daśarūpa 3, 54, Sāhityad 504 ff, Lévi 119 f

2 According to the Karpūramañjarī 1, 7 the difference between Sanskrit and Prākrit is like that between men and women According to Sāhityad 432, cultured women should speak the Śaurasenī dialect, and just occasionally Sanskrit for the purpose of showing their taste

3 Cf R G Bhandarkar, JBRAS 16, 1885, 337 f, 17, 6 ff, Rapson, Thomas, Grierson and Fleet in JRAS 1904, pp 455 f., 470, 472 f 482 and above I, 39 f , transl p 43 ff

higher caste.[1] The most important Prākrit dialects that occur in our dramas are: Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśācī and Apabhraṃśa. These "Prākrits" are not actual living speeches, but literary dialects, exactly as Sanskrit, that in any case were elevated from popular dialects, or in dependence upon popular dialects, they were refashioned for literary use[2]. In the Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra (17, 46), however, it is expressly laid down for actors that they can use at their option a provincial language in lieu of Śaurasenī.

In the same way as the drama reflects in certain measure the actual life in respect of the language, so also it stands in other respects always much closer to real life than the court epic. It is so by the very nature of the drama that—also according to the Indian definition of nāṭya—"it should be an imitation of life."

Many of the peculiarities of the drama, about which we assume that they originated in dependence upon old popular plays[3], are found in Greek mimus too. This poses the problem as to whether or not the acquaintance with setting of the Greek travelling theatre too has contributed to the origin of the literary drama in India.

The theory that the Indian drama developed under Greek influence is very strongly maintained and equally often refuted. First of all A Weber[4] had expressed the idea that "perhaps the representation of Greek plays in the courts of Greek kings in Bactria, in the Punjab and in Gujarat had given impetus to the creation of the imitative art in India and had been

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1 So in Bhāsa's Pratijñāyaugandharāyana Rumanvat and Yaugandharāyana in disguise speak Prākrit, but in soliloquy and among themselves they speak Sanskrit. In the Karnabhāra of Bhāsa, Indra in the guise of a Brāhmana-beggar speaks Prākrit, but in his soliloquy the god speaks Sanskrit.

2 On the Prākrit-dialects of dramas see Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen (Grundriss, I, 8 also translated into English by Jhā), §§ 5 f. 11, 22-26, 28-30, Konow, GGA 1894, 478, ff; JRAS 1901, 329 f. 1902, 434 ff, Hillebrandt, GGA 1908, 99 ff Hultzsch ZDMG 66, 1912, 709 ff. On the vibhāsā mentioned by Grammarians of Prākrit, see Grierson, JRAS 1918, 489 ff.

3 It is important to remember in this context that we do not know this old Indian popular piece, but are able to conclude about its existence from the literary dramas of the West on one hand, and from the popular dramas of modern India on the other.

4 Ind. Literatur-geschichte, 2 Aufl, Berlin 1876, p 224, Die Griechen in Indien, SBA, 1890, 920f; [cf IS. II, p 148; xiii, 492, also Keith, Sanskrit Drama p 57.]

at the root of the origin of Indian drama." E. Windisch has then, in a big essay[1], tried to prove in detail that Indian drama developed under the influence of Greek comedy. Jacobi, Pischel, L. v. Schroeder and S. Lévi had long ago pointed to the weakness of the argument of Windisch. Above all, there is nothing to prove that Greek dramas were ever actually staged in India. Chronology too does not go to attest the influence of Attic comedy on the development of Indian drama. The question was, however, raised in 1903 in a new stadium through the book "Der Mimus" of Hermann Reich. Reich traces the history of the mimus, the secular Greek drama, not only in the classical antiquity, but through the entire world literature, and tries to prove that this mimus reached India through the wandering folk of the Greek mimes. Indeed Reich shows a large number of correspondences between the Greek mimus and the Indian prakarana, in which he repeats many of the arguments of Windisch. So the correspondence in relation to the theatre-curtain. Neither the Indian nor the Greek knew of a theatre-curtain in the modern sense that separated the stage from the auditorium, but the curtain formed the background for the stage and separated it from the dressing room (nepathya). To the Indian nepathya corresponds the Greek-Roman post-scene and the curtain to the siparium of the mimus. This curtain is called yavanikā in Sanskrit. "Greek (wand)"[2]. Other correspondences between the

1. "Der griechische Einfluss im indischen Drama" in OC V, Berlin 1882, Th. Bloch, a disciple of Windisch, believed in the year 1904 (ZDMG 58, 455 ff) that there was a cave in Central India with a Greek theatre engraved in it But on good grounds archeologists have refuted the hypothesis that here we have the case of a theatre, see J Burgess, Ind Ant 34 1905, 197 ff; C Glanneau, Revue archéologique 1904, 142 f; V. Golonbew, Ostasiat Zeitschrift 3, 1914-15, 253 ff Similarly Winternitz considers the researches of M Lindenau, a disciple of W indisch (Beiträge zur altindischen Rasalehre, Leipzig, 1913, p V f, and Festschrift Windisch, p 38 ff), trying to prove the relation between the Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra and the Poetics of Aristotle as failure [On Indian and Greek dramas see also Windisch, Geschichte der Sanskrit Philologie, 1920, p 398 ff; R G Rawlinson, Intercourse between India and the Western World, Cambridge 1916, 169 ff, G N. Banerjee, Hellenism in Ancient India, Calcutta 1920, 240 ff and Konow, ibid p. 40 f; Keith, Sanskrit Drama, p 57 ff]

2. The word may mean, in any case, also "curtain" generally, and thence also a cloth made by Yavanas (Greek or Persian), something like "Persian carpet" as meant by Lévi. Since the Sanskrit word yavanikā

mimus and the Indian drama are the interchange between prose and verse, the use of popular dialects, and appearance of a large number of persons, including all types from the common people. The Indian sūtradhāra corresponds to the archimimus of the Greek-Roman band of actors, and his wife to the archimima. In ncient Greece the mimes were without fixed abode, as in ndia, they were touring people, and in both the countries ictresses were harlots at the same time. The mimic theatre resembles in its simplicity to that of the Indian The scenic apparatus was extremely moderate and simple, that mostly was left to the phantasy of the audience or was expressed only through guests Hence the variegated change of scenes without unity of time or of place being observed[1]. A far-reaching similarity exists between the sannio of the mimus and the Indian vidūsaka. The only difference is that the latter is always a Brāhmana, whilst the joker in the mimus is either a slave or farmer. But since the same striking similarity between the joker of the Indian drama and that of the Greek mimus extends also up to the fools of the popular plays of most of the European nations, the possibility that this character has developed independently in different countries is not ruled out. In any case Reich believes to have proved that the Greek-influenced Roman mimus on its part influenced the popular dramas throughout the middle ages in the whole of Europe; it was so particularly in Italy. From Italy the mimus came to the court of Queen Elizabeth of England and there it influenced the art of Shakespeare. And thus is explained the really striking and often already noticed correspondences between Shakespearean and Indian dramas[2]. According to Reich this agreement is

occurs also in Bhāsa it does not seem likely that it is just a Sanskritisation of the Prākrit word javanikā, as opined by Pischel (GGA 1891, 354)

1. Bharata has indeed prescribed that an act should not contain events of more than one day, but poets do not strictly observe this rule Often a single day is covered by many acts and it is not seldom that certain acts spread over several years Cf A V. W Jackson, Time Analysis of Sanskrit Plays, JAOS 20, 1899, 341 ff.; 21 1900, 88 ff

2 Cf. L v. Schroeder, ILC 602 f, Reden und Aufsatze, p. 105, H H Wilson, Works, Vol XI, p XII; Reich, Mimus, 880 ff.; Klein, Geschichte des Dramas III, 87; A. V. W Jackson, American Journal of Philology 19, 1898, 241ff, W A Clouston, Asiat Quart Review 10, 1890, 206f Striking is also the following correspondence: in India the colour of the curtain was different according to the sentiment of the drama black for the serious, gay for the comic, white for the erotic and red for

explained quite simply through the fact that both of them go back to same old Greek source.

These circumstances seem to stand in support of the hypothesis that either the Indian drama-writer took the stimulus directly from the Greek mimes, or the Indian popular plays, that apparently served as model for the dramatic poetry, were influenced through the presentation of the Greek mimes. Both of the views may be possible. On the other hand, this too seems quite plausible that in India, as in Greece, there took place, already in early ages, popular performances by itinerant comedians, that independent of one another— served as a means of recreation for the people, and that all the really existing correspondences between the Greek mimus, the Indian drama and the drama of Shakespeare rest on the fact that the same goal was reached with the help of this very means. The Indian drama, as we know it, has throughout such a strong national Indian character that it stands against the hypothesis of any foreign influence on it. In the field of Indian astronomy, as in the case of Indian sculpture, Greek influence can be demonstrated easily. That certainly is not the case with the drama. Here we stand wholly on the Indian soil, and it is the Indian spirit, the national Indian life that we meet throughout in the Indian drama It can probably be said that majority of researchers hold today the view that the Indian drama developed independently of any Greek influence. It appears, however, that this question cannot now be decided with certainty and perhaps will never be decided. If H. Reich says that in the world there is no dramatic poetry that is outside the Hellenic influence, Winternitz holds that the confidence with which he maintains this hypothesis is as much unsettled as that of Pischel, when he says : "It is for the Indians to refute flatly the hypothesis that the Greek mimus has some influence on the Orient. In case the influence was reciprocal the Greek were the borrower[1]."

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those in which a fight and violence took place In old English theatre too the colour of the curtain in tragic dramas was black and it was red in comedies

1. SBA 1906, 502; cf GGA 1891, 354 and DZL 1905, 541. In his rectorial address on "Die Heimat des Puppenspiels" (Halle 1900) R. Pischel has tried to prove that the Indian drama developed from the puppet- plays, that the origin of the comic character, the vidūṣaka, too is to be

The question of relationship between the Greek and Indian dramas cannot be answered with the help of conclusions of this sort. There is no decisive yes or no. In this case, the chronological possibility of a Greek influence cannot be refuted, as we possess trustworthy evidence proving the existence of a literary drama written in an age that is not earlier than that of which western countries have fragments of such dramas, hence not of a period anterior to the beginning of the Christian era.

In the whole of Vedic literature there is not a single sure evidence of presentation of a dramatic show and of the existence of a literary drama, even when more often there are topics that refer to singers, mimes and dancers. Among the naṭasūtras mentioned by Pāṇini we hardly find any mention of a manual on the art of dramaturgy of the type of our Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra, but rather of "rules for mimes", and indeed such as appear in religious mimic dances[1]. In Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, in the epics, in the Mahābhārata and in the Rāmāyana, in the texts of the old Buddhist literature and in the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra we hear about reciters, singers, dancers and itinerant musicians of all types and of their shows and performances; but a literary drama and performance of any real drama are not attested to in any of these earlier works[2]. For the first time we come across a definite evidence of the existence of literary dramas in

found in the puppet-play and that the Gypsies had brought to Europe the puppet-play and with it the fool too. The expressions sūtradhāra and sthāpaka indicate, according to him (as also according to Shankar P. Pandit, Vikramorvaśīya, Ed BSS 1879, Notes p. 4 and OC IX, London 1, 313f.), originally "string-holder" or "erector" (of the puppet) Cf above p. 188 In case however, the native place of the puppet and the fool be in India, the fool of the Greek mimus too are to be deduced from the Indian puppet-play. The interpretations of Pischel, however, have rightly found not a single supporter among the especialists. In all probability the puppet-play, like the shadow-play (see Pischel, SBA 1906, 482 ff and Lüders, SBA 1916, 698 ff.), is not the predecessor, but an off-shoot of the popular mimus.

1. Pān, 4, 3, 110f Cf. Winternitz, Österr Monatsschrift f. d. Orient 41, 1915, p 180 f.

2. On Patañjali see Winternitz, ZDMG 74, 1920, p. 118 ff The word nāṭaka occurs in the whole of the Mahābhārata only once and even this single passage (2, 11, 36) is absolutely not certain; it is wanting in the South Indian manuscripts; see Winternitz JRAS 1903 571f It is likewise doubtful whether in the Rāmāyana, the passage II, 69, 4, where it is said that Bharata was glad at the "narration" of the "play" (nāṭaka) and "circular movement" or "wits" (hāsya), does not belong to the older portion of the epic, as the meaning of nāṭaka in the context is doubtful.

the Harivaṁśa, of which the time is wholly indefinite, and in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts of the first century A D. Now it is almost settled that Buddhists first of all introduced drama into literature. Rather we must assume that the court-poetry belonging to secular Sanskrit drama preceded the Buddhist Sanskrit dramas of the first century A.D. We need not, however, hence go back further than the first century B C. or beyond the first century A D. During this period, however, there were many cases of Greek influence on India, above all on the Greeko-Buddhist sculpture[1] influenced by the Greek art. Hence it is in any case p r o b a b l e that during this age numerous germs of development of a literary drama, that had existed in India from the earliest times, attained maturity under the influence of Greek mimes. But we cannot accede anything beyond a mere p r o b a b i l i t y.

THE BUDDHIST DRAMAS[2]

The first definite and to a certain extent dated testimony of the existence of a literary Buddhist drama in India, we find as already mentioned above, in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature. In the Avadānaśataka it has been said about a danseuse, Kuvalayā, that she attained the highest peak of purity when she belonged to a group of actors in one of her earlier lives and performed a Buddhist drama (nāṭaka) in honour of one of the early Buddhas According to Lalitavistara Buddha himself received training *inter alia* in the art of dramaturgy (nāṭya) too in his youth. The poetry of Māra and Upagupta, that is found in the Divyāvadāna and has been taken from the Sūtrālaṅkāra of Aśvaghoṣa[3], appears almost as a reproduction of some drama.

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1 In one of the fragments of a Buddhist drama (see below p 199, Buddha appears surrounded by brilliant halo (see L u d e r s, Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen, p 18) The halo was first taken to India by Greek artists, as F o u c h e r has shown (see above II, 193 A, transl p 247, Foot-note) It is also remarkable that the tale of King Udayana with the motif of the "Trojan horse" (see above II, 155, trans p 194) has been dramatised by the poet Bhāsa, a predecessor of Kālidāsa The points of similarity between Bhāna and Greek mimologue are many, see M. L i n d e n a u, Festschrift Windisch, p 41

2. Cf L é v i 319 f, W i n t e r n i t z, WZKM 27, 1913, 39f

3 Avadāna 75 (VIII, 5), Lalitavistara XII (ed Lefmann, p 156); see L é v i 319 In the Jātakamāla 27, 4 we find an allusion to the sentiment (rasa) that is generated in the heart of the audience by a drama through a good performance.

Aśvaghosa, however, is the first Indian poet, who is actually known to us as an author of dramas.

In the year 1911 H. Lüders, among the fragments of palm-leaf manuscripts from Turfan, found pieces of three leaves that are written in the script of Central Asia, and in which he discovered a fragment of a drama of Aśvaghosa[1]. Fortunately the end of the drama has come down to us, where at the close of the ninth (last) act the title and the author are mentioned: "Śāriputraprakaraṇa" or the Śāradvatīputraprakaraṇa of the poet Aśvaghosa, the son of Suvarṇāksī. "The available fragments apparently belong to the last two acts of the piece, of which the subject-matter is a dialogue between Śāriputra and his friend Maudgalyāyana, that has been narrated in a sublime manner in Buddhist canons (in the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya-piṭaka). The few and small fragments that are available to us unfortunately do not permit us to draw any conclusion with regard to the merit and contents of the drama as well as about its poetical accomplishment. There is only one instance that allows us to surmise that the dramatist Aśvaghosa was not inferior in rank to the epic writer. In a dialogue between Śāriputra and the vidūsaka the latter says : "This lesson does not appear palatable for such Brāhmanas as we are.. " To which Śāriputra promptly replies: "Medicine heals the sick though administered by one of an inferior caste... Does water not bring vigour to the person oppressed by heat, when it has been offered to him by somebody of a low caste?" In any case the available fragments enable us to understand distinctly that here the technique of the drama on the whole is the same as in the classical drama. In case the vidūsaka, the fool, is wanting at one place, it appears proper there that he is not a companion of a Buddhist saint.

Before the discovery of this drama of Aśvaghoṣa, Lüders had succeeded in assembling, from out of the same fragments of palm-leaf manuscripts, which contained the portion of this drama of Aśvaghoṣa, also fragments of two other dramas. On palaeographical grounds they too must be attributed to

1. See above II, 225; transl. 289, and WZKM 27, 40. f.

2. Das Śāriputraprakaraṇa, ein Drama des Aśvaghoṣa, SBA 1911, 308 ff.

the age of the Kusana rule, and therefore, not far away in time from that of the poetry of Aśvaghosa[1] One of these fragments contains a scene of an allegorical drama Buddhi (intelligence), Dhrti (patience) and Kīrti (fame) enter and extol the Buddha as "the light, that bears the name man". Kīrti asks— "Where does the Buddha now dwell ?" To this Buddhi replies: "Since his supernatural power is not limited, one should first ask, where does he not live . He moves in the air as the bird and .. sinks into the earth like water, he multiplies his form, causes the sky to shower streams of water and shines like the cloud in the evening glow. " The Buddha himself appears surrounded by a brilliant halo. From the available fragments it is not possible to say anything about the subject-matter of the second drama. It is, however, important to the extent that we are able to know from this the characters that appear in the piece. In addition to Buddha, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, there appear also an ascetic, a Brāhmana, a harlot, and again the vidūsaka. The last one plays the same rôle as in the classical dramas. He is a lover of dainty dishes and above all the carrier of comic scenes, that are, therefore, not wanting in these dramas, that serve rather as an edifice than as an entertainment.

Although these three dramas are available to us just in fragments, they are of inestimable value inasmuch as they show that in the first century A.D the technique of drama was fully developed. We have the division into acts, the vidūsaka, the interchange between prose and verse, the latter composed in metres of classical Sanskrit poetry, and we have also the alteration between Sanskrit and Prākrit In fact Lüders has shown that the Prākrit dialects used in them represent an older form as compared with the one that is found in classical dramas From the point of view of language too they prove to be precursors of classical Sanskrit dramas

Not only the Buddhist dramas in Sanskrit were taken to Central Asia, but there have been found also the fragments

1. H Lüders, Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen (Königlich Preuszische Turfan-Expeditionen, Kleinere Sanskrittexte), Berlin, 1911; Buddhistische Dramen aus vorklassischer Zeit (Internationale Wochenschrift V, 1911, No 22.). The hypothesis of Lüders (SBA 1911, p 409) that both the dramas were written by Aśvaghoṣa cannot be proved; nevertheless it is not outright improbable

of Buddhist dramas written in a Central Asian language (Tocharian ?)[1].

In classical Sanskrit poetry we do not have any Buddhist drama available to us. Even the drama Nāgānanda of King Harsadeva cannot be reckoned particularly as Buddhist. The drama Lokānanda of the poet and grammarian Candragomin has come down to us only in its Tibetan translation in the Tanjūr. I-tsing makes a mention of the lyrico-dramatic rendering of the Vessantara-Jātaka in the words: "The Mahāsatta Candra, a learned man of Eastern India, composed a lyric poem on Prince Viśvāntara, till then known as Sudāna, and all men sing and dance it in all the five provinces of India[2]".

In Burma even to-day the Vessentara-Jātaka is presented as a drama on the stage[3] and the consecration of every novice is a type of drama[4]. In China too Buddhist legends are presented as dramas or as an opera in the theatre. In Buddhist monasteries of Tibet we find the relics of ancient popular religious plays, that are parts of the spring and autumn festivals[5].

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1. Among the fragments of the Tocharian manuscripts, that have been brought by Pelliot from Douldour—Aqour and Touen-houang, are found also those of two such dramas as have the biography of Buddha as their theme They show, (according to Lévi, JA 1911, s 10, t. XVII, 139) influence of Indian dramaturgy and fill some lacunae between Indian and Chinese theatres

2 Takakasu, I-tsing 164 Lévi (BEEFO 3, 1903, 41f) presumes that I-tsing by Mahāsattva Candra means Candragomin and this alludes to Lokānanda, although the hero of this drama is not Viśvāntara, but the little known Chinese Manicūda The equation of Candragomin with the "Mahāsattva Candra" or Candradāsa, however, has been refuted by B Liebich, Das Datum Candagomin's und Kalidasa's, Breslau 1903, p 9 ff., on strong grounds

3 One such representation has been described by Bhikkhu Ānanda Metteya, Im Schatten von Shwe Dagon, ein buddhistisches Kultur-bild aus Burma, Leipzig, Buddhist Verlag, loc cit, p 25 ff.

4 The novice represents Prince Siddhārtha and the chief moments of the Buddha-legends are reproduced in the ordination ceremony.

5. Lévi 321 f. The "Tam-bin-shi" ("Blessing of Knowledge") played by the Lamas in Tibet, as described by Hermann Schlagintweit (in his brother Emil Schlagintweit's book, Buddhism in Tibet, Leipzig and London, 1863, p 232, ff), in which noble and evil spirit appear before men, seem more as religious mask plays, than as real dramas The religious play of the Buddhists of Arakan described by R. Spence Hardy (Eastern Monachism, London 1860, p 236) represents a fight between good and evil spirits (devas and yakas), has, however, little of a real drama . [For similar Chinese performances see Annales du musée Guimet, XII, 416f.]

The Dramas of Bhāsa, Śūdraka and Viśākhadatta

If Aśvaghosa, the oldest known dramatist-poet, was a pious Buddhist monk, Bhāsa, the first great poet, whose complete dramas are available to us, was a pious devotee of Visnu and probably a Brāhmana.

Formerly Bhāsa was known just by name as a predecessor of Kālidāsa, who mentions him first of all in the prelude to his drama, the Mālavikāgnimitra, where the actor asks: "How does the assembly show so much of honour to the work of a living author, Kālidāsa, by passing over the poetical works of the widely known poets like Bhāsa, Saumilla, Kaviputra and others ?"[1] It is apparent that Kālidāsa, who in several places of his work, has Bhāsa as the model, has referred to him and perhaps has also imitated him here and there[2]. The poet Bāna[3] praises Bhāsa as a poet who had written dramas. Vākpati mentions him in the Gaudavaho (verse 800) among his favourite poets. In commentaries of the 9th and 12th centuries is mentioned a drama Svapnanātaka or Svapnavāsavadattanāṭaka. Rājaśekhara says (in a verse in the anthology Sūktimuktāvalī) that of all dramas of Bhāsa only the Svapnavāsavadatta proved itself non-combustible in the fire of criticism. And in several anthologies we find a number of stray stanzas that are attributed to Bhāsa[4] That is all that was known about Bhāsa till 1910.

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1 Cf Lévi 157 ff; Pischel, GGA 1883, p 1232f; Ganapati Śāstrī in the introduction to his edition of Svapnavāsavadatta and Pratimānāṭaka; Jacobi, Internat Monatsschrift VII, 1913, p 653 ff, A A Macdonell, JRAS 1913, p 186 ff, V A Smith Ind Ant 40, 1911, p 87ff, Suali, GSAI 25, 1912, p 5ff, Hertel, Jinakīrti's "Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla, p 152 ff, Max Lindenau, Bhāsa-Studien, ein Betrag zur Geschichte des altindischen Dramas, Leipzig 1918 [V S Sukthankar in JBRAS 1921-22, pp. 230-249 S Lévi, JA 1923, p 19 f; A K and K R Pisharoti, BSOS III, p 107f; A. K. Pisharoti, Bhāas's Works (Reprinted from the Malayālam journal, Rasikaratna), Trivendrum 1925, K R. Pisharoti, BSOS III, p. 639, IHQ I, 1925, pp 103 f, JBRAS, 1925, p 246; C R Devadhar, ABORI, 1924-25, p 55f, C Kunhan Raja, Z f Ind und Iran, II, p 247 f. and Journal of Or Res Madras, 1927, p 232 f, H. Weller, Festgabe Harmann Jacobi, Bonn 1926, pp. 114-125; Winternitz, Woolner, Com Vol 1940, p 297 f, A D Pusalkar, Bhāsa, a Study, Lahore 1940, etc —S K De, HSL, 102]

2 Ganapati Śāstrī, Svapnavāsavadatta, Introd p XXXVII f. and Pratimānāṭaka, Introd p. III ff

3 Harṣacarita, Introductory verse 15.

4 Verses of Bhāsa have been collected in anthologies and translated into German by Aufrecht, Ind Stud. 17, 168 ff, ZDMG 27, 65; 36,

A.D. In the year 1910 an Indian scholar T. Gaṇpati Śāstrī found in course of a tour undertaken for collection of Sanskrit manuscripts in South Travancore a palm-leaf manuscript, that contained ten dramas and fragments of an eleventh one, that he rightly called as the best dramas of Bhāsa. Subsequently two more dramas were found that showed the same characteristics as the ten dramas that were first found and could also be included among the writings of Bhāsa[1].

All these dramas have certain special peculiarities, on account of which they are distinguished from all the hitherto known classical pieces. All the other dramas begin with the nāndī, that is followed by the stage-direction: "after the nāndī is over the sūtradhāra (enters)", and then the prelude begins with the talk of the sūtradhāra. All the recently discovered dramas begin with the words: "after the nāndī is over, the sūtradhāra enters", and then he utters the introductory benedictory prayer to Visnu[2] in which the names of the main characters of the play are usually mentioned in a significant manner. In classical dramas, in the prelude, something is said in praise of the work that is being presented and the name of its author is mentioned in very high terms. That is not the case in the recently discovered dramas. The prelude is always very short and abruptly leads to the beginning of the first act.[3]

370f., and Peterson, Subh 80 ff.; JRAS 1891, 331 f, see also above p. 117, 177.

1. That the 13 anonymous dramas that have been found should be attributed to Bhāsa has been opposed by Bhaṭṭanātha Svāmin (Ind. Ant. 45, 1916, 189ff.) and L. D. Barnett (BSOS, I, 3, 1920, p. 35 ff.). Both of them have advanced noteworthy arguments, and in the opinion of W. they have shot at the target. A. Banerji-Śāstrī, JRAS 1921, p. 367 ff has defended the authorship of Bhāsa, which has been refuted by Barnett, ibid p. 587 ff. The linguistic and metrical researches of V. S Sukthankar, Studies in Bhāsa, JAOS 40, 1920, 248 ff.; 41, 1921, 1 ff. and of Wilhelm Printz, Bhāsa's Prākrit, Frankfurt a. M 1921 (published by the author) establish the hypothesis that all the pieces have one and the same author, and that it is strongly probable that he was older than Kālidāsa. Consequently they have strengthened the amount of probability of the hypothesis, that the dramas are of Bhāsa. Winternitz has attempted to show in an essay "Der indische Dramendichter Bhāsa" (Ostasiat. Zeitschrift IX, 1922, p. 282 ff.) what can be said in favour of this hypothesis notwithstanding certain opinions that are against it and cannot be brushed aside. See also Konow, Ind. Ant. 49, 1920, 1233 f., F. W. Thomas, JRAS 1922 ff.

2. This benedictory utterance would not, therefore, be called "nāndī", see above, p. 182 f.

3. At the end of the prelude in the classical dramas, it is mentioned

As the pieces begin with a benedictory stanza, they end as well with it. This "concluding sentence of the actor" (bharatavākya) is very much different in other dramas: but in the recently discovered ones, in many cases, it is expressed in the same words, however, in all cases the meaning at least remains the same: "may the lion-strong king (*rājasiṁha*) rule over the whole of this earth (or our country)". Moreover, these dramas show all sorts of uniformity in respect of syntax and idiom. In none of them, as is the case in other works, the title and the name of the author are mentioned at the end. And on the basis of the said characteristic similarities found in these dramas, their discoverer was able to conclude that all of them belonged to a single author. Since among these dramas was found also Svapnavāsavadatta, that is attributed to Bhāsa by Rājaśekhara, it was concluded that the writer of all these dramas was Bhāsa. His statement finds support in the circumstance that all of them exhibit the same antiquarian stamp. They are distinguished from classical dramas also on account of their decidedly smaller extension. And lastly all of them are remarkable and partly contain first rate poetry that *prima facie* make the hypothesis that they had been written by a great poet probable. Since now among the predecessors of Kālidāsa there is no name that is so famous as that of Bhāsa, this lends support to the view that we have here the dramas of Bhāsa. It is to be always kept in mind that whenever in the following pages we speak about the recently discovered dramas of Bhāsa this has to be taken with certain reservation[1].

It is not possible to determine with certainty the age of Bhāsa, and his place too is unknown. From his dramas all that we are able to deduce with some certainty is that in case he was not a Brāhmana, which probably he was, he was at any rate a strict follower of Brāhmanical religion and practices and credulous devotee of Viṣnu. He delights in mentioning in his dramas Brāhmanical rites and customs and always stresses upon the supreme status of the

as prastāvanā, in the recently discovered pieces it is named as sthāpanā. Only in the Karnabhāra it is called prastāvanā.

[1. Winternitz is reported to have later expressed the opinion that he was no longer a believer in Bhāsa's authorship of the plays. (G. R Devadhar, pref to his ed , Poona 1937, referred to by S K. De, HSL, p. 102.]

Brāhmanas. It will suffice here to quote a few sentences from him for the purpose of proving it; viz.... *sarvatra sadā ca nāma dvijottamāh pūjyatamāh prthivyām*, "Everywhere and every moment are the Brāhmanas worthy of the highest honour on the earth"; *viprotsange vittamūvarjya sarvam rājñā deyam cāpamātram sutebhyah*, "The king should hand over to the Brāhmanas the entire wealth of his kingdom and leave only his bow for his sons[1]". Furthermore the poet's staunch faith in Visnu becomes evident here and there in his dramas. Krsna is the highest god in particular. In the Dūtavākya and the Bālacarita each line breathes the feeling of absolute surrender to the devotion of Visnu. He is familiar with the complete Krsna-legend. In case it be probable that the cowherd god Krsna became identical with Vāsudeva Krsna in about the period of the birth of Christ and that this cult was propagated by the Ābhīras in the first century A.D.[2], it will go to prove that Bhāsa could not, as Ganapati has tried to show, have lived before Christ. The Ābhīras attained political influence first in the second and third centuries A.D. In any case it is remarkable that neither the cowherd god Krsna nor Rāma is mentioned as an incarnation of Visnu in any inscription written before the Christian era,[3] whilst Bhāsa's treatment of the Krsna-legend as well as his notion about Rāma in the Abhisekanātaka presupposes peak development of the cult of Visnu as in his faith in Krsna- and Rāma-incarnations. That Bhāsa could not be of so early an age follows also from the fact that he knew the Mahābhārata almost exactly in the form in which we have it today and he has mentioned literary works of which pre-Christian origin is doubtful. Thus in the Pratimānātaka (act V) he mentions one Mānavīya Dharmaśāstra, a Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra, a Nyāyaśāstra of Medhātithi and a Prācetasa-Śrāddhakalpa. The Yogaśāstra is referred to here and in the Avimāraka, the Arthaśāstra, in the Pratijñāyaugandharāyana. Lastly in the matter of language and style too Bhāsa stands closer to Kālidāsa than to Aśvaghosa. That the latter is older is proved also by the fact that his Prākrit

1. Madhyamavyāyoga 9; Pañcarātra 1, 6 and 22.
2. Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism, Śaivism etc. p 37 f.
3. Bhandarkar, ibid, pp. 35 f., 46.

represents an earlier stage of development than that of the classical dramas, although the Prākrit of Bhāsa deviates little from that of Kālidāsa[1]. In case, therefore, we can with some certainty fix the date of Aśvaghosa probably in the 2nd century A. D., Bhāsa can be placed not before the end of the 3rd century or the first-half of the 4th century A.D. He could have hardly lived more than 100 years before Kālidāsa[2].

Upto the present time thirteen dramas of Bhāsa—as in any case, we are in a position to state with a high degree of probability—have come to be known. The Pañcarātra derives its plot from the Mahābhārata and so do the one-act plays Dūtavākya, Madhyamavyāyoga, Dūtaghaṭotkaca, Karnabhāra and Ūrubhaṅga, that perhaps are the earliest works of the author. The Bālacarita treats the story of Krṣna, and both the Pratimānāṭaka and the Abhisekanāṭaka narrate Rāma-legends. The themes of the Svapnavāsavadatta and the Pratijñāyaugandharāyana have been retold from the Brhatkathā of Gunādhya[3] and probably the plots of the dramas Avimāraka and Daridracārudatta have been taken from the same source[4].

The comparative simplicity of style, several ingenuities in shortening of the plot and occasional linguistic unevenness as well go to show that the dramas, of which the plots have been taken from the Mahābhārata, belong to the first works of the poet. Further they go to show that he was a born-dramatist. Notwithstanding the facts that the plots have been taken from

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1. Cf. V. Leany, ZDMG 72, 1917, 203 ff.

2. Lindenau, ibid, p. 14f. believes that Bhāsa in the matter of the technique of drama stands closer to Aśvaghoṣa than to Kālidāsa. He puts Bhāsa in about 200 A.D. and Aśvaghoṣa and Bharata between 100 and 200 A D. They are, however, mere vague conjectures, since proof is wanting. [Keith, SD, p. 95 remarks .., "these matters do not permit of precise envaluation of time, and, if we place Bhāsa about A.D 300, we go as far as the evidence allows. Sten Konow, Ind Drama, p 51 would assign the author of the plays to the reign of Ksatrapa Rudrasimha I, i.e. 2nd century A. D. Barnett conjectures that rājasimha i a proper name and refers to Pāṇḍya Tēr Māran Rājasimha I (c. 675 A D) —S K. De HSL, p. 106].

3. It has been wrongly questioned by Hertel, Jinakīrtis "Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla". p. 152 ff. See also Lacôte, JA, s. 11, t. XIII, 1919, 493 ff

4. The dramas have been edited by their discoverer Ganapati Śāstrī in the TSS A drama Kiranāvalī, a nāṭikā, of the type of the Ratnāvalī, should, according to Krisnamacharya, p 67, be attributed to Bhāsa, notwithstanding the fact that the existence of this drama has been doubted by Bhaṭṭanātha Svāmin (Ind. Ant. 41, 1912, 141).

the epic and that these pieces on account of preponderance of verse over prose remind us further of their epical origin, in all these small dramas the poet has succeeded in making them extraordinarily dramatic.

The Pañcarātra[1] is a drama in three acts which closely follows the fourth book of the Mahābhārata. The poet had known the Virāṭaparvan exactly in the same form as we know it to-day, but he had freely modified the plot.

In the beginning of the first act, with great vividness, a forest-fire that breaks out on account of carelessness of a priest-boy in a sacrifice of Duryodhana, has been described. At the end of the sacrifice Duryodhana asks in a highly courteous manner Brāhmana Drona, his teacher in archery, as to what does he ask for as his remuneration for the sacrifice. Drona hasitates to answer. But when Duryodhana, by hurling holy water on the ground, promises to fulfil his desire he says that he wants no sacrificial fee other than that the Pāndavas be given half of the kingdom. After consultation with Śakuni and Karna, Duryodhana agrees to do it, on the condition that in case within five days[2] a news is received from the Pāndavas, he will surrender to them half of his empire. Whilst Drona is very much depressed at this condition, because nobody has heard anything about the exiled Pāndavas during the period of twelve years, there comes a messenger who reports that Virāṭa will not appear for the honour of the princes on account of the grief that he is undergoing due to the killing of the hundred Kīcakas. Bhīsma suspects that Bhīma must be behind it and advises Drona to agree to the proposed condition. Thereafter Bhīsma instigates Duryodhana to arrange for a raid into the cow-pen of King Virāṭa. This raid into the cow-pen forms the theme of the second act that is played inside the palace of Virāta. Uttara, the son of Virāṭa, enters into the fight against Duryodhana and wins it, because Arjuna, in the garb of a eunuch Bṛhan-

1. Published in TSS Nr. 17, 1912; with a Sanskrit commentary [of Kuppuswami Śāstri and an English translation by W. G. Ubhayaratne, Indore 1920.]
2. Hence the title: The drama of the event in the five days.

nalā drives his chariot. The news of the battle is brought to the audience by a herald, who returns back and brings another report. Bhīma pulls Abhimanyu from the chariot and takes him a prisoner. At the end of the act the Pāṇḍavas disclose their identity. Arjuna takes Uttarā as the bride for his son. The third act takes us into the court of Duryodhana. A servant brings the news of capture of Abhimanyu. With the help of an arrow, of which the shaft is named "*arjuna*", the actual position becomes known. Thus within the period of five days comes the news about the Pāndavas and Duryodhana is obliged to surrender to them half of his empire. The double rôle, in which the disguised Pāṇḍavas appear in the court of Virāṭa, is employed to bring in much of activity in the drama. The proper device of the poet *inter alia* is the imprisonment of Abhimanyu by Bhīma[1], that introduces a dramatic scene between the father and the son.

The poet has evidently utilized the episode of the demon Baka and the Brāhmana family of the Mahābhārata[2] for construction of the theme of the one-act play Madhyamavyāyoga[3]. It is indeed wholly naive and fashioned with a dramatic skill. The one-act Dūtavākya, "The Message" is an outright free dramatisation of the episode of Kṛsna's presenting himself as an envoy of the Pāṇḍavas and is narrated in the Mahābhārata[4].

Kṛṣṇa appears in the council-hall of Duryodhana as the envoy of the Pāṇḍavas. With the intention of annoying Kṛsna, Duryodhana gets brought a piece of painting, in which the scene of dragging by hair into the hall of half-naked Draupadī has been presented. We get an accurate

1. In W. Bhīsma.

2. Mahābh. 1, 157 ff, see above I, 279, transl. p. 333.

3. This and the four following one-act plays have been edited in the TSS No. 22, 1912 The theme is based on the event that Bhīma is referred to as "the middle" (*madhyama*) among the five sons of Pāṇḍu Emphasis is laid on this nomenclature also in the Pañcarātra (p. 40), a thing that goes to prove that both the pieces were written by one and the same author. [This play has been translated by E P. Janvier, Mysore, 1921, and P. E. Pavolini, GSAI, XXIX, 1 f] On the vyāyoga, see above p. 186.

4 Mahābh. 5, 91, 94 f, 1 124-131.

description of the picture in the speech of Duryodhana[1]. Kṛṣṇa, however, appears here as a human envoy and as Supreme God at the same time. Hence he is neither terrified, nor are they able to arrest him. He assumes the form of All-Pervasive (Viśvarūpa) and is soon tall, soon small, soon he multiplies himself, so much so that the entire hall becomes full of Kṛṣṇas[2]. In anger he calls for a mighty demon, who hands over to him his terrible weapons. All these appear on the scene in personification; lastly also Bird Garuḍa, the conveyance of Viṣṇu, comes in. At the end, however, his anger gets pacified and the old blind king Dhṛtarāṣṭra thoroughly appeases the Supreme God with his submissive prayer.

Like this piece, Dūtaghaṭotkaca, "(The Drama of) Ghaṭotkaca as messenger", a considerably dull one-act play, mainly serves towards glorification of Kṛṣṇa. The very incomplete theme has been invented by the poet, since the Mahābhārata does not know about the ambassadorship of Ghatotkaca, with which the rest of the drama has nothing to do except the tragic death of the boy Abhimanyu. The Karṇabhāra, "(The Drama of) Load of Karna"[3], is a dramatisation of the tale of the Mahābhārata (1, 111), where Indra appears in the guise of a Brāhmana-beggar and asks for his coat of mail and ear-ring. Among these one-act plays, the most significant is the Ūrubhaṅga, "The (Drama of) Fracture of the Thigh", a poetic creation that is worthy of the fame of Bhāsa. Not only is the language of higher style and beauty, but the dramatisation of the plot[4] too has been executed with a superior skill.

In the beginning of the drama three heralds, of whom each alternately recites a verse, describe the battle-field and the fighting with a mace, that has taken place between Duryodhana and Bhīma in the really difficult

1. The passage is important for the criticism of the Mahābh. II, b; f.; see Winternitz, Festschrift Kuhn, p. 299 ff.

2. We can hardly understand how all this and also the subsequent appearance of the weapons and of Garuḍa could be represented on the stage. That probably is left to the imagination of the audience.

3. Perhaps "Karna's Coat of Mail"; so according to Lindenau, Ind., p. 2.

4. Mahābh. 9, 58

kāvya-style. So probably in verses, as in prose, the poet, whose language is elsewhere so simple, proves him-self a master of the kāvya-style. Thus in stanza 6 he compares a battle with a frightful sacrifice, in which the trunks of elephants are represented as the poles of a sacrifice (yūpa), the arrows, as the holy grass, the stratified bodies of killed elephants form the altar, in which the fire of the enemy is enflamed, the battle-cry is the sacred muttering of sacrificial formulae, and the men who have fallen down are the beasts of sacrifice. Against all rules of Indian dramaturgy Duryodhana, with his broken ribs, appears in person on the scene. Unusual is the scene where the boy Durjaya searches for his father in the battle-field, touching is the meeting of the dying wounded king with his hoary old blind father and his worthy mother Gāndhārī, in which the only request he makes is that in his next birth too may she become his mother. Of all the Indian dramas, this small piece alone reminds us of the Greek tragedy, and in fact it ends tragically with the words that Duryodhana "enters into the heaven".

The Bālacarita, "The Adventure of Boy (Krsna)"[1], is the oldest of the available dramas that have the Krsna-legend as their theme. In this work too Bhāsa extracts in a historical manner the dramatic elements from the famous legends and has freely introduced many things for the purpose of dramatic action

Here the poet presents the wonderful activities of the divine hero partly in a realistic manner on the stage and partly he narrates them in a lively and not altogether devised brief report As in the Dūtavākya, here too the weapons of the God Visnu and his conveyance Garuḍa appear on the stage as dramatic characters The beginning of the second act is a thrilling scene, invented by the poet. Horrible fantoms appear before Kamsa in his bed-chamber; the curse of the ṛsi appears as a Candāla,

1. Edited in TSS, No 21, 1912, Cf. V. Lesny, Bhāsovo Bālacaritam (Listy filologické 42, 1915, 437 ff), Winternitz, ZDMG 74, 1920, 125 ff.; Lindenau, ibid, p. 22 ff An edition and German translation (Die Abenteuer des Knaben Krischna) of the Bālacarita by H Weller had been published in 1922 at Leipzig

and among his retinue appear the young Caṇḍāla-girls dressed in black, who rush upon him and want him to rejoice with them. Against all rules of dramaturgy the fight of the bull-demon Ariṣṭa is presented on the stage in act III and that ends in the destruction of the demon in act IV. Likewise the defeat of the snake-demon Kāliya in act IV takes place at least partly on the stage. And in the fifth act not only the pugilist Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika, but also Kamsa himself is dashed on the ground with the word:

kaṁsāsuram ca yamalokamahaṁ nayāmi ।

"And also the demon Kaṁsa, I send
Forth into the world of Yama."

Krsna mounts the terrace, pulls Kaṁsa by his head, and slays him on the ground:

eṣa eṣa durātmā kamsah—
vistīrnalohitamukhah parivṛttanetro
bhagnāṁśukanthakaṭyjānukarorujanghah ।
vicchinnahārapatitāṅgadalambasūtro
vajraprabhagnaśikharah patito yathādrih ॥

"Here lies he, the devil Kamsa—
With his face besmeared with blood; eyes oozing out,
Shoulders, neck, hips, thighs, hands and knees broken,
The chain of the neck broken and the bracelets fallen down,
The belt hanging—is dying, like a hill that has tumbled with the stroke of thunder."

In the whole drama, Bhāsa appears as a devout worshipper of Krsna. He does not allow a single moment for his audience to think that the hero is not only a god, but the Supreme Divine Being, Nārāyaṇa—Visnu.

Both in the Pratimānāṭaka and in the Abhiṣeka nāṭaka Bhāsa has dealt with the story of Rāma. The Pratimānāṭaka, "The Drama of the Picture"[1] reproduces in its seven acts the contents of the main story of the Rāmāyana, Books II and III in a very independent manner. In the first three and fifth acts the poet has especially retold the story with a free device.

1. Published in TSS No. 42, 1915.

In act I we see how Sītā puts on just for fun the bark-garment, accidently brought (from the theatre cloak-room) by one of her maid-servants with a view to see how it fits her. Then comes the news that the coronation of Rāma is to take place[1] and at the same time is delivered the message that the coronation ceremony has been postponed and that Rāma is to go to live in a forest for 14 years. The action develops (as is usual in Bhāsa) with extraordinary speed. In the bark-garment, worn for the sake of fun, Sītā and likewise the faithful brother Laksmana follow Rāma into the forest. In act II the bewailings of King Daśaratha and his death are represented in a captivating manner. He appears half-mad on the stage, speaks incoherently and lastly succumbs to the power of Death. He breathes his last after he has invoked his ancestors, whom he believes to be seeing. The chamberlain spreads a curtain over the dead body. With heart-rending bewailings of the audience the act ends—that stands in sharp contrast to ordinary rules of dramaturgy. In act III the scene is laid in the picture-palace of his ancestors, in which the statue of the deceased king Daśaratha is also installed[2]. It has been erected for the visit of the queens when Bharata, free from any presentiment, returns by chariot to Ayodhyā from the house of his maternal uncle. While he is in repose, that he takes in front of the temple, for the first time he comes to know about the misfortune in a talk with a temple-priest. Just after he has fallen into swoon the queens come with Sumantra. Bharata regains his consciousness and greets respectfully Kauśalyā and Sumitrā and reproaches Kaikeyī.

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1. Even the preparation made in the concert-hall (samgītaśālā, p. 4) for staging of a suitable drama is a part of the ceremony of ordination of the king.

2. The scene of the picture-palace of ancestors is an innovation of Bhāsa, that he wants to indicate also by the title of the drama. It is remarkable that in Indian literature we find a mention of a custom like installation of pictures of ancestors in a temple. The custom seems to be unknown even to Bharata. Pṛthvīpāla, minister of Jayasimha and Kumārapāla, got erected "a mandapa with columns and a self-opening hall, in which the statues of seven of his ancestors were presented in the picture of mounting elephants in the temple, got built by Vimala on the mountain Arbuda in the year 1032, See H. Jacobi, Sanatkumāracaritam (ABayA XXXI, 2, 1921) p. XI f.

He refuses to be coronated as king and decides to go to Rāma The journey to the forest-hermitage of Rāma constitutes the subject-matter of act IV. Original is the abduction of Sītā in act V. Here we find both Rāma and Sītā in a grove in which the latter waters one of her favourite plants Rāma is aggrieved because he has to perform the śrāddha on the day of anniversary of his father's death and is not in a position to offer suitable gifts to the people. Then comes the demon Rāvana in the guise of a mendicant, who is respectfully received and honoured as a guest by Rāma and Sītā. Rāvara says that he has studied the Vedas and the Śāstras, particularly the Śrāddhakalpa, the manual of offerings to the manes. Rāma takes a note of this and seeks his advice as to how he can pay homage to his deceased fore-fathers in the best manner. Rāvana describes the gifts with which one should try to pay respects to his fathers and then says that there lives in the Himālaya a type of antelope with which the manes can be got satisfied fully Whilst they are thus conversing Rāma sees an antelope that is exactly like this—and is running in his front. It is an illusion created through witchcraft by Rāvara. Rāma hastens after it and leaves Sītā all alone. Rāvara takes advantage of this circumstance and carries away Sītā crying for help. The rest of the plot deviates little from the famous story.

In the Abhisekanāṭaka, "The Drama of Coronation (of Rāma)"[1] in six acts, is presented what is just passingly hinted at in act VII of the Pratimānāṭaka. In the Abhisekanāṭaka the contents of books IV-VI of the Rāmāyana have briefly been put together. Whilst in the Pratimānāṭaka Rāma is a human hero, in the Abhisekanāṭaka, particularly in acts IV and VI, he is revered as the sole Lord Visnu or Nārāyana, and in act VII Agni declares that Sītā is an incarnation of Goddess Laksmī.

The act I, in which Vālin, the monkey-king, expries on the stage, is in itself a short tragedy. In many of the details Bhāsa deviates from the epic. Thus in act IV a

1. Published in TSS No 26, 1913. [Trans E. Beccarini-Crescenzi, GSAI, XXVII, 1ff]. Many of the verbal correspondences do prove that the two Rāma-dramas had one and the same author.

bridge, extending upto Laṅkā, is not constructed on the ocean but the god Varuna gets frightened at the threat of Rāma. He appears fully perturbed, prays Rāma, as Nārāyana, who has become a man, "the ultimate cause of the three worlds", requests him to pardon his fault and offers him free passage by which the ocean gets divided into two to enable his army to go across it. Rāma walks over it and in a moment he is present in Laṅkā He casts his prolonged glance at the island that has been discarded by fortune and will shortly be destroyed with his arrows·—

udadhijalagateva naurvipannā
nipatati rāvanakarṇadhāradosāt ||

"Like a forlorn ship, that has sunk
Into the ocean, sinks down (the city of Lankā),
On account of the fault of Rāvana, the helmsman."

A fitting deviation from the epic occurs in act V, where the episodes of the Rāmāyana VI, 31 and VI, 92 are joined together: Rāvana downright shows Sītā the heads, detached from the bodies, appearing to be those of the heroes Rāma and Laksmana, killed by Indrajit—in fact, it is a delusion caused through witchcraft—then comes a messenger, who brings the news that his son Indrajit has been killed by Rāma. It has really a greater dramatic consequence. Bhāsa has not at all worked towards easy dramatisation, but has indeed fashioned a real drama out of the epic. The language is clear and simple. Yet beautiful pictures are not wanting here. Thus Laksmana shouts at the sight of the ocean (VI, 3)· "Here, here is the Lord Varuna" -

sajalajaladharendranīlanīro
vilulitaphenatarangacāruhārah |
samadhigatanadīsahasrabāhur
harīriva bhāti saritpatih śayānah ||

"Like Hari, appears the river-lord lying stretched,
With his one thousand arms of river extended;
He shines forth, his saphire-blue water looking
like the cloud, full of water,
Wearing the beautiful garland of waves with foams
scattered about."

Again in the concluding stanza of act IV there is a splendid description of the sun-set :

astādrimastakagatah pratisaṁhṛtāṁśuḥ
sandhyānurañjitavapuh pratibhāti sūryaḥ ।
raktojjvalāṁśukavṛte dviradasya kumbhe
jāmbūnadena racitah pulako yathaiva ॥

"The sun has reached the top of the setting hill;
He has collected his rays;
He looks brilliant with his body coloured by the evening
And appears like a jewel placed together with gold
On an elephant's temple, covered with a shining red piece of cloth."

Quite different from all these dramas, based on epics, in which there is neither a vidūsaka nor a comic scene, in which verses are strongly dominent and Prākrit is wholly left behind Sanskrit, are the prakaraṇas of Bhāsa[1]. The most important of these and undoubtedly the master work of the poet is the Svapnavāsavadatta[1], "(The Drama of) Vāsavadattā (who meets her husband) in a Dream". The subject-matter of the piece, of which the plot has probably been taken from the Brhatkathā of Gunādhya, is as follows:—

The soothsayers have predicted that for the good of King Udayana and his kingdom it is necessary that he marries Padmāvatī, a sister of the king of Magadha. But the king loves his wife Vāsavadattā so cordially that he can never even think of taking a second wife. This touches very much his clever and faithful minister Yaugandharāyana. He gets the city set into flames and the rumour is spread that he, along with Vāsavadattā, whom he has been trying to save, has been burnt. Then dressed as an ascetic he travels with Vāsavadattā, whom he declares to be his sister, upto Magadha, where he leaves his pretended sister in the care of Princess Padmāvatī. The two ladies at once contract friendship. In act II we see them together playing ball. From their conversation we learn

1. Published in TSS No. 15, 1912, Translated into German by H. Jacobi in Internat. Monatsschrift VII, 1913, p. 653 ff. and into French by A. Baston, Paris 1914 (Bibl. or Elzévirienne No. 87) with a foreword by S. Lévi. An English translation by G. Sherriff and Panna Lall was published at Allahabad in 1918 (according to Ind. Ant. 48, 176).

that Padmāvatī has a mind to marry King Udayana. Soon the nurse of Padmāvatī reports that Udayana has agreed to accept the latter as his wife. The soliloquy of Vāsavadattā shows how greatly she gets perturbed at this. But she has, however, the satisfaction, as she concludes from the words of the nurse, that her husband wants to have a second spouse only out of sense of duty and not account of lack of affection for her In acts III and IV the marriage of Udayana and Padmāvatī is solemnised. Vāsavadattā is very much pained, as she has to string a garland for the bride of her own highly beloved husband In act IV there is an interlude in which the vidūṣaka enters and expresses his satisfaction that the marriage has taken place early in which he has enjoyed dainty dishes But he complains that his stomach has gone out of order. Then Padmāvatī enters with Vāsavadattā. From their conversation we learn that King Udayana still loves Vāsavadattā, supposed to be dead, and always thinks about her. Then the king and the vidūsaka enter into conversation that the two ladies overhear. The vidūsaka asks the king as to who is dearer to him, whether Vāsavadattā or Padmāvatī. The king evades the answer for a long time, but at last admits that although Padmāvatī is loved by him, still his heart always hangs about Vāsavadattā, who is dead Then the king asks the vidūsaka whether he likes both of them. He, however, decides in favour of Padmāvatī, because she offers him dainty dishes and takes more care of him. In joke, however, the king again thinks about Vāsavadattā, and his sorrow again becomes fresh and he begins to weep. When the vidūsaka goes to fetch water for the king to wash his eyes and the two ladies are deeply touched by the conversation overheard by them, Vāsavadattā goes into retreat and Padmāvatī approaches her husband. Now the vidūṣaka brings water for the king to wash his eyes and the king in order that Padmāvatī may not feel hurt says that flower-pollens have fallen into his eyes.

Act V is played in the bathing chamber of the palace. The maid-servants report that Padmāvatī has got headache and that she is resting on a bed in the bathing

apartment. The vidūsaka reports this to the king, and both of them enter into the bathing chamber. The vidūsaka gets frightened and hurries backward. He thinks to have seen a cobra, but in fact, it is a garland of flowers that is lying on the earth, and he is ridiculed by the king[1]. They go into it, but Padmāvatī is not there. Here the king lies on the bed and asks the vidūsaka to tell him a story. He begins his story in a stupid manner and the king sleeps in the meantime. The vidūsaka goes away, and Vāsavadattā comes in to see Padmāvatī, who is not feeling well. She sits on the bed, believing Padmāvatī to be sleeping there. But when in dream the king utters "O Vāsavadattā", she comes to know that it is the king. He dreams, and in the dream he speaks with Vāsavadattā. She stays there a little, while he is dreaming and replies to his questions, but she retreats back before the king rises up. Hardly she is out when the king awakes from his slumber and shouts:—

vāsavadatte, tiṣtha tiṣtha hā dhik[1],
niṣkrāman saṁbhrameṇāhaṁ
dvārapakṣena tāḍitaḥ ।
tato vyaktaṁ na jānāmi
bhūtārthoyaṁ manorathaḥ ॥

"Vasāvadattā, please stay ! ah !
While I was going out in haste,
I struck against a wing of the door,
Thence I know not clearly,
If this is true or it is
Just my wistful thinking".

(Vidūsaka enters)

Vidūsaka: Are you awoke ?

King: Friend, I have a fresh news: Vasavādattā is alive ! died long ago !

Vidūsaka:—Ah, where is Vāsavadattā ? Vāsavadattā

King:—Friend, do not say this !

śayyāyāmavasuptaṁ māṁ bodhayitvā sakhe gatā ।

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1. In Indian dramas it is one of the typical peculiarities of the vidūṣaka that he gets terrified.

dagdheti bruvatā pūrvaṁ vañcitosmi rumanvatā ॥

"When I was asleep, she aroused me up and went away,
I have been deceived by Rumanvān, who formerly
had reported that she was burnt."

Vidūṣaka: Ah, that is quite unthinkable! Since I made a mention of the bathing place in Avantī, you thought about Vāsavadattā and you have seen her in dream.

King.—

yadi tāvadayam svapno dhanyamapratibodhanam ॥
athāyam vibhramo vā syāt vibhramo hyastu me ciram ॥

"In case, it be merely a dream,
Blessing it would be, if I had not awoke;
In case it be an illusion,
Let this illusion continue for ever."

While the vidūsaka is trying to convince him that he has just dreamt, the chamberlain appears and brings in the report of break of war; this induces the king to hurry forth to war.

Act VI takes us into the palace of King Udayana. The king finds a lute that at one time belonged to Vāsavadattā when he was training her in playing on lute. At the sight of this lute the painful recollection wakes up in the king.

śrutisukhanināde kathaṁ nu devyāḥ
stanayugale jaghanasthale ca suptā ।
vihagaganarajovikīrnadandā
pratibhayamadhyuṣitāsyaranyavāsam ॥

api ca, asnigdhāsi ghosavati yā tapasvinyā na smarasi ।

śronīsamudvahanapārśvanipīditāni
khedastanāntarasukhānyupagūhitāni ।
uddiśya mām ca virahe parideviāni
vādyāntaresu kathitāni ca sasmitāni ॥

"Beloved lute, once hast thou rested
Over her breasts and on her thighs;
How hast thou led the terrible life in the forest,
Where birds have scattered thy stick in dust"

"Besides, thou art devoid of sentiment,
O Ghosavatī, that thou remembereth not about her—

Carrying thee between her thighs, pressing thee between her arms,
Offering thee the pleasant embrace between her warm breasts;

Bewailing in her separation from me,
And the conversation full of smiles,
That took place in between musical pauses."

The amorous bewailing of the king is interrupted by the arrival of messengers from the parents of Vāsavadattā. They bring to Udayana, in the name of the queen (the mother of Vāsavadattā), a beautiful picture in which the king is shown with Vāsavadattā[1]. In the meantime Yaugandharāyaṇa comes to claim back her pretended sister. With the help of the painting the identity of Vāsavadattā gets disclosed and the facts come to be known. The beautiful picture leads to the concluding verse of the actor (bharatavākya):—

imāṁ sāgaraparyantāṁ himvadvindhyakuṇḍalām |
mahīmekātapatrāṅkāṁ rājasiṁhah praśāstu naḥ ||

"May our lion-king protect the whole of this earth, that extends up to the sea, on whose face the Himālaya and the Vindhya appear like two giant ear-rings[2]."

If we compare the story as found in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara[3] with that in Bhāsa's drama we cannot but admire the latte . It is true that we do know how Bhāsa found the story in Guṇādhya. In case Somadeva reproduces accurately, just half-way, the story of the Bṛhatkathā and has not

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1. The picture was produced to ratify in it the sacramental marriage of Udayana and Vāsavadattā that could not be performed actually on account of the flight of Udayana. It is a thing that is alluded to also at the end of the drama Pratijñāyaugandharāyana In the Kathāsaritsāgara 1, 14 there is no mention of the picture, but we find the actual marriage taking place instead.

2. The transl given by W. is from J a c o b i .

3. Book III, Kap 15 and 16 F L a c ô t e (JA p 11, t. XIII, 1919, p 493ff.), attempts, on the basis of similarity of the story in the Kathāsarit-sāgara and the allusions in the Bṛhatkathāślokasamgraha with Bhāsa's Svapnavāsavadatta and with the fable of Tāpasavatsarājacarita of Mātrarāja, to reconstruct the form of the story of the Brhatkathā, which had served as the model for the drama of Bhāsa.

perhaps, that can hardly be assumed, grossly worsened it, this work is worthy of the greatest admiration on account of the delicacy and fineness with which Bhāsa has eliminated all that is clumsy and rude in the story. In Somadeva how vulgar it is, when King Udayana is almost aware of the truth and apparently rests quite, because wise Nārada has predicted that he will have a son from Vāsavadattā; so he should simply remain firm, in case he himself is not to die immediately; but on the other hand his rash decision to marry Padmāvatī appears as a little motivated and crude; and vulgar is the whole of the conclusion in the Kathāsaritsāgara Reversely in Bhāsa's drama the simplification effected with the help of the dream, that is certainly a creation of the poet, is fine and delicate. Without doubt it is the well-merited pride for this innovation that induced the poet to insert the word "dream" (*svapna*) in the title of his drama. The dream prepares the way for the disclosure that wholly follows as a sequence from the picture. Because in the drama the king is not aware of the actual situation. All the remaining scenes are well grounded. The relationship between the two ladies, Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī, both of whom are generous in spirit and tender at heart and love with fidelity one and the same husband, can, however, be fully realised only from the Indian point of view. The westerners cannot but sympathise with Vāsavadattā in her grief when she, with another girl, has to make preparations for her husband's marriage-celebration and she is obliged to decorate the bride herself, and with Padmāvatī when she perceives with painful resignation that Vāsavadattā is loved by the husband the more. In case, we possessed only this s i n g l e drama of Bhāsa, we would have been obliged to consider him as one of the greatest poets, on account of its poetic beauties. But notwithstanding this it can hardly be of interest for the European theatre, since a western monogamy-minded audience can scarcely appreciate the Indian sentiment[1].

The P r a t i j ñ ā y a u g a n d h a r ā y a n a[2] "(The drama of) of Yaugandharāyana (sticking fast) to his Promise"

1. The Svapnavāsavadatta must have become known and been appreciated long ago, since it has many a time been imitated by later poets Cf. L. H. G r a y, Vāsavadattā, Introd p 1 f

2. Edited in the TSS No. 16, 1912. H e r t e l, Jinakīrtis

is closely associated in respect of its subject-matter with the Svapnavāsavadatta. It is a drama of entirely different type. The love, that in the Svapnavāsavadatta stands at the centre, goes wholly into background in this work. Neither Udayana nor Vāsavadattā, whose fate probably forms its subject-matter, appears on the stage. The hero of the piece is Minister Yaugandharāyaṇa, and it is his fate that stands at the centre of this drama. His statesmanship (*nīti*) and his fidelity to the king are the qualities that are praised ardently. The contest of the two ministers, Bharatarohaka and Yaugandharāyaṇa constitutes the moving motif in the dramatic development.

The drama in four acts narrates the story, that is narrated also in the Kathāsaritsāgara (II, 12-14) according to the Bṛhatkathā, how Udayana is brought on account of the prank of Bharatarohaka, the minister of King Pradyota of Mahāsena, with the help of an artificial elephant, inside which soldiers are found, as a prisoner into the kingdom of Pradyota. Here he trains Vāsavadattā, one of the daughters of the king, in the art of playing on lute and wins her love. The faithful Yaugandharāyaṇa hears the story from a spy, gets very much afflicated and takes the vow (*pratijñā*) to rescue the king:

yadi śatrubalagrasto rāhuṇā candramā iva |
mocayāmi na rājānam nāsmi yaugandharāyaṇaḥ ||

"If like the moon, overpowered by Rāhu,
I free not the king, held up by the troop of the enemy,
I cease to be Yaugandharāyaṇa."

"Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla", p 123 ff, gives a summary of the contents In the Svapnav. VI,18 the king says "Thou art really Yaugandharāyaṇa. While drowning deep we have been rescued by thee through thy efforts and pretended madness, through battles as well as with thy clever plannings set according to the manuals of polity This alludes to the story of the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa. Cf. also above p. 218, note 1. That the two dramas have the same author accordingly can hardly be doubted. P D. G u n e (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, II, 1920-21, p 1 ff) compares the tales of Udayana according Kumārapālapratibodha of Jaina Somaprabha with those of the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa and the Kathāsaritsāgara Since the promise (pratijñā) occurs only in Bhāsa, Gune does not believe that the Bṛhatkathā is the source of the three versions, which go back to historical events Yet, however, the source may be the Bṛhatkathā. The stanza Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa III, 8 that with minor variants occurs in Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpurusacarita X, 11, 235, appears also in the Bṛhatkathā But the comparison shows that it was an innovation of Bhāsa to place the promise at the central point of the drama. Hence also the title

In act III this vow is further extended when the minister says that he will not continue to be called Yaugandharāya~a if he does not bring back home the people, the elephants and Vāsavadattā together with the king With this objective in mind he, dressed as a mad person, begins to run about the residence of Mahāsena for execution of his plan. The act III, in which the vidūsaka and the two ministers in disguise converse among themselves in Prākrit, is full of subtleties, in which all that they say has two meanings and refers to the plan for rescuing the king[1]. But Yaugandharāyana is not only a clever and faithful minister, but also a valiant hero in battle .. After he has freed his master from imprisonment he is captured by the pursuing enemies after a bold defence, because he is dashed by an elephant with his tusk. Stately he appears as a prisoner and with a happy face he cries out: "victory is mine !", since he has rescued his master from the jail Since "it is a matter of real luck for an unmarried man to fly into the forest. furthermore aggreable is the death for him whose desire has been fulfilled: and in fact there remains nothing for which he who has done his duty should repent[2]." Full of action is the scene in which Yaugandharāyana, who is wounded and has been captured, meets his rival, the hostile minister Bharatarohaka, who rebukes him by addressing him as proud and self-conceipted prisoner. As against this, the end, in which, at the consent of the king for the marriage of Vāsavadattā with Udayana, everybody enjoys unlimited pleasure, is seemingly abrupt and unmotivated. The introductory scene of act IV, in which the drunk elephant-attendant appears, is not devoid of humour.

The drama Avimāraka (in six acts)[3] too seems

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1 Till the present days the Cakkyars, a class of actresses in modern Kerala, play this act under the title Mantrānkanāṭaka, and this they do without knowing its connection with the drama of Bhāsa see Ganapati, Pratimānāṭaka, Introd. p XL

2 *sukham khalu niṣkalatrānām kāntāraṃpravesaḥ ramaṇīyataraḥ khalu prāptamanorathānām vinipātaḥ apaścāttāpakaraḥ khalu saṃtadharmānām mṛtyuḥ | mayā hi . jayaḥ prāptaḥ |*

3 Edited in TSS No 20, 1920 Beccarini Crescenzi, L'Avimāraka di Bhāsa, GSAI, Vol 28, was not accessible to Winternitz.

to have derived its plot from the Bṛihatkathā[1]. The following is the content of this purely narrative drama:

On account of the curse of a ṛṣi the son of the Sauvira king becomes a śvapāka, a man of the lowest caste, and assumes the name Avimāraka, "avi-killer", because he has killed an Asura Avi by name. He saves Kuraṅgī, the daughter of his maternal uncle Kuntibhoja, from a mad elephant. At this moment both of them fall in love with each other. Through the agency of the nurse of the princess a secret union of the loving couple takes place in the palace of the maiden. In act III is described with great dramatic art the entry of the prince in the guise of a thief into the palace through a window in a dark night as well as the appearance of the princess in his presence. The act ends with the words *yadyeṣā kṣaṇadā bhaved yugaśataṁ dhanyo madanyaḥ kutaḥ*, "in case this night be of 100 yugas duration, who will be fortunate other than myself". Between the acts III and IV passes a year of enjoyment of their happy secret love. Then this thing comes to the notice of the guard of the harem. Avimāraka is obliged to flee away and he gets completely perplexed. He wants to put an end to his life and jumps into a forest, that is in flames; but the flames of Agni are as cool as sandal and do not burn him. When he is about to kill himself by falling from a hill he meets a Vidyādhara, who gives him a magic ring, with the help of which it becomes possible for him to have secret union with his beloved. He appears before her just when she is going to commit suicide by hanging herself. In the meantime the duration of the curse comes to its end, and with the cooperation of wise Nārada, everything comes to a happy closure with the union of the loving couple.

Sage Nārada, here (as in the Bālacarita too) is represented humorously as the popular saint, who likes only string-music and quarrel. The vidūṣaka of the Avimāraka reminds us of the one of the Mṛcchakaṭika. He is an uncultured Brāhmana, who is not able to read

1. Cf. Kathāsaritsāgara 16, 1112.

at all, but still helps towards bringing comical changes in respect of the literary work. Jokingly he says: *jaṇṇopavīdena bamhano | cīvarena rattapaḍo | jadi vatthaṁ avaṇemi samanao homi* : "I am a Brāhmana with my sacred thread, and with the dress of a beggar, a red-clothed person (i.e. a Buddhist monk) and when I put off my garment I become a Jaina monk (naked)". Like a typical joker he speaks with predilection for food. But on the other hand, he is the most faithful friend of the hero, who about him directly says that he is "witty in entertainments, a warrior in battle, teacher in grief, and bold against the enemy" (act IV, verse 21). In any case, these are the characteristics that are not known to be possessed by the typical vidūsakas elsewhere.

In the Avimāraka the language is often very much artistic Ornate similes and lengthy compounds prove familiarity of the poet with the kāvya-style. Thus for example at one place the heat of the sun is described with a bold comparison (IV, stanza 4):

atyuṣnā jvarīteva bhāskarakarairāpītasārā mahī
yakṣmārtā iva pādapāḥ pramuṣitacchāyā davāgnyāśrayāt |
vikrośantyavaśā divocchritaguhāvyāttānanāḥ parvatāḥ
lokoyaṁ ravipākanastahṛdayah samyāti mūrchāmiva ||

"The earth resembles a patient suffering from fever, the trees appear as if suffering from phthysis, the hills look as if tearing their cave-mouths asunder and crying aloud, and the entire world appears to have lost its consciousness on account of the heat of the sun."

The most important, for the literary history of India, among the dramas of Bhāsa, is the Daridracārudatta[1]

1. Edited in TSS No. 39, 1914 [Ed also by C R. Devadhara, Poona, 1939]. Translated into Norwegian by Sten Konow in the journal "Edda", 1916, pp 389-417. Winternitz says that he could not come to a decision with regard to the question whether the drama had come down to us in an incomplete form, or if this was the last work of the poet that he could not complete Konow (Festschrift Kuhn, p. 107) says that Śūdraka has added six new acts to the four acts of the drama of Bhāsa and he has refashioned the whole work In a private communication Konow had written to Winternitz that the former would try to prove this in a work of his disciple G. Morgenstierne that was in the press Georg Morgenstierne, Über das Verhaltnis zwischen Cārudatta und Mṛcchakaṭikā, Leipzig, 1921, indeed proves that Śūdraka's drama is a resetting of Bhāsa's Daridracārudatta and not (as Bhaṭṭanātha, ibid, p 194, assumes)

("The Drama of poor Cārudatta)". Unfortunately it has come down to us only in a fragmentary form. But its four acts that we have upto the present time do not leave in our mind any doubt that the famous drama Mṛcchakaṭika[1], "The Drama of the Clay-cart", attributed to King Śūdraka, is a genial, elaborate and late adaptation (perhaps a continuation of Bhāsa's Daridracārudatta. In any case, the four acts of the Daridracārudatta and the first four acts of the Mṛcchakaṭika are related together in a way, that is as close as that existing between two different recensions of one and the same work.

We unfortunately are not in a position to state clearly whether the elaboration of the drama of Bhāsa in the form of Mrcchakaṭika was executed soon after the time of Bhāsa or about a century later. About the poet Śūdraka we know

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reversely cannot be an abridgment of the Mrcchakaṭika, but the question, whether the drama of Bhāsa has come down as a torso and has been elaborated and continued by Śūdraka or whether Bhāsa had written more then four acts, as K. C. Mehendale (Bhandarkar Com Vol p 369 f.) will like to prove cannot be decided It is certain that four acts of the Daridracārudatta, as we know it, are a torso Morgenstierne (ibid, p 78 f.) correctly remarks that in no case Śūdraka was a plagiator. See also S. K. Belvalkar in Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental conference, Poona, 1920, Vol. I, p. LI f.

1. Critical edition of A. F. Stenzler, Bonn, 1847. Of the Indian editions that are worthy of being recommended are the one with two commentaries of N B. Godabole, BSS No 52, Bombay 1896 and the other with a commentary of P. H M. Sanna Śāstrī and K. P. Parab in NSP (3d ed. Bombay 1909) German translations of O Böhtlingk (St. Petersburg 1877), L Fritze (1879) and H. C Kellner (Reclams Univ.-Bibl 3111, 3112, 1894) English translation of H H. Wilson, Select Specimens, Vol. I and of A. W. Ryder in HOS, Vol. IX, Cambridge Mass. 1905, [and R. P. Oliver, Illinois, 1938]. Appendix to it in JAOS 27, 1906, 418 ff French translation of P. Regnaud, Paris 1876. There are also translations in Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Italian and Russian. Beitrage zur Erklarung by C. Cappeller in the Festgruss an Bohtlingk, p. 20ff, and A. Gawronski in Kuhns Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachf 44, 1911, 224ff. People have also tried to adapt the Mṛcchakatika for the European theatre. In Paris it had been adapted into French by Méry et Gerard de Nerval in the year 1850 and a new recast had been made by V Barrucand in 1895. None of the two adaptations had more than a momentary success (see Lévi in Revue de Paris 1895, 1, 818 ff.). In the adaptation of Emil Pohl (Stuttgart 1892) the piece went also over to the German theatre under the title "Vasantasenā" and became for a time an attractive drama Moreover, this adaptation contains much more than what was ever said by Śūdraka, nor has even been thought of in India. A. Hillebrandt (Alt-Indien, p. 159) directly calls it "rather a caricature than an adaptation suitable for stage A brief and free German reproduction is the "Vasantasenā oder das irdene Wagelchen" of H. Haberlandt, Leipzig, 1893 Lion Feuchtwanger's adaptation (Münich 1916), a recent work written for the stage, keeps closer to the original than that of Pohl.

nothing beyond what has been said in the prelude in this regard. Here he says that the famous poet Śūdraka was, "the chief amongst the Aryans" (dvijas), a man possessed of excellent qualities of body and mind, he was a scholar of the Ṛgveda, the Sāmaveda, arithmetic, pornography and the science of elephants. He was cured of a serious eye-disease through the grace of God Śiva. After he saw his son in the office of the king, he performed a horse-sacrifice and he had attained the age of one hundred and ten days. But he ended his life by burning his ownself. On the earth he was equally famous for his skill in war and for purity of character. But since here we find a mention of the death of the poet royal, the three stanzas, in which these biographical data are furnished, must have first been added to the original work later (by somebody after the death of the poet, at the time of its presentation on the scene or in some revised adaptation) in the prelude[1]. As the king Śūdraka, moreover, is unknown in history—his name we find neither in inscriptions nor on coins, but only in tales and stories—it seems fruitless to attempt to determine his age[2]. It is not improbable that there was a rājā, who bore the epithet Śūdraka, on account of being of lowly origin, and had adapted the drama of Bhāsa afresh In this drama we find revolution

1. The prelude itself is found substantially in the drama Daridracārudatta of Bhāsa.

2. A poet Śūdraka first of all finds mention in Vāmana's Kāvyālamkāravṛtti (3,2,4) The view that the author of the Mṛcchakaṭika is identical with the Ābhīra prince Śivadatta, who in the middle of the 3rd century A D. overthrew the Andhra dynasty, as stated by Konow (Festschrift Kuhn, p 108 f), appears to have very weak foundation and stands in contradiction with regard to the age of Aśvaghosa and Bhāsa [His opinion has been refuted by J. Charpentier, JRAS, 1923. p 595 f] Jacobi (Bhavisatta Kaha von Dhanavāla, p 83*A) has shown that act VI of the Mrcchakaṭika could not have been written before the 4th century A. D on account of the astronomical data found in it. Pischel (GGA 1883, p. 1229ff) has expressed the opinion that the date of the Mṛcch. cannot be altogether very far away from the dates of the great classical poets, viz Kālidāsa, and that its "earliest limit would be towards the end of the 5th century A D" On the basis of its language, Gawronski (Kuhns Zeitschrift 44, 1911, 241 ff) concludes that the "latest age-limit of the Mṛcchakaṭika is the 4th century A. D. The arguments by which Mehendale (ibid p 367 ff) tries to make it probable that Śūdraka lived in about 550-600 A. D. are weak [Jolly, Hindu Law of Partition, Inheritance and Adoption, Calcutta, 1883, p. 68 f shows that the legal procedure, as seen in act V, is usually found in lawbooks of the 6th and the 7th centuries.]

heralding in matters relating to manners and customs,[1] and in it a case of removal of a legitimate king by a cowherd has been described; besides we find predilection for Prākrit dialects in it and not for straight standard Sanskrit and notice certain deviations from the strict rules of dramaturgy, and lastly strong Buddhist spirit is permeating it — all this appears to go to point out that the author of the Mrcchakatika does not belong to any of the two highest Brāhmanical castes[2].

The authors of older manuals of poetics do not appear to have held any high opinion regarding the merits of the Mrcchakatika. They do not seem to consider this work as of sufficiently high standard for the purpose of quoting examples from it[3]. On the contrary in Europe, the drama has enjoyed high grade of popularity and has been always held in esteem. The work fully merits this honour. It deviates from the model more than any other Indian drama and it has been fashioned wholly on actual life. The characters are presented in a lively manner. The comic scenes with their firm humour are full of spirit and wit, and in the beginning scenes we find many passages that in the matter of tenderness and fervour remind us of the most beautiful places in the dramas of Kālidāsa. It is true that

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1. E Kuhn (Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen, Leipzig, 1912, p. 219) stresses "the poetical heralding of a revolution in the drama Mṛcchakaṭika that is indeed attributed to a king by tradition" as characteristic of Indian interpretation of kingship. But the status of the poet comes to be known only through actual political events that occurred not long away from the time of the poet. The poet "Śūdraka" must have been a close friend of the usurper "Āryaka".

2. Cf Jacobi in the Literaturblatt für Orient. Philol. 3, p. 72*ff. Pischel (Rudraṭa, p. 13 ff.) had posed the hypothesis that Daṇḍin might have been the real author of the Mrcchakaṭika This theory, that in itself is based on weak foundation, loses its little force in the face of the fact that Daṇḍin was a wonderful master in respect of language, a quality that is wanting in the author of the Mṛcchakaṭika. Cf. also A Gawronski, Sprachliche Untersuchungen über das Mrcchakaṭika and das Daśakumāracarita, Diss. Leipzig 1907; Pandit Mahachandra Nyāyaratna in JASB, Proceed 1887, 193 ff. und Bohtlingk in the preface to Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa.

3. He has first of all been quoted in the Kāvyaprakāśa. There is no old commentary on the drama In any case, it is being staged down upto the present time in Ujjain. (See Jackson, JAOS 23, 1902, 317). [S. K. De, HSL, p 242—Vāmana, already in the 8th century refers (iii, 2, 4) to a composition by Śūdraka, and also quotes two passages anonymously, one of which occurs also in the Cārudatta. Besides, the language of a bhāna, ascribed to him (Gray JAOS, XXVII, 1907, p. 419f), shows that Śūdraka's grammar does not conform closely to the norm, a fact that indicates not only a departure from convention, but probably also his early date.]

primarily we know, in respect of the first four acts only, the extent to which the poetic beauty goes to the credit of Bhāsa and to that of Śūdraka.

The hero of the Mṛcchakaṭika is Cārudatta, a trader, by caste a Brāhmana, who as a consequence of his enormous generosity has lost all that he had, and enters into the drama as wholly pauper. The heroine is Vasantasenā, a harlot, living in opulence and luxury, who loves the noble and virtuous trader passionately notwithstanding his poverty. She is seduced by the brute and uncultured brother-in-law of King Pālaka By accident she comes under his power, but she refuses to obey him He strangles her by the neck and believes her to be dead Then he accuses the trader Cārudatta with the charge of murdering Vasantasenā. The judge's court, the scene of administration of justice is presented on the stage, and Cārudatta is ordered to be put to death. He is taken to the place of execution. When the sword is hanging over him, Vasantasenā rushes forth in the company of the monk, who has rescued her and then sets him free. At the same time the cowherd Āryaka, who with his followers has defeated Pālaka and has killed him, is declared king The new king confers the status of a "lady" (*vadhū*) upon the harlot, so that she may become a rightful wife of the trader, and she is embraced by his first wife as her "sister"

Since a reference to Āryaka and Pālaka is wanting in Bhāsa, it has to be assumed that it was Śūdraka who in a historical manner has connected the love-story with a political intrigue. The inclusion of bigger scenes from popular life must be his work. The burlesque scene of a drama[1], a nocturnal burglary[2], and the detailed description of the palace of the harlot[3] and of the administration of justice and the scene of execution

1. This scene is wanting in Bhāsa, where it is deemed to have been reflected from behind the scene.

2. This occurs in Bhāsa too, where, however, the scene is smaller, but more dramatic

3 This lengthy description is wholly wanting in Bhāsa Here Maitreya says expressly, "How splendid is the palace of the harlot? Here sit strange fellows from different cities and read books All sorts of dishes are prepared They play on flute. The goldsmith carefully assembles together different kinds of ornaments

offer the poet the opportunity for lively representation from actual life and for sketching of in-no-way ancient characters, some of whom occur already in Bhāsa: thus the brother-in-law of the king, a brute, uncultured, but passing for a cultured person on account of his status and influence in the court, the gallant Brāhmana Śarvilaka (in Bhāsa, he is called Sajjalaka), who becomes a burglar on account of his love for the maid-servant of Vasantasenā, a bold but sympathetic creature throughout, and the masseur, who from a veteran gambler becomes a pious Buddhist monk In the concluding acts of the Mrcchakatika, auxiliary characters, such as the palanquin-bearers and the man-loving assistants of the executioner taken from the Caṇḍāla caste, are presented with little striking characteristics.

All these pictures and forms remind us much more of the popular narrative literature than of the stereotyped descriptions and characters of the court epics and dramas. Along with narrative literature, generally in prose, the Mṛcchakaṭika frequently has also admixture of narrative, descriptive and gnomic verses In the first four acts the number of adages of this type is greater in Śūdraka than in Bhāsa[1]. Thus for example just in the beginning Śūdraka has increased the number of verses on poverty. In act IV in the Mrcchakatika in the speech of Śarvilaka we have a number of adages on women, that are wholly wanting in Bhāsa. Thus for example the beautiful stanza:

striyo hi nāma khalvetā nisargādeva panditāh |
purusānām tu pāndityam śāstrairevopajāyate ||

"The women are known to be born clever by nature;
But cleverness in men results from study alone."

Since the greater part of the drama in the work of Śūdraka is in acts V to X only, it seems necessary to pass on , in the meantime, to the most beautiful places of the work that is attributed to this poet.

So the act V begins with the masterly rain-scene[2]. In

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1 The number of stanzas is throughout less in Bhāsa than in Śūdraka. Against 129 stanzas in the first four acts of the Mṛcchakaṭika, Bhāsa's Daridracārudatta has only 55 stanzas, of which 13 do not occur in Śūdraka. Of the 42 verses that are common only 2 are identical, all others appear with variants, that very often are very significant. Often it seems that Śūdraka has changed the verse simply to avoid his being plagarious.

2 In Bhāsa's Daridracārudatta the act IV ends in an allusion to a storm.

a multitude of rapidly running pictures Cārudatta describes the rainy night first of all, as in the verse :

etā niṣiktarajatadravasaṁnikāsā
dhārā javena patitā jaladodarebhyaḥ |
vidyutpradīpaśikhayā kṣananastadṛstāś-
chinnā ivāmbarapatasya daśāḥ patanti ||

"Streams of rains, looking like liquidified silver,
Are dripping with speed from the bodies of the clouds,
Hardly visible in the flame of brilliance of lightening,
They disappear in a moment and fall down
On the ground like filets of the dress of the sky."

We then see how Vasantasenā hastens in the dreadful night to meet her lover in the company of her associate—according to the convention of the Indian lyrics—in this duet are combined the descriptions of nature and erotics and the loving couple happily embracing each-other[1] in the stormy weather Cārudatta calls out his friend, who abuses the bad weather :

vayasya, nārhasyupālabdhum—
varsaśatamastu durdinamavirataḍhāram śatahradā patantu |
asmadvidhadurlabhayā jadaham priyayā parisvaktaḥ ||

"Friend, do not accuse please—
May this bad weather continue for hundred years,
May it shower incessantly, may the lightening thrill,
Since it is a rare fortune—the sweet'heart is lying within my arms."

The rainbow becomes visible and Cārudatta points it to his beloved. And lastly they enter into their house with the beautiful verse that imitates the music of the rains in an almost untranslatable manner:—

tālīṣu tāraṁ vitapesu mandram śilāsu rūkṣam salilesu caṇḍam |
saṅgītaviṇā iva tāḍyamānās tālānusāreṇa patanti dhārāḥ ||

"Loudly on the leaves of the palms,
Lightly on the branches of the tree,
Hard on the rocks and stones,
Heavily into the streams and ponds,

1. About the description of the rainy weather in this dialogue R Gottschall (Poetik, 2 Aufl. II,186) says that nowhere else do we find more beautiful a poem on the rains than that we have here The passages have partly been translated into German by Oldenberg, LAI, p. 276 ff.

How in melody does the sound strike,
So fall the drops in a definite measure."

The Mrcchakatika draws its title from the lively scene in act VI that may be translated here as follows:—

"Radanikā, a maid-servant in the house of Cārudatta, enters with the little son of Cārudatta.

Radanikā:—Come, lovely child, we shall play with the little cart

Boy (weeping) —Radanikā ! What shall I do with the little clay-cart ? Gıve me the little cart of gold ?

Radanıkā (painfully groaning):—Child ! whence shall I bring a golden cart ? When thy father will again become rich, thou wılt play with a golden cart. However, now I like to detract hım to a different topic and go to meet Vasantasenā. (She enters). I greet thee, Madam.

Vasantasenā: Welcome, Radanikā. Whose is this boy ? Even though he is not well decorated, he, with his moon-like face, is a source of rejoice to my heart.

Radanıkā: Indeed, he is the son of His Highness Cārudatta. Hıs name is Rohasena.

Vasantasenā (extendıng her arms):—Please come my child, embrace me. (Draws him into her lap.). Thy appearance ıs exactly lıke thy father.

Radanıkā: I thınk not only the appearance, but also the nature. Hence Hıs Highness Cārudatta ıs very happy wıth him.

Vasantasenā: Then why does he weep ?

Radanıkā. He was playıng wıth a golden cart, that belonged to a boy of the localıty. He has taken that back away. When he was looking for it, I made this clay-cart and have gıven it to him. At this she says. Radanikā, what shall I do with this clay-cart ? Please give me the golden cart.

Vasantasenā: Alas, he ıs afflicted at the prosperity of others. Sublime Fate, Thou sporteth with man's lot that resembles the drops of water falling from lotus-caves. (Wıth tears ın her eyes) Child, do not weep, Thou wılt play wıth a golden cart.

Boy: Radanikā, who ıs she there ?

Vasantasenā. A female slave, who has been won by thy father through his qualities.

Radanikā: The lady is thy mother.

Boy: What you say is not true. In case she be my mother, how can she be so well decorated ?

Vasantasenā: From thy innocent mouth thou uttereth highly painful words (She puts off her ornaments, weeping). Thus now I have become thy mother Please take this ornament and get a little golden cart made for thyself

Boy: I shall not take it Thou art weeping.

Vasantasenā (wiping her tears off)· Child, I shall not weep. Go and play (Fills the little cart with the bag of ornaments). Boy, get a golden little cart made for thee.

(Exit—Radanikā with the boy).

Certainly it is this scene, that is important also for the development of the plot, the work of a later collaborator, who on its account gave the new title to the drama.

The drama Mṛcchakaṭika is of extraordinary value in respect of cultural history, above all for our knowledge of the ways of harlots and that of their social status in ancient India The harlot Vasantasenā lives in a palace provided with best luxuries She has her own elephants and an elephant-driver as well as a large retinue of attendants She is a highly cultured lady and is treated with high honour and regard by everybody except the uncultured Samsthānaka. Her servants are slaves, but they can become free on payment of a ransom In the drama there is not the slightest hint noticeable that Cārudatta, who belonged to the caste of Brāhmaṇas, misbehaved, while he was loving the harlot When, she is not free, she belongs to a despised caste, but after Vasantasenā has freed her slave Madanikā against payment of a ransom, the latter stands higher than her former mistress. This relation of love between Cārudatta and the harlot does not prevent that between him and his married wife loving each-other and they reciprocate in matter of showing respect. There is not the least amount of rivalry between the two wives. The end of the drama leaves the impression that Cārudatta was leading an honourable and

family life with his two wives, both of whom, he loved equally and both of whom loved him equally[1].

The drama is very much instructive also for a knowledge of relationship existing between the different castes and for that of religious practices. Cārudatta is a Brāhmana by birth, yet he is a salesman. In the last act we find that the Candālas are people of lowly castes, yet their status is higher than that of the royal villain Samsthānaka. The Mṛcchakaṭika differs essentially from other classical dramas. In the latter the hero is always a model of virtue and bravery, the heroine, a model of beauty and amour, other chief characters too usually belong to a noble society, and a kind of conventional moral, from which basically there is not much deviation, permeates all these dramas. As against this stands the Mṛcchakaṭika, where although the heroine is a harlot and there take place chasing, theft, attempt for murder and other violent actions on the stage openly, there is laid strong emphasis on true propriety. He who is familiar with the moral teachings of Buddhism will not miss to see in this drama clear traces of moral teachings of Buddhism[2]. The poet Śūdraka appears to be a liberal Hindu with strong Buddhist inclinations[3].

Several points of contact with Bhāsa's Daridracārudatta and the Mrcchakaṭika, still more with the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa of Bhāsa and also with the Tantrākhyāyika, that later became so famous under the title Pañcatantra is shown by the M u d r ā r ā k ṣ a s a, "the Drama of Rākṣasa and his Signet

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1. The scene in the last act, where the wife of Cārudatta attempts to burn herself, when she believes her husband to have been executed (S t e n z l e r's ed, 325 ff; K e l l n e r's trans. 196 ff) is an interpolation that is not found in all the MSS.

2. Particularly in act VIII prevails the Buddhist spirit. The monk calls Vasantasenā directly as "lay sister of Buddha" and brings her to one of the "sisters in faith" into the cloister. H. H W i l s o n has already pointed to these tendencies and is of the opinion that the drama goes back to the period when Buddhism was in full blossom in India. Wilson believed that this was a proof of high antiquity of the drama. But we know today that Buddhism was yet alive in the 6th and 7th centuries in India and was being patronised by several rulers. It is remarkable that the new king Āryaka, at the end of the drama, makes the monk the head of the cloister. It will be very important for our drama in case it can be established as to where and when the right of selecting the head of all Buddhist monasteries was exercised by the rulers.

3. The opening prayer addressed to Śiva proves that he was not a Buddhist.

Ring"[1]) of the poet Viśākhadatta[2]). These points of contact suggest the hypothesis that this drama as well need not have been altogether widely separated from those works even in respect of time. And in fact there is some possibility in favour of the supposition that Viśākhadatta lived under the same Candragupta II, during the period of whose reign, as we have assumed, falls the age of the works of Kālidāsa[3]. At the central point of this remarkable drama stands—further, more than in the Pratijñāyaugandharāyana—politics (nīti). There is no talk about love in the whole of the drama. Among the characters, there appear a few individual women and that in small side-roles.

Like the author of the Tantrākhyāyika, who wants to teach science of politics through fables, Viśākhadatta too in his

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1. Editions by K T. Telang, BSS No 27, Bombay 1884 with the commentary of Ḍhundhirāja, and by A Hillebrandt, Breslau 1912 Cf. also Hillebrandt in ZDMG 39, 1885, 107 ff, NGGW 1905, 429ff and Über das Kauṭilīya-śāstra and Verwandtes" (Sonderabdr. aus dem 86. Jahresbericht der Schlesischen Ges für vaterländ Kultur), Breslau 1908, p 13 ff See Eggeling, Ind Off Cat VII, p 1589 on a commentary that explains the text from both the points of view poetico-dramatic and also politic (nīti). Translated into German by L Fritze (Reclam, Univ -Bibl 2249), into English by H H. Wilson II, 125ff into French by V Henry (Paris) 1888) and into Italian by A Marazzi (Milan 1874) [An edition of the Mudrārāksasa with a commentary and an English translation by M R Kale, Bombay 1900]

2 Several MSS. mention the name Visākhadeva Mudrārākṣasa is the single work through which the poet is known.

3. In the concluding stanza (*bharatavākya*) of the actor there occurs the name of one King Candragupta. Kashi-Prasad Jayaswal (Ind. Ant. 42, 1913, p 265 ff) tries to prove that he can be simply Candragupta II and assumes that the drama was written in c 410 A D So also Konow (Ind Ant. 43, 1914, 64ff Ind. Drama p. 70 f) and V. A Smith, Early History 120 n, Hillebrandt (Über das Kauṭilīyasāstra, p 25ff and ZDMG 69, 1915, 363) assigns the work to the 4th century. Tawney (JRAS 1908, p 910) agrees with him. Since some of the MSS read Rantivarmā or Avantivarmā for Candraguptah, many researchers assign this piece to the eighth or ninth century. Cf Jacobi, WZKM 2, 1888, 212 ff, K H. Dhruva, WZKM 5, 1891, 25 ff, Telang, edition, Introd ; Levi 225 ff, Keith JRAS 1909, 148ff, Rapson, ERE IV, 886. All that can be said as certain is that it cannot be placed later than the 10th century A D, since it has been quoted in a commentary on the Dasarūpa V. J. Antani (Ind. Ant. 51, 1922, 49 ff tries to prove that the Mudrārākṣasa was written in the 7th century A D [Cf. also] Charpentier, JRAS 1828, p 586, also IHQ 1931, p 689]

[The problem of the age of Visākhadatta, according to S K De, HSL, p 264, still remains unsolved, but there is nothing to prevent him from being considered as belonging to the older group of dramatists who from being considered as belonging to the older group of dramatists who succeeded Kālidāsa, either as a younger contemporary, or at some period anterior to the 9th century A D, the earliest quotation from his work being found in the Daśarūpaka (10th century A D.)]

drama wants to preach the same science. Polity, Nīti, is directly the "heroine" of the drama, as the author, in the prelude, that has two meanings, has indicated in a significant manner.

Here the stage-manager calls for his wife in these words:

gunavatyupāyanilaye sthitiheto sādhike trivargasya |
madbhavananītividye kāryādārye drutamupehi ||

"Endowed with noble qualities, full of resources,
Stability-securing, means of attaining three-fold bliss[1],
Conversant with the politics of my house,
O noble lady, I have some work for you;
Do kindly come quickly to me."

This stanza, however, has a second meaning:—"O Nīti, thou art well-versed in the six kinds of political activities; thou art adept in the four ways of vanquishing the enemy, namely, peace, check, punishment and dissention; thou art the instrument of attaining the trinity (reduction, equalisation and increase of strength) on which rests the position (of wealth); thou wandereth in the business of my (kingly house); dost thou come here quickly for the purpose of rendering service in all the affairs of the state."

But it is remarkable that the poet has succeeded in developing a tight topic for composition of a dramatic kāvya from out of the material that appears to baffle any poetical treatment in a manner that this work can readily be placed by the side of the Mrcchakatika. The poet was equally well-versed in the nāṭyaśāstra, in stage-technique, as also in the nītiśāstra, in the science of polity. Occasionally he also thinks that the two sciences equally require great intelligence, although he compares the difficulties of a drama-writer with that of a politician[2].

The hero of the drama is Cāṇakya, the traditionally famous "master of falsehood" (Kautilya) and minister of the Maurya prince Candragupta, a Brāhmana, who combines in his nature a glowing vehemence with straight

1. On these three objectives of life, see above, I, 272 A.; transl. p 326.
2. IV, 3. In the beginning of act VI, a spy says—"How is it that here, as in the drama of a bad poet, the end does not agree with the beginning?

demonic cunning and a terrible unscrupulousness even in murdering people or in doing any disgraceful act. His counter-part is Rāksasa, the minister of the last but still surviving scion of the royal house, brought to ruin by Cānakya He is well-versed in all the intricacies of politics and he too does not hesitate in making use of any means that will help him in attaining his objective; but he possesses a tender heart and is determined to win over his opponent The author presumes that the publicum already knows how Nanda, the king of Pātaliputra, once insulted the Brāhmana Cānakya, and how in anger the latter untied his tuft of hair, śikhā, and took the vow that he would not retie it till after he had dethroned Nanda and had destroyed his relations and how he made Candragupta, a young man of a low-caste and living in the court of Nanda, the king, after he had dethroned the Nandas But even now Cānakya has not fastened his lock of hairs, since there still survives one Malayaketu, a scion of the house of Nanda, to whom sticks fast his faithful minister Rāksasa, who will not recognise the overlordship of Candragupta and is eager to punish his lucky enemy for the death of his master. But Cānakya likes not only to separate him from his master but thinks that his task will be over only when he has made him the minister of Candragupta and has thereby made his kingship fully confirmed. In the seven long, but in no way tedious, acts is described how Cānakya actually succeeded through tricks and intrigues, that often are so refined that it is hardly possible for the reader to follow him. His plans are executed with the help of spies, poison-girls and assacinations and he counteracts the plans of Rāksasa But most of the friends of Rāksasa are paid spies of Cānakya Yet, however, he has one real friend, the goldsmith Candanadāsa. He is prepared to sacrifice his own life before he can betray the family of Rākṣasa to the enemy Candanadāsa is taken to the place of execution by the executioners, and in order to save his bosom-friend Rāksasa puts his ownself into the hands of his hated enemy In a really dramatic concluding scene Rāksasa is involuntarily obliged to acknowledge supremacy of Cānakya in politics Thus Cānakya is able to win

the heart of Rāksasa. The latter, in order to save the life of his friend, agrees to become a minister of Candragupta. With this Cānakya has attained his goal and is in a position to refasten the lock of his hairs. The same Cānakya, who pursued his goal ruthlessly and unscrupulously, at the end leaves the place of the scene satisfied, since he knows that he has obtained for his king his successor, as minister, who is equally suitable as his ownself.

The character of the two ministers has been depicted in a masterly fashion. Unscrupulous in their Machiavellistic politics, full of ambition, they have resigned themselves with unconditional fidelity to their masters in order to demonstrate their mastery in the art of intriguing. Even among the subsidiary roles we meet with sharply outlined characters. The large number of spies, who appear in different disguising dresses, offer the poet opportunities for presentation of interesting situations from life of the common people, like that of the itinerant street-singer[1], moving about with the pictures of Yama, of the snake-charmer, of the executioner's servants etc.

Since Viśākhadatta does not follow tradition, so like his these characters, the plot too, in a greater measure, seems to be of the poet's own creation[2]. In the Mudrārāksasa undoubtedly there lies hidden great erudition with ingenuity as well as real art of poetical representation. It is a genuine work of nītiśāstra-poetry, that has found a nice parallel in the Tantrākhyāyika. In the same way in which in this work was written as a manual of politics, that has become a world-famous narrative work, so also the Mudrārāksasa, notwithstanding its high grade of

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1 One such *yamapaṭika* is mentioned also in Bāna's Harsacarita, and even during the present age in India such people carry about pictures of the hell (See F r a z e r, Literary History of India, p 295) As T a k a k u s u had once communicated to W , in Japan upto the recent day there were beggars who moved about with pictures of the god of death and of his assistants, of the scenes of hell etc painted on them (on paper, linen or silk), displayed them and sang songs on topics concerning them. The Indian *yamapaṭa* is called *yemma yezu* in Japan

2. According to the commentary on the Daśarūpa 1, 129 the story may have been taken from the Bṛhatkathā But in case in the Brhatkathā, there was nothing more about Cānakya than what we have in the Kathāsaritsāgara the entire plot probably appears as Viśākhadatta's own creation.

erudition is a first class work of Indian drama that is wholly ornate and has become popular like the famous book of fables.

The Classical Dramas of Kālidāsa, Harsadeva, Bhavabhūti and Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyana.

The most famous Indian drama-writer indisputably is Kālidāsa and his most famous drama is "The Śakuntalā", as it is called generally in European fashion after the name of its heroine, or the Abhijñānaśākuntala, i.e. "(the Drama) of the token of Identification (by which) Śakuntalā (was again found)"[1], as its actual title means The Śakuntalā-drama is one of the first works of Indian literature, that became known to Europe. It was translated into English in 1789 by William Jones and from English into German in 1791 by Georg Forster. Even today people can hardly make a presentation of the inspiration that this work has effected in the whole of Europe, particularly in cultured literary circles of Germany. It was a great wonder that it came from the far away wonderland of India to Germany and there it was greeted with wonder and enchantment by eminent persons like Herder and Goethe. After this Herder kept himself busy with a series of most penetrating letters entitled "Über ein morgenlandisches Drama", and above all in 1803 he brought out the second edition of Forster's translation and in its foreword he wrote an inspiring eulogy on this drama of Kālidāsa[2]. The famous couplet written in 1791[3] goes to prove the extent to which Goethe was enthused with this piece.—

"In case you desire to rejoice in the blossoms of early years,
the fruits of the age advanced,

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1. Or perhaps—"The Drama of Śakuntalā and her Re-identification", since *abhijñāna* can likewise mean both "identification" and the "mark of identification" (here "ring") Cf Böhtlingk's edition, p 147, he gives the title "Ring-Sakuntala". V Henry. "La reconnaissance de Śakuntalā".

2. Herders Werke, edited by B Suphan, Bd. 16, p 84 ff and Bd. 24, p. 576 ff

3 On May 17, 1791 Forster sent to him his just published translation, and on July, 1, Goethe sent the poem to F H Jacobi where it was written somewhat differently "Shall I, the flowers of early" etc Cf Jubilaumsausgabe von Goethes Werken I, 258 and Windisch, Geschichte der Sanskritphilologie (Grundriss I, IB), p 47A

In case you want to have something that charms,
something that is enchanting
In case you want to call both the heaven and hearth
by a common name,
I refer you to the Śakuntalā,
And thus I describe these all."

And yet several years later old Goethe wrote to Chézy, the French editor of the Sanskrit text of the Śakuntalā[1]:—

"When for the first time I became aware of this work of unfathomable depth, I was filled with great enthusiasm and it attracted me in such a manner that even at the time when I had hardly finished its reading, it goaded me towards the impossible undertaking of adapting it, even approachingly, for the German theatre . . . I am still carrying the ineffaceable impression that this book made in me so early. Here the poet seems to be at the hight of his talents in representation of the natural order, of the finest mode of life, of the purest moral endeavour, of the most worthy sovereign and of the most sober divine meditation; still he remains in such a manner the lord and master of his creation. The fact that he has worked upon common and comical contrasts, must be considered as the necessary connecting link of the entire organisation[2].

The story that forms the theme of the drama is taken from the Mahābhārata and is known to the purānas. Apparently on it is based the story found in the Padmapurāna and in some works of similar type[3]. If, however, as has been assumed till

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1 In a letter dated Oct 9, 1830 (published in Hirzel's translation and in Goethes Werke, Weimarer Ausgabe, Abt IV, Bd. 17, p. 284 ff), in which he thanks him for sending to him the book

2 Schiller too wrote to W v Humboldt, "that there is no poetical presentation of womanhood or of more beautiful a life in the whole of Greek antiquity, that might reach the Sakontala even from a distance "Cf. P. Th Hoffmann, Der indische und der deutsche Geist, p 9 f; 16f; 22f, 35 f, 39 ff, 63

3 See above I, 319 ff, 454, 466; trans p 376 ff, 540, 557 The motif of the lost and refound ring (that recurs, moreover, in Islamic and Talmudic Salomon legends) perhaps has been taken by Kālidāsa from the purāna It is wanting in the Mahābhārata That it is an old Indian motif is supported by the fact it has its parallel even in the Jātaka (No 7; cf also P. E Pavolini, GSAI 19, 1906, 376, 20, 1907, 297 ff) W had already assumed in 1897 ,when he was working upon the South Indian recension of the Śakuntalā, that Kālidāsa had followed the Padmapurāna (see Ind Ant 27 1898 p 146) Later he found that the Bengali scholar Vihāri Lāl

the present day, the real source of Kālidāsa were the Mahābhārata in its undeveloped form, his skill should be deemed the more wonderful: in that case he should have the credit of having cut out the finest piece of art, that can simply be imagined by man, out of indeed a rough block. The Indian too consider the drama of Śakuntalā as the master-piece of dramatic poetry. There is current among the panditas the adage :—

kāvyasu nātakam ramyam
tatra ramyā śakuntalā ।
tatra ramyaścaturthonkas-
tatrāpi ślokacatustayam ॥

"Among the different types of poetry the drama is the most beautiful, among the dramas the Śakunalā, in it, the act IV,

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Sarkār had already tried to prove in a Bengali book "Śakuntalārahasya" (Calcutta 1896) that the drama of Kālidāsa was based on the Padmapurāna. The question regarding the source of the Śakuntalānāṭaka and also the question whether the author of this purāna-text had or had not utilized the drama can be finally decided when we have before us a trustworthy text of the Padmapurāna and an accurate comparison becomes possible Berthold Müller, Kālidāsas Śakuntala und ihre Quelle, has made a nice comparison between the Mahābhārata episode and this drama (Dem Rektor und Lehrer des Gymnasiums zu St Elisabeth, Bürgermeister der Stadt Breslau C F Ed. Bartsch bei Vollendung seines 50 Dienstjahres den 21 Mai 1874)

["The story is told in the Mahābhārata, III, 225 (Bombay ed) and the Rāmāyana, 37 It was known to Aśvaghosa in some form, Buddhacarita, I, 88, XIII, 16 (S K De, HSL p 128) "The earliest edition (Bengal Recension) is that by A L Chézy, Paris 1820. The drama exists in four (five) recensions (i) Devanāgarī, (ed O Böhtlingk, Bonn 1942, but with better materials, ed Monier-Williams, 2nd ed Oxford 1876, (1st ed 1853), with the commentary of Rāghavabhaṭṭa, ed N B Godbole, and K P Parab, NSP, Bombay 1883, 1922), (ii) Bengali, (ed R Pischel, Kiel 1877, 2nd ed in the Harvard Orient Ser, revised by C Cappeller, Cambridge, Mass 1922), (iii) Kāśmīrī, (ed K Burkhard, Wien 1884, and (iv) South Indian, (no critical edition, but printed with the commentary of Abhirāma, Śrī Vānīvilāsa Press, Srirangam, 1917, etc) Attempts to reconstruct the text, by C Cappeller (Kürzere Text-form), Leipzig 1909 and by P N Patankar (called Purer Devanāgarī Text), Poona 1902" A critical edition utilizing all the recensions has been undertaken by S K Belvalkar under the auspicies of the Sāhitya Akademy, New Delhi Shri Ramānātha Jhā has recently (Darbhanga 1957) brought out the text of the 5th (Mithilā) recension with the commentaries of Śankara and Harihara The earliest English trans was by William Jones, London, 1790; but trans have been numerous in various languages On text-criticism, see Pischel, De Kālidāsae Śakuntali recensionibus (Diss), Breslau 1872 and Ind Studien XIV, pp 35-69, 161-311, Harichand, op cit p 243 f For fuller bibliography see Sten Konow, op cit pp 68-70 and M Schuyler in JAOS, p 237 See also Haradatta Sharma, Kālidāsa and the Padmapurāna, Calcutta 1925, who follows Winternitz; cf S K De, HSL, p 140]

and there too the four stanzas, namely those in which the sage Kanva bids farewell to his foster-daughter[1].

In the first of these verses Kaṇva says:

yāsyatyadya śakuntaleti hrdayaṁ saṁsprṣṭamutkaṇṭhayā
kaṇṭhah stambhitabāspavrttikaluṣaścintājaḍam darśanam ।
vaiklavyam mama tāvadīdrśamaho snehādaranyaukasah
pīdyante grhiṇah katham nu tanayāviśleṣaduhkhairnavaiḥ ॥

"This very day Śakuntalā will depart, at such (a thought) my heart is smitten with melancholy (with grief on account of separation from her); my voice (throat) is agitated by suppressing the flow of tears; my sight is paralysed by anxious thought. So indeed through affection (is) the mental agitation of me, a hermit. How (much more) then, are heads of families afflicted with new pangs of separation from their daughters."

In the following stanza he implores blessings from the heaven for Śakuntalā and lastly he craves protection of the trees of the hermitage with the words.—

pātum na prathamaṁ vyavasyati jalam yuṣmāsvapīteṣu yā
nādatte priyamaṇḍanāpi bhavatām snehena yā pallavam ।
ādye vah kusumaprasūtisamaye yasyā bhavatyutsavaḥ
seyam yāti śakuntalā patigrham sarvairanujñāyatām ॥

"She, who never attempts to drink water first, when you have not drunk, and who although fond of ornaments never plucks a blossom out of affection for you, whose greatest-holiday (highest joy) is at the advent of the season of the first appearance of your bloom, that very Sakuntalā now departs for the house of her husband. Let her be affectionaly dismissed by (you) all[2]."

In the air resound the blessing voice of the sylvan divinity and with affection Śakuntalā takes leave of the animals and trees of the hermitage, her foster-father and her dear friends[3].

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1. Quoted from G R. Nandargikar, Raghuvamśa ed Introd p 31 f

2 The translation in the original is by L V. Schroeder and here it is from H H Wilson

3 In act V (Winternitz says Act IV) of the Pratimānātaka of Bhāsa the words *āpṛccha putrakṛtakān harinān drumāmśca* "take leave of the animals and trees, that have been accepted in place of children" and the whole sentiment and the scene (of Sītā in the hermitage) remind of act IV of the "Śakuntalā". It is possible that Kālidāsa might have borrowed it from Bhāsa. But there is no verbal correspondence.

The sage gives expression to his feeling in the words :—

artho hi kanyā parakīya eva tāmadya saṁpresya parīgrahītuh ।
jāto mamāyaṁ viśadaḥ prakāmam pratyarpitanyāsa ivāntarātmā ॥

"Since a daughter is verily owned by some other person, my soul feels very much content after I have sent her today to her husband, like one who has returned back to its owner the property kept in his custody."

In the sense in which the people of the West understand, in the poetry of Kālidāsa there is no drama at all. He, who will like to guage the depth of this deliberately constituted fable-drama with the measure-staff of Greek tragedy will not be able to appreciate at all its uncomparable beauty. It is absolutely necessary to let oneself plunge into the spirit of India for a moment, believe all that Indians believe, must have faith in the efficacy of curse, in spiritual communication between gods and men and in miracles of loss and recovery in the hermitage in order to be able to realise fully and enjoy the whole beauty of this wonderful piece of poetry. It has been said about this work that curse and blind chance execute all that is done here and man acts just like a doll[1]. However, Herder has tried to study the drama "with Indian and not European spirit". In any case, according to the Indian conception, an offence against an honourable saint is a grave sin and his curse is almost sure and unfailing. Likewise the loss and recovery of the ring is not a "blind accident" but a destiny, as Indians precisely understand, determined by divine disposition and human conduct (in earlier birth) at the same time.

These real characteristics of Indian poetry make their production on the European stage straightway difficult. Geothe had already been occupied with the idea of staging of the "Śakuntalā", but he soon gave it up[2]. Schiller too had once written to Goethe that he had studied the "Śakuntalā" with

1. Oldenberg, LAI 261.

2 It is, however, well-known, that the prelude to the drama "Faust" written in 1797 has been influenced by the prelude to the Śakuntalā Cf. W. v. Biedermann, Goethe-Forschungen, Frankfurt a M. 1879, p. 54 ff, and Windisch ibid p 203 f.

the idea of finding out if it could be possible to make it suitable for the stage; but it appears that he had to face the difficulty of the stage, so much so that in a sense it seemed as if the drama was just opposed to the European stage. Probably the difficulty lay in the main characteristic itself, that is in tenderness, and in lack of movement, since the poet liked to interwine the feeling with certain opportune convenience, because the atmosphere itself came to rest[1]. Since then attempts have been made again and again for adapting the drama for the German stage. The famous adaptation of the "Śakuntalā" by A V. Wolzogen[2] is not an Indian drama at all, not to speak of a drama of Kālidāsa. In the year 1903 the adaptation of Marx Möller[3] was performed on the stage and it was rightly rejected by the good sense of the publicum. Indeed it was nothing but a caricature of the old Indian poetry. Probably Möller, as also Wolzogen, had erred inasmuch as they had tried to eliminate the supernatural, narrative and mythological elements from the the piece with the intention of making it look probable. On account of this the drama had become a hybrid composition, that was neither Indian nor European. The theatrical adaptation of L. von Schroeder[4] is free from such mistakes, since here the Indian drama has been reproduced most faithfully, as far as possible, and still in it the requirements of the European stage have been kept in view to the extent it was feasible. It has remained a narrative drama, what the "Śakuntalā" of Kālidāsa must always be. It is not understandable why the narrative

1. Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe (Stuttgart, Kollektion Spemann) II, p 310 (letter dated February 20, 1802)

2. Reclams Univ-Bibl No 1209. G. Meyer (Essays und Studien II, p. 98) remembers about the performance of this "Śakuntalā" in the State Theatre of Breslau "that did not enthuse the publicum otherwise".

3. Sakuntala, ein indisches Spiel des Konigs Kalidasa in deutscher Bühnenfassung. Berlin o J (According to the newspaper report) the majestic outfit and singularly splendid stage paintings had had their success, but the effect was not lasting When the author says that his adaptation is "pure and unmixed Kālidāsa", his statement is as correct as the one, when he says that Kālidāsa was a king—on tho contrary it is unreal, adulterated and diluted Kālidāsa

4 Romantisches Marchendrama in fünf Akten und einem Vorspiel frei nach Kalidasa für die deutsche Bühne bearbeitet München 1903. It is regrettable that upto this time no attempt has been made for its performance. Cf R. Böhme in the Sunday Supplement of the "Vossischen Zeitung" of Sept 13, 1903, and H Stümcke, "Die deutsche Sakuntala", in the journal "Bühne und Welt" 5, 1903, June number, that gives a historical review on the German translations and adaptations.

dramas, like those of Raimund and Gerhard Hauptmann, should evoke such a little appreciation from the publicum[1].

The popularity of the Śakuntalā-drama in the whole of India[2] has resulted in the condition that the text of the work has not come down to us in an uninterpolated form As in the case of other much-read pieces of Indian literature, we have, in the case of the Śakuntalā too, several recensions that correspond to the different regions of India. Scholars have distinguished between a Bengali, a Kashmirian, a Central Indian and a South Indian recensions of this work. Whilst Pischel[3] most passionately conceded for the Bengali recension, although, it, as already admitted by him, was very much distorted with interpolations, and described the South Indian recension as the worst and "mixed recension", there are other researchers who believe that the latter represents the original work most closely. A. Weber has already shown the possibility that none of the recensions, that we have, is exclusively genuine and that one has the original text here and the other has it there. But it is questionable whether the expression "recension" is quite appropriate. The different compilations do not appear to rest on critical studies, rather they seem to have gradually assumed different forms under the hands of the copyists of the different regions[4].

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1 Attempts have been made for making the Śakuntalā suitable also for the opera and ballet. Sakuntala, Ballett in zwei Akten und fünf Bildern, nach Kalidasas Dichtung, Musik von S Bachrich, in Szene gesetzt by by C Telle, Wien 1884 In Paris Gautier had presented on the stage a ballet "Śakuntalā', with music by Reyer (Lévi 426) In England the Śakuntalā was staged for the first time in the year 1899 (on the basis of the translation of Monier Williams) by the Elizabethan Stage Society in the garden of the Royal Botanic Society in London A recent performance took place in the summer of 1922 at Cambridge with the cooperation of Indian students It was performed five times in succession in the Royal Albert Hall Theatre, London in January 1913 (see Athenaeum, Aug 10, 1912, p 150 and W Poel in Asat Quart. Review N S 1, 1913, 319 ff)

2 It nas been staged several times till recently at Ujjain; see Jackson, JAOS 23, 1902, 317 P Deussen (Erinnerungen an Indien, Kiel and Leipzig 1904, p 125f) had seen a performance at Lucknow, Garbe (Indische Reiseskizzen, Berlin 1889, p 37 ff) in Bombay.

3 De Kālidāsae Śākuntali recensionibus, Diss, Breslau 1870, De grammaticis Praeriticis, Breslau 1874, Die Rezensionen der Śakuntalā, eine Antwort an Herrn Prof Dr Weber, Breslau 1875 Against his view A Weber, Ind Stud 14, 35 ff and 161-311. Cf also Harichand, Kālidāsa, p. 243 ff

4. Cf C Cappeller in the Jenaer Litteraturzeitung 1877, No 8 (112) Even Pischel, KG 179 f says.—"Reconstruction of the original text is impossible We must be content with the philological method to get to

Consequently it comes that each of the four recensions, in case we are allowed to say so, presents good readings, and probably interpolations as also alterations occur in all of them[1].

The second drama of Kālidāsa, the Vikramorvaśīya (the Drama of winning Urvaśī through Strength)[2], or "Urvaśī", as it is often designated after the name of its heroine, is a narrative drama, in which mortal beings have active and reciprocal communication with gods and demi-gods. It is an

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the original as closely as possible". According to Pischel (NGGW 1873, 189ff) there is planned abridgment and distortion of the text in the South Indian recension. Konow (Ind Ant 37, 1908, 112) holds that it is a fact that only the Bengali recension provides us with good Prākrit. A Hillebrandt (GGA 1909, No. 11) agrees with the eclecticism of Cappeller (in this edition, Leipzig 1909). On textual criticism of the Śakuntalā see also B. K. Thakore in the Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference 1920, 1, p LXff

1. First of all the Bengali recension became known through the above-mentioned translations of W Jones and G. Forster. It was published (with French translation) by A. L Chézy (Paris 1830) and by R. Pischel (Kiel 1877) The Central Indian recension (commonly called the Devanāgarī recension) was published by O. Böhtlingk (Bonn 1842) with an accurate German translation and by K. Burkhard (Breslau 1872) Burkhard eventually brought out the Kashmirian manuscript in SWA 1884. Of the large number of Indian reprints and editons the following may be mentioned:—the first one (Calcutta 1761) and also of P. N. Patankara (Poona 1889) with an English translation, as well as that of N. B. Godabole and K. P Parab (with the commentary of Rāghavabhaṭṭa), 3rd. edition Bombay, 1891, NSP. On the Calcutta edition by Saradaranjan Ray see Lévi, JA 1910, s. 10, t. XVI, 395 ff The Bengali recension has been translated into German by B Hirzel (Zürich 1833, 2. Aufl. 1849), in a far better manner by L Fritze (Chemnitz 1877) Friedrich Rückert (1855) had, on the basis of the edition of Böhtlingk, planned a translation into German that was hardly meant for publication, (see the one edited by Heinrich Rückert from Friedrich Rückerts Nachlese Leipzig 1867, p. 291 ff; cf. Rückert Nachlese I, 293 ff) The most faithful and at the same time the most readable translation of the Central Indian recension is that of H. C Kellner (in Reclams Univ-Bibl.) Free poetical rendering by E Lobendanz (Leipzig 1854, 7th impression, 1884). Ernst Meier (Stuttgart 1852), G Schmilinsky (Dresden and Leipzig 1900). The most famous English translation is that of Monier Williams; the best French translation is by A. Bergaigne. Besides there are translations in almost all the European languages. Cf. also Schuyler, JAOS XXII, p. 237 f]

2. This is probably the correct translation of the title, since Purūravas rescues with his strength Urvaśī from the control of a demon, and with his strength he helps the gods in their fight against the demons; he wins her and loses her again In the first act Citraratha praises his bravery (*vikrama*) According to the commentator Kāṭavema, Purūravas too bore the epithet *vikramāditya*, and so according to him the title means "the drama of Vikrama and Urvaśī. Cf. also Rückert in the Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik 1834, p 971 and above p. 45 note 6. In the prelude of the work the drama has been mentioned as a nāṭakā in several MSS, while in others it is called rūpaka (see above pp. 186-87). [The Northern recension calls the drama a troṭaka—S. K. De, HSL, p. 139 note..]

extremely old tale of the love of King Purūravas and the apsaras Urvaśī, that we find narrated also in the Rgveda, the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa and in the purāṇas[1], that has been retold in this lyrico-dramatic poetry, half show-play, half opera.

Again here it is a curse that has been pronounced on account of excessive love and brings about the tragic complication. Indra, however, tones down the force of the curse that Urvaśī will live on the earth with Purūravas so long as she does not see the face of his son born from her. This curse becomes effective, and so in the first three acts Purūravas wins the love of the divine nymph. In the remarkable fourth act is included the performance of a real lyric interlude, a song-play in the middle of the drama. On account of the feeling of jealousy, full of anger, Urvaśī loses control over her senses, forgets the instruction that no woman should enter into the grove of the kumāra, rushes forth straightway into it, and there she is immediately transformed into a liana and she disappears away from the sight of the king. Mad with grief on account of the loss of his beloved, Purūravas now strolls about searching for her in the forests and in the planes[2]. He takes the cloud hovering over his head for a demon, who has robbed him of his wife. He hastens to catch it, but soon he has the bitter experience and he comes to know that it is simply a cloud. He at once calls forth the peacock and asks him if he has not seen his beloved, and then a female cuckoo. Then addressing a flamingo, he says that he must have seen his beloved at the place. Had it not been so, he would not have otherwise got this light graceful movement. He has certainly stolen her. But the bird flies up in fear that he is being accused of theft by the king. From a lotus-blossom he hears humming of a bee and with folded hands he implores:—

madhukara madirākṣyāḥ śaṁsa tasyāḥ pravṛttiṁ
varatanurathvāsau naiva dṛṣṭā tvayā me ।

1. See above, I, 90f, 181f, 380f, 454 (trans 10f, 209f, 445f 495f) The story, as narrated by Kālidāsa, stands most closely to the one narrated in the Matsyapurāṇa, already noted by Wilson, Theatre I, 190 off.

2. In a similar manner Damayantī searches for Nala, who has disappeared (Nalopākhyāna XII) and Rāma (in the Rāmāyaṇa III, 60ff) for Sītā, carried away by Rāvaṇa.

yadi surabhimavāpsyastanmukhocchvāsagandhaṁ
tava ratirabhaviṣyatpuṇḍarīke kimasmin ||

"Intoxicated with honey, please do tell me about
the lady with intoxicated eyes;
But no; you have certainly not seen the decoration of
the charming lady;
Had you smelt the fragrance emitting from her
breath,
What pleasure could you get in sticking fast to this
lotus[1]."

Again, he sees a royal elephant, whom he asks in vain for information about his beloved. He looks at the mountain and with imploringly folded hands he asks him if he has not seen his beloved. The mountain gives no reply, but the king hears the resounding sound "seen". He lets himself be carried away by a mountain stream and believes that his beloved has been transformed into the brook. He wants to appease her with soothing words, but she swings away. Then he realises that it is just a stream and not Urvaśī. After long wanderings, at last, his glance falls on a black slab of stone. It is a stone that is possessed of the magic power of reuniting together the separated beings. He lifts this stone and hurls it at once with irresistible force at a liana. He embraces it—and Urvaśī rests between his arms[2]. Years of happy association are described in acts IV and V. Then a vulture robs the red brilliant uniting stone. But soon comes the happy news that the bird has been pierced with an arrow and that the stone has been recovered. The fortunate shooter is a Ksatriya boy, who has been brought up by a female

1 The translation is according to Ruckert, Jahrbucher fur wissenschaftl Kritik 1834, where at p 968 he has given a detailed account of the contents with interspersed translation into German of some of the songs and stanzas, see also Rückert-Nachlese I, 295 ff [In the translation, however, *madhukara* "bee" has purposely been rendered as "intoxicated with honey]".

2. The manuscripts too give indication of the melodies according to which the song's are to be sung, and also the measure, according to which the movements are to be executed in the fourth act, that is adapted greatly for music That this thing suits the Indian taste is proved by the large number of imitations that it has evoked, so by Bhavabhūti, Rājaśekhara and others Cf Pischel, GGA 1885, 760; 1891, 366, Lévi 180 Rud. Gottschall (Poetik II, 186) says about this act that "he could consider it as the most beautiful monodrama of all times."

sage living in the forest-hermitage. He is brought before the king, who is told that he is a son of Purūravas, born of Urvaśī, and he is concealed from the couple, since according to the order of Indra Urvaśī is to stay with him only till he has seen the face of his son. The king, who does not know about it, feels very much happy and gets sunk inside the vision of his son. But soon his happiness comes to an end, when Urvaśī is taken away, as she is obliged to part with his company. A tragic conclusion, in a European drama appears unavoidable But it is not so in an Indian drama. Therefore, exactly in the critical moment there appears the sage Nārada and he brings the message of Indra, the king of gods, that the latter needs the services of Purūravas in his fight against the demons, and therefore, he has bestowed upon him the boon that he should live till the end of his life in the company of Urvaśī.

Curse, magic-stone, divine messenger—these are things that, in the opinion of the people of the West, appear as too much of dependence on the supernatural powers for breaking of the knots for dramatic treatment. But the Occidental people can just say that it was not too much for Indian listeners and spectators, and that they had absolute faith, and that they considered all as possible and natural, what appears to the people of the West as arbitrary interference in human behaviour. The great popularity that this drama has enjoyed in India is proved also by the fact that there are several recensions of its text that are so different from one another that the original text of Kālidāsa cannot be established with certainty[1]. The South Indian manuscripts in particular show variations and abridgments and in

1 Critical editions by R Lenz (Berolini 1833) with Latin trans, with German translation (Saint Petersburg 1846) by F Bollensen, [by Monier Williams, Hertford 1849] and by S P Pandit (BSS, No 16, Bombay 1879) [Ed with the commentary of Kāṭayavema, by Charudev Śāstri, Lahore 1929 English translation by Cowell, Hertford 1851, German translation by L Fritze, Leipzig 1880, French translation by P E Foucaux Paris 1879] The South Indian recension has been edited by R Pischel (Monatsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1875, p 609 ff) [A Barth (RHR 19, 1889, 130=Oeuvres II, 5 f) says that a better pendant to the story of Purāravas and Urvaśī cannot be found than the ballad of King Rasālū in Temple's "Legends of the Panjāb" See also Sten Konow, Indische Dramen, pp 65 f]

them the Prākrit, stanzas, that are put in between Sanskrit musical stanzas in Bengali and Central Indian manuscripts, are notably wanting. It is still a controversial question whether or not these Prākrit-stanzas are to be taken as genuine[1].

The Vikramorvaśīya too has often been translated into German and other European languages, and attempts have been made for adapting it for the stage too[2].

A poetical composition of an entirely different type is the third drama of the great Indian poet, the Mālavikāgnimitra, "the Drama of Mālavikā and Agnimitra[3]. It is an intrigue drama - as it seems, a free invention of the poet[4]— in which is reflected the life in the court and in the harem of India of the mediaeval age. In the mind of the people of the West it is nearest to "comedy" and reminds them in many respects

1. Against the genuineness of these stanzas that are in Apabhraṁśa Shankar P. Pandit (Introduction to his ed p. 9ff. and Th. Bloch (Vararuci und Hemacandra, Gütersloh, 1893, p 15 ff) have advanced very strong grounds H. Jacobi (Bhavisattakaha von Dhanavāla p 58 A) as well considers as arbitrary (the insertion of these stanzas) and thinks that they form the libretto for a pantomime. According to K. H Dhruva (see Jacobi, ibid) these stanzas were interpolated firstly during the age of Hemacandra) with the intention to make the understanding of the contents of the fourth act easy for the audience not knowing Sanskrit. R. Pischel, who has brought out a recent compilation of the Apabhraṁśa stanzas (Materialen zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṁśa, Berlin 1902, AGGW N. F. Bd. 5, Nr. 4), and Konow (GGA 1894, 475 f.) consider these songs as genuine. [See also U N Upadhye, Introduction to Paramātmaprakāśa, Bombay, 1937, p. 56 note]

2. German translations by Bollensen (see above), K. G. A. Hoefer (Berlin 1837), B Hirzel (Frauenfeld 1838), E Lobedanz (Leipzig 1861 and the best one by L Fritze (Reclams Univ.-Bibl. No. 1465) There are several translations in English (besides that of Wilson, Theatre I) and in French as also in Swedish, Italian, Spanish, and Czech. In 1888 A. Hillebrandt (Alt-Indien, p. 155) wrote that the drama had sometime before been played on the stage in München G Meyer (Essays und Studien II, 100) says that the splendid equipment of the Indian model of the flattering "Urvaśī" contributed to its success, but the composer had to apologise as librettist in this respect, since the opera was lacking in dramatic life."

3. Edited [with the commentary of Kāṭayavema] by Shankar P. Pandit BSS No VI, Bombay 1869 Ed. F. Bollensen, Leipzig 1879; [by K. P. Parab, NSP, Bombay 1915. Further Bibliography in Sten Konow, Ind. Dramen, p. 63] The edition of O. F. Tullberg (Bonn 1840) is not good. On criticism and explanation cf. C. Capeller, Observationes ad Kālidāsae Mālavikāgnimitram, Diss. Regimonti 1868; T. Haag, Zur Textkritik und Erklarung von Kālidāsas Mālavikāgnimitra, Frauenfeld 1872; Bollensen, ZDMG 13, 1859, 480ff.; A. Weber, ZDMG 14, 1860, 261 ff [Editions also by Bollensen, Leipzig 1879, K. P. Parab, Bombay 1915. Cf. Bollensen, ZDMG XIII, p. 480 ff. and Konow, Ind Dramen, p 69]

4. The hero, however, is a historical personality. Agnimitra is a son of Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śunga dynasty (about 185 B C.); see Smith, Early History 198 ff.

of the comedies of Shakespeare. People have had wrongly believed that Kālidāsa could not have been the writer of this comedy on the ground that it is very much different from his other dramas. It is self-evident that in this comedy the dominant motif is different from that of the other two dramas, besides in it we find more of humour, wit and gaity. However the fact that humour is so much over-shadowed and that wit is most moderate points to its authorship of Kālidāsa.

This comedy, however, does not lack in gravity and dignity, that are so characteristic of our poet. At the place where he presents on the stage a dance-show he does not miss to put in the first place a sober word into the mouth of Master Ganadāsa about the religious importance of the art of dancing —

devānāmidamāmananti munayaḥ śāntam kratuṁ cakṣuṣāṁ
rudrenedamumākṛtavyatikare svāṅge vibhaktaṁ dvidhā ।
traiguṇyodbhavamatra lokacaritaṁ nānārasaṁ dṛśyate
nāṭyaṁ bhinnarucerjanasya bahudhāpyekaṁ samārādhanam ॥

"A harmless sacrifice is the dance,
Enjoyable to the eye: so say the wise :
God Śiva, who has united into one
His own body with that of his consort Umā;
He has divided it into two.
"So he dances both violently and calmly.
At the time he dances, there generate,
From his dance, the mani-fold activities
In the world, the bliss, the passion, the daik;
The three aspects of the spirit;
And there in the dance
Becomes manifest the singular means of rejoicing
For all the people of different tastes and inclinations:
What is that ? That is nothing but dance[2]."

Sober and full of mirth is also the entry of the Buddhist nun, who knows to encourage the intrigues of the vidūṣāka for the benefit of the two in her intelligent ways. But the

1. A. Weber in the foreword to his German translation (Berlin,) 1856) and Shankar P. Pandit (preface to his edition, p XXIIIff) have thoroughly refuted the hypothesis raised against the authorship of Kālidāsa first of all by Wilson (II 345)

2. I, 4, translation according to the German rendering by Fritze.

king Agnimitra, in nature, is not different from Duṣyanta and Purūravas; full of most tender outlook and most exquisite courtesy towards both of his wives, to whom he is "unfaithful" as the people of the West will like to say, although from the standpoint of Indian poligamy the term unfaithful, in the sense of the people of the West, is hardly relevant. At the end, it is also the first queen Dhāriṇī herself who decorates and guides the young beautiful woman to the place of her husband, at which the nun makes the wholly noteworthy comment:—

naitaccitram tvayi ।
pratipakṣenāpi patiṁ sevante bhartṛvatsalāḥ sādhvyaḥ ।
anyasaritāmapi jalaṁ samudragāḥ prāpayantyudadhim ॥

"Not at all astonished I am at this
Large-heartedness exhibited by thee:
The women are faithful to their husband
To the extent that they serve him
Even against odds and take to him
Even his recently married wives,
Like the rivers that flow down into the sea
And carry to the ocean
Also the water of other rivers."

But the dialogue and the language of the entire drama show the same spirit that we are accustomed to find elsewhere in Kālidāsa. And in case there be any doubt about the authorship of Kālidāsa it will certainly be set aside through the charming scene in act III, where Mālavikā makes the Aśoka-flower blossom. According to an Indian popular belief this tree is forced to blossom when a beautiful woman touches it with her foot - only a poet like Kālidāsa, the unexcelled painter of nature, to whom nature and man always appear as a single harmonious whole in such a way that each and every human feeling gets reflected in nature—could have succeeded in so majestically demonstrating such beliefs in his drama. There is no forceful ground to consider the Mālivikāgnimitra as the first dramatic composition of the poet[2]

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1. V, 19, translation according to the German rendering by Fritze.

2 So Shankar P Pandit (Ed Preface p XVI f) Lév

This drama too has repeatedly been translated into German and other European languages and twice adapted for the German stage[1].

We meet again an important dramatist-poet first in famous King Harsadeva, who is credited with the authorship of the three dramas, Ratnāvalī, Priyadarśikā and Nāgānanda[2]. Ratnāvalī[3] and Priyadarśikā[4] belong to the category of nātikā. In the two pieces the hero is the

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166 and Pischel (KG 201) V Henry (Litteratures de l'Inde, p 312 f.) considers this piece superior to the "Śakuntalā". Hillebrandt, Kālidāsa, p 59 is of the opinion that the Mālavikāgnimitra is "the earliest work of Kālidāsa" [Against this see S K De, HSL, p 136, footnote 2]

1 German by Weber (Berlin 1856) and L. Fritze (Reclams Univ.-Bibl No 1598); English by C H Tawney (2nd ed London, 1891) and by G R Nandargikar (Poona 1879), French by F. Foucaux (Paris 1877) and V Henry (Paris 1889) A quite free stage-adaptation is by L von Schroeder (Prinzessin Zofe, München 1902) The most recent adaptation by Lion von Feuchtwanger (Der König und die Tänzerin, München 1917) adheres closely to the original; in its first performance in the Münchener Kammerspielen on March 5, 1917 it had a sympathetic success" (according to LZB of March 17, 1917)

2 Cf on the three dramas F Cimmino in OC XIII, Hamburg 1902, p 31f, and Jackson in JAOS 21, 1900, 88ff That the three dramas were written by one and the same author can be concluded from the fact that the words, with which the sūtradhāra begins the prelude, that he will stage a drama of the poet and king Harsadeva, are in the three dramas verbatim almost identical The weak ground in support of the commonly current opinion that Harsadeva did not himself write the dramas, but they were written by some poet of his court does not stand If Nāgojibhatta, in his commentary on Govinda's Kāvyapradīpa (beginning) says that a poet "Dhāvaka" wrote the Ratnāvalī in the name of King Harsa and obtained much money for this, probably his remark is based on the wrong reading [Dhāvaka for Bāna, that is found in some of the Kashmirian manuscripts] and on a wrong explanation of the passage in the Kāvyapradīpa Cf Buhler, Ind Studien 14, 407 [and Jackson. Introduction to the Priyadarsikā and S K De, HSL, p 255 ff] In the manuals of poetics not seldom are the model examples taken from the dramas of Harsadeva. [That Śrīharsa was himself a writer of dramas is proved by the fact that Dāmodara Gupta, in his Kuttinīmata (ed Km III, 1887 pp 98-99, 104-105), written in the 9th century, mentions one Ratnāvalī attributed to Harsa, while Yi-tsing (7th century) refers to dramatisation of the story of Nāgānanda (Takakusu, A Record of Buddhist Religion, p 163-64)].

3 Ed by C Cappeller in O Böhtlingk's Sanskrit Chrestomathie, 3rd Ed 1909, p 326 ff, by N B Godabole and K P Parab, 2nd ed NSP Bombay 1890, and with the commentary of Nārāvanasarman by Krishnarao Joglekar, Bombay 1913, NSP German by L Fritze, Chemnitz 1879 English by Wilson II, 255 ff [Ed also by Krishnanatha Nyāyapañcānana with the commentary of Śivarāma, Calcutta 1864]

4 Edited by V D Gadré, Bombay 1884 NSP, [R V. Krishnamacharlar, Srirangam 1906] French by G Strehly, Paris 1880, (Bibl Or Elz 58) [Edition with English translation and notes by A V W Jackson and C J Ogden, CUIS, New-York 1923].

well-known Brhatkatthā-famous Vatsa-king Udayana, who falls in love with the maid-servant of his first queen and at last takes her into his palace, after he comes to know that she is a princess. The motif is the same as that of the Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa[1]. Even though the two dramas do not belong to the first rate Indian poetry, we find in them many original and beautiful scenes.

A cheerful picture from Indian life is the spring-festival (vasantotsava) observed in honour of the god of love (Kāmadeva) in the first act of the Ratnāvalī. There the girls sing and dance. With them the jolly fool mixes up and flirts. The king too rejoices the cheerful picture and strolls merrily in the lovely park, where the queen too arrives instantaneously with her attendants for worshipping Kāma and to enjoy the spring. Among her attendants the queen has one Sagarikā (who is called also Ratnāvalī, "the pearl-garland", after the garland of pearls, by which her identification as a princess gets disclosed later), the heroine of the drama, with whom the king falls in love, and in whom she finds an incarnation of Cupid. In acts II and III is described how the queen comes to know about the love-affairs in course of events, when she finds Sagarikā painting a picture of the king. This enrages the jealous, but highly haughty queen, who comes to know about the king as indulging in love. We are reminded of the style of Subandhu and Bāna, when the king tries to appease the queen with the words:

prasīdeti brūyāmidamasati kope na ghaṭate
kariṣyāmyevaṁ no punariti bhavedabhyupagamaḥ ।
na me doṣostīti tvamidamapi ca jñāsyasi mṛṣā
kimetasminvaktuṁ kṣamamiti na vedmi priyatame ॥

"In case I say, please be appeased,
That will not be proper, since angry you are not;
In case I promise, I shall not do it again,
This will amount to confession of guilt;
If I say even this: I am not at fault,

1. Bhāsas Svapnavāsavadatta, that has the same theme as the Ratnāvali, does not seem to have been known to Harṣadeva A different view has been expressed by Lacôte, JA s 11, t XIII, 1919, 523f.

That too you will consider as false·
In this situation, I know not what to say"[1].

In act IV the resolution of the difficulty takes place through communication of a report on the political events, with the help of messages, prepared from before and through an original magical performance. A magician enters, who first of all makes the gods Śiva, Viṣnu, Brahman, Indra Vidyādharas and Siddhas appear and lastly shows the harem set on fire[2]. At this the king rushes forth to save his beloved from burning and brings her within his arms out of fire Now she is identified as the princess of Ceylon, who was lost in a shipwreck, and it becomes clear that all this had been done by the wise minister who was induced to arrange for the marriage of his master with Sagarikā on account of a prophecy[3].

The Priyadarśikā depends more on the Mālavikāgnimitra than does the Ratnāvalī. Historically Harsa, however, is the first poet, who has first of all inserted "a play within a play", and since then later poets have many a time imitated him[4].

One of the interesting pieces of Indian literature although it is a total failure as a drama, is the Nāgānanda, (the

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1 II, 19 translated into German by Fritze Such a harmony in the matter of style with that of Bāna does not naturally go to prove that he is the author of this drama There is nothing astonishing in the fact that both the king and his court-poet belonged to the same poetical school

2. According to Luders (SBA 1916, p 711) this magical representation was presented on a screen with the help of shadow-figures.

3 The poet Mātrarāja or Anangaharsa, in his drama Tāpasavatsarājacarita, from which extracts have been given by E Hultzsch, NGGW 1886, 224 ff, has also dealt with the theme dramatised by Bhāsa and Harşadeva Since Abhinavagupta has referred to this drama, it must have been written before the close of the 9th century A D. Probably Mātrarāja followed the Brhatkathā of Gunāḍhya, see Lscôte, JA s 11, t XIII, 1919, 508 f His originality lies in the fact that he makes Udayana become an ascetic in dispair after the death of Vāsavadattā

4 The play covers the whole of the act III and has been composed by a nun, named Sāmkṛtyāyanī The Indian dramaturgist calls this type of "show-play within show-play" used also by Shakespeare, by the expression garbhānka (embryo-act, ie an act that contains the embryo of a drama) Cf Jackson, in the American Journal of Philology 19, 1898, 242 ff.

Drama of the) joy of Nāga" in five acts[1], that like a mosaic consists of three very much different parts.

The hero is the Vidyādhara prince Jīmūtavāhana, who reveals his Buddhist ideas about the negation of existence in the very beginning of the first act. Once in the company of the vidūsaka, he listens to the fully charming lute-music played by Malayavatī, the handsome daughter of the Siddha king, who offers her prayer in a temple of the goddess Gaurī. At this Jīmūtavāhana, not only by sweet music, but also on account of her beauty, in spite of his Buddhistic renunciation of the world, gets so much charmed at the young damsel that he begins to love her at the first sight. Although we know that their marriage is already predestined by the goddess Gaurī and that it has been decided upon also by their elders, we are told in two lengthy acts that the pair is exceedingly love-stricken and melancholic, because each of the two lovers has the feeling of not being liked by the other. This is their condition till upto the time when they are united. In case it was meant to be a comedy, the drama should have ended here. But in act III it is followed by a nonsensically violent scene, that we hardly find anywhere else in the whole of Indian literature. The marriage of Jīmūtavāhana and Malayavatī is solemnized and drinking plays a great rôle in it. A drunken courtier (vita) enters in an extraordinarily motely garb with a cup in his hand, and he is escorted by a servant, carrying a vessel of burnt wine on his shoulder. Merrily be shouts aloud.

niccaṁ jo pibaï suraṁ piāsaṁgamam ca jo kunaï ।
maha de do adhidevā baladevo kāmadevo a ॥

"There are two faultless gods, as I feel:
The one is Baladeva, who always drinks only wine;
The second is god Kāma, who, I think,

1. Edited by Govinda Bahirav Brahme and Dhiravam Mahadeo Paranjape, Poona 1893, and by Ganapati Śāstrī in TSS No 59, 1917 with the commentary of Śivarāma, translated into English by Palmer Boyd, London 1872 and [Hale Wartham, London 1911] into French by A Bergaigne, Paris 1879 (Bibl. Or. Elz. 27), into Italian by F. Cimmino, Palermo 1903

Unites men with their beloved[1]."

He is waiting for the maid-servant, who had promised him to meet. But in a drunken state he takes the vidūsaka, who arrives just then, for the maid-servant and lets him fall by the neck. Soon, however, there comes the maid-servant in person and both of them crack jokes, particularly with the vidūsaka, in which they ridicule his Brāhmanism in a manner that nowhere else occurs in the dramas of earlier ages Whilst this scene is being presented in a garden, there comes the loving married Jīmūtavāhana with his equally modest beloved young wife, and the young husband indulges forth in verses that remind us of the musical stanzas of Amaru, expressive of his feeling of amiability for his young wife It is beautiful, when raising her face up and gazing at it, he says: "Darling, I have unnecessarily troubled you to see the flower-garden on account of my carnal appetite—

etatte bhrūlatollāsi pātalādharapallavam |
mukham nandanamudyānamatonyat kevalam vanam ||

"Your face alone is the garden of the heaven,
In which the eyebrows shine forth like creepers,
And the lips look like leaves of the pātala-plants;
All other gardens are nothing but forests."

Very dramatic it is when this amorous conversation is prolonged through the joke of the maid-servant with the vidūsaka that is relished by the young married couple. But all on a sudden this interesting scene gets interrupted by the report that the enemies of the empire of Jīmūtavāhana are approaching near. And now, in a highly remarkable manner our hero, a devout Buddhist, at once bursts forth and says that he has nothing to do with these affairs, since he knows a single enemy, the sin

The two following acts are mere dramatisation of the Buddhist legend. Jīmūtavāhana appears as a Bodhisattva in the sense of the Mahāyāna Buddhism, when he says:—

śayyā śādvalamāsanam śaśiśilā sadma drumānāmadhaḥ
śītaṁ nirjharavāri pānamaśanam kandaḥ sāhayā mrgāh |

1. Retranslated from the German rendering of J J Meyer, who had reproduced the whole scene in the introduction to the "Altindischen Schelmenbuchern" I (Leipzig, 1903), p XXIV ff

ityaprārthitalabhyasarvavibhave doṣoyameko vane
duṣprāpārthini yatparārthagha tanā bandhyairvṛthā sthīyate॥

"Here one has the bed of hay,
The clean slab of stone his seat,
He has his abode under the trees,
He drinks pure cool water of the spring,
And lives on roots of trees, and
He has deer as his companions:
All these objects of enjoyment
Are available, without being asked for:
But the single defect that we find in the forest
Consists in the fact that here the needful
Are difficult to be found whom one
May render any help; so he passes a useless life,
Devoid of getting a chance to assist others."

On the sea-shore Jīmūtavāhana's glance falls on a heap of bones and he comes to know that they are those of the Nāgas, the 'snake-gods", who have been killed and devoured by Garuḍa. There is an agreement executed between the king of snakes and Garuḍa that the former will everyday offer the latter voluntarily one of the Nāgas, so that he may not make the race of the latter become extinct. Then there comes a loudly weeping mother, who is escorting her son, a Nāga-prince, upto the place where he will be held up by Garuḍa. Now Jīmūtavāhana wishes nothing but to offer his ownself to save the Nāgas. He persuades him to be allowed to be replaced.

The terrible giant-bird appears and drags Jīmūtavāhana up into the air at once. But soon the former, after he has put the half-consumed prince on a slab of stone before his ownself, becomes aware of the fact that he has erred and notices a peaceful grace on the countenance of his victim and comes to know that here is a Bodhisattva whom he has killed. He believes that he cannot atone for this sin otherwise than by burning his ownself. But Jīmūtavāhana convinces him that the right form of atonement for him will be to take the vow of never killing any living-being.

Then he dies uttering the real Māhāyānistic concluding words·

saṁrakṣatā pannagamadya puṇyaṁ
mayārjitam yatsvaśarīradānāt ।
bhave bhave tena mamaivameva
bhūyātparārthaḥ khalu dehalābhaḥ ॥

"May I, as a consequence of the noble deed that I have performed today by protecting the snake with the sacrifice of my body, be born again and again in this very way in order to be able to render service to others."

His parents, Malayavatī and the Nāgas break into tears and prepare themselves to enter into the funeral fire. Malayavatī, however, prays to the goddess Gaurī, who instantaneously appears on the scene and sprinkles the liquid of ambrosia over the dead, so he comes to life again. Garuda showers the liquid of nectar on the bones of the dead Nāgas, who too regain their life[1]. But the goddess Gaurī explains that Jīmūtavāhana, as a reward for his noble deed, will become the ruler of the Vidyādharas and he (who no more belongs to the class of Bodhisattvas, it is strangely, praises the goddess and is very much gratified at this favour[2].

Nāgānanda can hardly be considered to be a Buddhist drama. Notwithstanding the introductory prayer offered to Buddha, it is the goddess Gaurī, who does everything and brings the drama to a happy conclusion. And according to the prelude the drama was staged not perhaps on the occasion of some Buddhist celebration, but in the festival of Indra. Yet

1 Probably hence the title "Joy of Nāga", see F D K. Bosch, de legende van Jīmūtavāhana in de Sanskrit Litteratur, Leiden 1914, p 181.

2. In an apparently accurate correspondence with the Nāgānanda, the legend is narrated in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara 22 and 90 and in Kṣemendra's Brhatkathāmañjarī 4, 49 ff and 9, 766 ff Bosch, ibid p. 90 ff, has shown that Harṣadeva knew and used the Kathāsaritsāgara in both the recensions in which it has come down to us in their original form (the Bṛhatkathā of Gunādhya ?) In earlier Avadāna literature the legend is unknown Upto this day we have not found within the region of the Buddhist edifice the Jīmūtavāhana-legend (see Bosch, ibid, p VIII f) I-tsing, however, tells us that the king Śīlāditya had rendered the story of the Bodhisattva Jīmūtavāhana in verses, and that the poetry of his time was tuned to music and was staged by actors for the purpose of propagation (Takakusu, I-tsing, pp LVI, 163 ff)

Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol III, 17.

the time of the drama falls within the period when Harsadeva had fully become conversant with Buddhist ideologies under the guidance of Hiuen-Tsang and was inclined towards Buddhism[1].

When the Indians themselves speak about their greatest dramatists, they mention next to Kālidāsa first of all Bhavabhūti. He lived in the court of Yaśovarman of Kanauj in the first half of the 8th century A. D.[2] He had adopted the surname Śrīkaṇṭha and was born in an old Brāhmana family of Vidarbha (Berar, South India), where the Taittiriyaveda was studied. His grand-father's name was Bhaṭṭa-Gopāla, his brother was Nīlakaṇṭha and his mother was Jātukarnī. He himself was a man of great learning, well-versed in the Vedas, in the Upanisads, as well as in the philosophical systems, Sāmkhya, Yoga and Vedānta. All his plays were staged in the feast of the god Kālapriyanātha, whose famous shrine at Ujjayinī is mentioned by Bāna and Kālidāsa. He knew the poetical works of Kālidāsa and had utilized them. Bhavabhūti has earned the fame not so much on account of his skill in dramatic technic, but on account of his mastery in the use of the Sanskrit language. From the linguistic point of view he is the most prominent Indian poet. He brings in natural pathos and knows to give expression, in an entirely particular way, to violent emotions, great natural scenes and the sentiments of heroism and furiousness. As against this he is lacking in humour. To him dramatic art is such a serious affair that he feels shy in bringing into his dramas the joker (vidūṣaka). The long

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1 In act V Jīmūtaketu, the father of the hero, is devoted to the Sun-god The consort of Śiva guides the destiny in the drama that contains a Buddhist legend This position strongly lends support to the authorship of Harṣadeva whose inclinations were divided between Śiva and the Sun-god on one hand and the Buddha on the other, as we have already seen above (p 51 f.)

[2 "Bhavabhūti has said nothing about the time when he lived .. The inference is possible that he had to struggle hard for fame and future . . In view of this, it is surprising to find that the Kashmirian chronicler Kalhaṇa mentions Bhavabhūti, along with Vākpatirāja, as having been patronised by King Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja Obviously this Vākpatirāja is the author of the enormous but unfinished Prākrit poem Gauḍavaha, which glorifies Yaśovarman, and in which the poet acknowledges his indebtedness to Bhavabhūti in eulogistic terms As this poem is presumed to have been composed in 736 A.D., before Yaśovarman's defeat and humiliation by King Lalitāditya of Kashmir, it is inferred that Bhavabhūti flourished, if not actually in the court of Yaśovarman, at least during his reign in the closing years of the 7th or the first quarter of the 8th century". —S K De, HSL, p. 279]

compounds used in prose passages go to prove that his poems are rather more suitable for reading than for staging purposes. In particular his two Rāma-dramas are little dramatic.

The Mahāvīracarita or "the Biography of the Great Hero[1]" treats in its seven acts the subject-matter of the first six sections (kāṇḍas) of the Rāmāyana, beginning with Rāma's visit into the hermitage of Viśvāmitra upto his return to Ayodhyā. It is rather a free compilation of dramatic scenes brought into one place, from the epics, than an actual drama.

Just a little more dramatic is the Uttararāmacarita, "the Second-part of the Biography of Rāma[2], that (likewise in seven acts) narrates the story of Sītā, discarded by Rāma, and corresponds to the Uttarakāṛda of the Rāmāyana. Only in acts IV and VII, the poet has deviated from his model, and it is only in acts I and VII that we have vestiges of somewhat dramatic life. The poet, however, in this drama finds abundant opportunities for presenting the pathos in its real perspective and in generating in an efficient manner in the mind of his audience the feeling of the sentiment of pity (karunarasa)

In act I, Rāma, Sītā and Laksmana are reflecting among themselves upon a number of paintings, in which the whole story of Rāma is presented upto Sītā's fire-ordeal, brought by an artist Laksmana explains the

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1 Edited by F H Trithen, London 1848, [Anundaram-Borooah (Calcutta 1877) critical edition based on important manuscripts by Todar Mall, (Oxford Univ Press 1928, Punjab Univ Publ] Also with the commentary of Vīrarāghava by T R Ratnam Aiyar, S Rangacharıar and K P Parab, Bombay 1910, NSP (first edn 1892) Eng trans by Joh Pickford (London 1871, recent reprint 1892) Table of contents in Wilson II, 323ff

2 Edited with the commentary of Vīrarāghava by T R Ratnam Aiyar and V L Sh Panasīkar, 4th ed, Bombay 1911 NSP [1st ed 1899], [with the commentary of Rāmacandra Budhendra, Madras 1882, ed with the commentary of Ghanaśyāma (1st half of the 18th century), by P V. Kane (Bombay 1921), C Śamkararāmaśāstrī with the the commentary of Nārāyana, Madras 1832, by S K Belvalkar (text only), Poona 1921, ed S K Belvalkar, vol I, containing English trans and introd only (HOS 1915)] English translation by Wilson I, 275 ff and C H Tawney, 2nd ed, Calcutta 1874 French translation by F Néve, Brusselles and Paris 1880 and by P 'Alheim C Bois-le-rois 1906 Besides see Schuyler in JAOS, XXV, 1904, pp 1891 for fuller bibliography, see also Sten Konow Ind Drama] A scene from Act IV translated into German by Oldenberg, LAI, 278 ff Cf Senart, JA 1881, s 7, t XVII, 562 ff [There are two recensions of the Uttararāmacarita, see Belvalkar JAOS, 34, 1915, 428 ff].

pictures, and while reflecting upon these, they are reminded of the life that they have had led together. We mark the sincere affection and tenderness with which Rāma and Sītā hold fast to each other. On account of reflecting upon the picture Sītā feels tired and drowsy. Rāma addresses her in affectionate words and she lays her arms about him.

Sītā—*priamvada, saissam* ।

Rāmah—*kimanvesṭavyam* ।

āvivāhasamayādgṛhe vane śaiśave tadanu yauvane punaḥ ।
svāpaheturanupāśritonayā rāmabāhurupadhānamesa te ॥

Sītā—(*nidrām nātayantī*) *atthi edam ajjautta* ।
atthi edam (*iti svapiti*) ।

Rāmah—*katham priyavacanā vaksasi prasuptaiva* ।
iyam gehe laksmīriyamamrtavartirnayanayor-
asāvasyāh sparśo vapusi bahalaścandanarasah ।
ayam kaṇṭhe bāhuḥ śiśiramasṛṇo mauktikarasah
kimasyāḥ na preyo yadi punarasahyo na virahaḥ ॥

Sītā—"Flatterer, come, let us sleep".

Rāma—"My dear, what is it, thou art seeking for ?"

"Ever since the time of our marriage,
At home, in the forest,
In our childhood and youth,
What has been bringing thee to sleep,
And on which no other woman has ever reposed,
That arm of Rāma is here, the pillow for thy head."

Sītā—(Simulating sleep). It is so my husband; it is so my husband.

Rāmā—How now, she, a speaker of agreeable words, has fallen asleep on my bosom.

"She is the goddess of fortune at home, she is the nectar-collyrium for my eyes; to my body her touch is as agreeable as that of thick sandal paste; her arms encircling my neck is as cool and smooth as a necklace of pearls; what is there, that is hers, which is not sweet, in case I do not have the misfortune to suffer her unbearable separation."

Through this picture the most tender conjugal affection is generated only to be merged into the tragedy of conflicts in which Rāma gets plunged as soon as he hears that the people talk unkindly about him that Sītā

has stayed in the house of an enemy and yet Rāma has accepted her as his wife. And only in case we try to understand the Indian standpoint with regard to the ideas about the wife, we shall be able to appreciate the depth of mental conflict and pain that Rāma suffers, when he is obliged to abandon sinless Sītā on account of the popular will

Between the first and second acts, there elapses a period of twelve years, and the acts II-VI merely describe the well-known events of the birth of the son of Rāma till upto his meeting with Sītā taken from the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa.

All the subjects as well as the gods and the demi-gods are present beside Rāma and Laksmaṇa and witness a drama composed by Vālmīki. The play within the play[1] begins. In a very dramatic manner the drama and realities are mixed together. Rāma becomes wholly unaware of the fact that it is just a drama. The mother Earth and Gaṅgā take Sītā under their care At first Rāma laments that he has discarded his faithful wife but Gaṅgā justifies him, and the gods convince with facts and figures the people, who are assembled, that Sītā is chaste and sinless, so that at the end she is the reunited with her husband and children.

The most significant drama of Bhavabhūti is the Mālatīmādhava, "the Drama of Mālatī and Mādhava[2]" in 10 acts. In case Mahāvīracarita is a hero-drama (vīrarasapradhāna), the Uttararāmacarita is a pathetic piece (karuṇarasapradhāna) and the Mālatīmādhava is like-wise a love-drama (śṛṅgārarasapradhāna), in which love is extolled with ardour and pathos, a thing that perhaps we do not find

1 See above p 253 and Jackson American Journal of Philology, 19, 1898, 244 f

2 Edited by R G Bhandarkar with the commentary of Jagaddhara, BSS No XV, Bombay 1876, 2nd ed 1905, with the commentaries of Tripurāri and Jagaddhara by M R Telang and W. Sh Pansikar, Bombay 1905, NSP; with English translation by M R Kale, Bombay 1913 German transl by L Fritze (Reclams Univ -Bibl No. 1844). French transl by G Strehly with a preface by A Bergaigne, Paris 1885. [The NSP edition, in fact, contains the commentary by Nānyadeva that was revised by Jagaddhara; one of the earliest editions is that of C Lassen, Bonn 1832]

frequently in India, and here the principle that other sentiments, such as the abominable (bībhatsa), the wonderful. (adbhuta), the painful (karuna) and the heroic (vīra) should be presented on the stage, as stated by the poet in the prelude, finds a powerful expression.

In a very interesting prelude, in the dialogue of the stage-manager and his assistant, the poet states his own ideas about the dramatic art:

bhūmnā rasānām gahanah prayogah
sauhārdahrdyāni vicestitāni l
auddhatyamāyojitakāmasūtram
citrā kathā vāci vidagdhatā ca ll

"A drama should be full of depth with the presence of a large number of sentiments; one ought to expect in it a treatment where the feeling of friendship may become highly manifest and love may appear stronger through rude activities; its theme should be interesting and there should be clarity in expression[1]."

The poet, with his boastful self-conceit, makes the stage-manager say that the drama that he wants to stage is regulated strictly according to his direction and his idea is:—

ye nāma kecidiha nah prathayantyavajñām
jānanti te kimapi tānprati naisa yatnah l
utpatsyate mama tu kopi samānadharmā
kālohyayam niravcdhirvipulā ca prthvī ll

"Those persons, who slander us and do not understand, I tell them that this work is not meant for them. The space of time is endless and the world is wide; so a person, who thinks and struggles like me, may not be wanting."

Further he says:—

Jadvedādhyayanam tathopanisadām sāmkhyasya yogasya ca
jñānam tatkathanena kim nahi tatah kaścidguno nātake l
Jatpraudhitvamudāratā ca vacasām yaccārthato gauravam
tatcedasti tatastadeva gamakam pāndityavaidagdhyayoh ll

"What relevancy is there in speaking about scholarship in the Vedas or about study of the Upanisads, of the

1. Rendered into English from the German translation of L. Fritze.

Sāṅkhya and of the Yoga, in case a drama derives no advantage from all these. However, when in it, the expression is perfect and noble and the theme is sober and deep-thought that shows scholarship and culture[1]."

Klein[2] has designated the Mālatīmādhava as "the Romeo and Juliet drama of India with a happy termination." But the comparison becomes inappropriate when we find that the fathers of the loving couple are not implacable villains, as Capulet and Montague; but on the contrary they have agreed for the marriage of their children. Now since Nandana, who wants to make Mālatī his wife, is a favourite of the king, her father is obliged to affiance her to him. But when the two are found loving each other, their parents become very much happy at the end. But the upholder of the whole story is the Buddhist nun Kāmandakī[3], who is the proper heroine of the drama. She succeeds in persuading Mālatī and Mādhava to surrender to each other, and notwithstanding all obstacles the two get married at the end and become a happy couple. This splendid personality of Kāmandakī, who has so little to do with religion, so that we would not be able to recognise her as a Buddhist nun, in case in the prelude she were not expressly mentioned as such[4] and who possesses so much of worldly wisdom that there is nothing concerning man that is unknown to her, the motherly friend of both the lover and the beloved, who, like a mother, sheds tears when her protege is married to her husband, is probably the poet's own creation. The theme itself, to a great measure, appears to have been a creation of the poet, while some of the topics must have been taken from the stock of the Bṛhatkathā[5].

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1 The translation given here is according to the German rendering by Fritze.

2. Geschichte des Dramas III, 135 Kleine (ibid III, 51) has called Bhavabhūti "the Shakespeare of India", but it is a case of exaggeration

3. The name has been selected intentionally with the idea of reminding us of the author of the Nītisāra Since this nun is simply a lady diplomat, who has a worthy counterpart in Yaugandharāyaṇa of the dramas of Bhāsa and in Cāṇakya of the Mudrārākṣasa

4 The assistant speaks to the stage-manager at the end of the prelude. "the main rôle, that is of the old Buddhist nun Kāmandakī, has been prepared by your ownself, boss, whilst I am ready with that of her disciple Avalokitā"

5. Cf Kathāsaritsāgara 104.

In this drama Bhavabhūti has understood more deeply and more seriously the problems of erotics than has been done by most of the Indian poets. The act VI of our drama falsifies the often-levelled criticism that the people of India were ignorant of what the people of the West call "true love".

Mādhava and his friend see from a temple the procession of the marriage of Mālatī with a groom whom she does not like. The procession stops just before the temple. Mālatī, escorted by her friend Lavaṅgikā and the nun, enters into the temple. Mādhava and his friend hide themselves behind a pillar and listen to the conversation of Mālatī with her friend. She tells her that she will like to die, since she has not the good luck of having the person whom she likes to be her husband. She futher leaves a message for her lover, who hears it from the place of his hiding and this elicits from Makaranda the words "*saiṣā paramā sīmā snehasya*, this is the extreme limit of love." Mādhava, at a hint from Lavaṅgikā, comes out from his hiding and takes her place. But Mālatī, in the dim-light of the temple does not notice him at first and, further driven in love, she embraces him (Mādhava), thinking him to be her friend, and lastly comes to know that it is her lover who is between her arms—all this presents an extraordinary effect at the time of reading and must necessarily be so on the screen. Likewise dramatic is the entry of the Kāmandakī, who blesses the fortunately united pair, and while the marriage-party with the undesired bridegroom is waiting outside in the dark of the temple, she solomnises the marriage of the realy loving couple with the words:—

preyo mitraṁ bandhutā vā samagrā
sarve kāmāḥ śevadhirjīvitaṁ vā ।
strīṇāṁ bhartā dharmadārāśca puṁsām
ityanyonyaṁ vatsayorjñātamastu ॥

"Let this be known to my two children, that the most intimate friends, the whole group of relations as well, fulfilment of all desires, the best treasure, life itself—all this is the husband for a woman, and for a man a faithful wife is all this."

In the same manner as Bhavabhūti has depicted the highest spiritual love here, so also in act VII, we find him

describing sensuous love with equal force. He cites an expression from the Kāmasūtra[1]:

kusumasadharmāno hi yositah sukumāropakramāh tāsvanadhigataviśvāsaih prasabhamupakramyamānāh samprayogavidvesinyo bhavanti I

"Women are like flowers; man should approach them politely, he who comes close to them in a violent manner, before he has gained her confidence, for him love becomes odious forthwith"

The poet reveals his accurate knowledge of "the science of love". In the impudent sleeping chamber scene, where Makaranda, dressed as Mālatī, the bride, lies on the bed and listens to what his beloved Madayantikā says about him in the conversation with her friend, who narrates as to how she dreams about her lover, how he approaches her violently in the dream, and how she is hardly able to retort to his violent solicitations in her burning amorous rapture,—and, Makaranda, who is very much glad, uncovers his face and rejoices the friendly services rendered by the god of love.

Further Bhavabhūti is able to find forceful expressions also for describing the feeling of excessive pain. In act IX we find Mādhava mad with grief in his bereavement from his beloved who is believed to be dead. He bursts into violent bewailings and turns towards the animals of the forest and the clouds in the sky in the belief that they must be sympathetic towards him in his grief Thus he has certainly followed Kālidāsa's Meghadūta and Vikramorvaśīya But we meat with real Bhavabhūtī when Mādhava ends his grief in the following words:

dhigucchvasitavaiśasam mama yadittthamekākino
dhigeva ramanīyavastvananubhavād vrthābhāvinah I
tvayā saha na yastayā ca divasah sa vidhvamsatām
pramodamrgatrsnikām dhigapanatra kāmānuṣe II

"Fie on the grief that has come to me and to me all alone; fie on the beautiful thing that you cannot rejoice and so has become devoid of any use; but the day that is

1. The stanza, that is in Sanskrit, occurs in the midst of a Prākrit dialogue On Bhavabhūti's knowledge of Kāmasāstra see also Peterson, JBRAS 18, 1891, 109 ff.

not spent in your company is wasted, fie on the mirage of pleasure that you do not rejoice[1]".

Bhavabhūti has special fascination for strong contrasts. In act V he describes with high perfection the terrible movements of the witches and goblins in the grave-yards and the terrible tantric rites performed for worshipping the goddess Durgā, who asks for a human head. A real masterpiece is, notwithstanding long compounds, the description of the dance of the terrible goddess Cāmuṇḍā (Durgā) with her many arms, decorated with snakes and her frightful head performed for the entertainment of Śiva. It has been rightly said that this act V far surpasses the witch-scene in the "Macbeth" and the Walpurgis Night in the "Faust" in respect of horribleness and vividness and is of importance for history of religion[2]".

Although many of the scenes of the Mālatīmādhava are so dramatic, still this work of Bhavabhūti is merely a book-drama. It is since hardly thinkable that an audience, not consisting purely of first rate scholars of Sanskrit, could ever have understood the work merely by hearing it. The language of poetry is highly elegant. The very large number of model examples, quoted from the works of Bhavabhūti, that we find in manuals of poetics, prove the extent to which his dramas have been considered as pieces of classical ornate poetry.

The Veṇīsaṁhāra, "the Drama of Binding of the Lock"[3], of Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa[4] is another drama that is much quoted in manuals of rhetorics[5].

The plot of the drama is taken from the Mahābhārata-story of the ambassadorship of Krsna till upto the fall of Duryodhana in the mace-fight with Bhīma[6]. Draupadī who

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1. According to the German transl. of Fritze.
2. Cf Fraser, Literary History of India, 288 ff
3. Edited by J Grill, Leipzig 1871, and with the commentary [illegible]Jagaddhara by K P. Parab and K R Māḍgāvkar, Bombay, 1898, [illegible] 1905, NSP. An independent work, rather than a trans., is the work of [illegible]aurindro Mohun Tagore (Calcutta 1880), who boasts to be a [illegible]escendant of the poet
4. According to the prelude he had assumed also the epithet Mṛga-[illegible]śa (Deer-lion). On his age see above p. 53.
5. Thus by Vāmana, Ānandavardhana, Rudrata, Nami, Kṣemendra, [illegible] Mammaṭa in the Kāvyaprakāśa and in the Daśarūpa.
6. Mahābhārata V, 72, IX, 58.

is dragged by her hairs in the hall, is carrying her hairs loose and will not fasten them till after the humiliation suffered by her is avenged Bhīma takes the vow that he will fasten her hairs with his hands coloured in the blood of Duryodhana This takes places in act IV, in which Yudhisthira and Bhīma indulge in most highly unusual joke with Draupadī

Most of the occurrences that take place in course of the war are just narrated, indeed in a blossoming kāvya-style, but with unreal pathos, in which the force of the old epic is not visible. The happy, almost severe, conclusion stands in incompatible contrast to the tragic end of the great war. The popularity of the drama among the panditas is possibly based on its language alone and not on the subject-matter. However, the Indian rhetoricians have acknowledged the defects of this drama[1].

The Later Dramatic Literature

Rājaśekhara[2] too is included among the most eminent dramatists He boasts to have amongst his fore-fathers a succession of famous poets[3] and he is proud in respect of his knowledge of language. In fact he is not a master of Sanskrit and Prākrit only, but also of popular languages, as is evident from many rare words and provincialisms used by him He shows extraordinary skill in the use of ornate metres. Here and there he also employs the rhyme borrowed from popular poetry. At the same time he shows great predilection for proverbs and proverbial expressions However, he is not a first rate poet. Probably he lacks in taste as well as in originality in addition

Two of his dramas deal with epic materials His Bālarāmāyana or "the Rāmāyana for Boys"[4], that narrates the whole story of the Rāmāyana in ten long acts

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1. Cf. Kāvyaprakāśa 7, 60 ff and Sāhityadarpana 406 ff [But even the Daśarūpa and the Sāhityadarpaṇa are unable to find as proper illustrations of the garbha- and vimarṣa-samdhis from the Venīs, as from the Ratnāvalī, for instance"—S K D e, HSL, p 274, foot-note]

2 See above p 53f. He is cited in the commentary on the Daśarūpa in Bhoja's Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharana by Ruyyaka, Ksemendra, Abhinavagupta and in Somadeva's Yaśastilaka

3 He names Akālajalada, Surānanda, Tarala and Kavirāja

4 Published in Pandit, Vol III,[also edited by Govindadeva Śāstrī, Vārāṇasī 1869, Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1884]

(with 741 stanzas) is based not only on Vālmīki, but also on Bhavabhūti. Following the model of Harsadeva and Bhavabhūti he has inserted a drama within a drama in act III, and the act V is a tasteless imitation of act IV of Kalidāsa's Vikramorvaśīya. The Bālabhārata or "the Mahābhārata for Boys", also called Pracandapāṇḍava, "the Drama of Haughty Pāndavas[1]" has not come down to us in a complete form: may be, the poet left it incomplete or its first two acts are lost for ever. The first one describes the marriage of the Pāṇḍavas and the second one describes the game of dice and its consequences till upto the banishment of the Paṇḍavas into the forest.

In his two nāṭikās, the Viddhaśālabhañjikā" "the Statue[2]" and the Karpūramañjarī[3], that deviate little from their models provided in Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra and Harsadeva's Ratnāvalī, Rājaśekhara is not very ingenuous. Notwithstanding this, the Viddhaśālabhañjikā is not wanting in comic situations, that find abundant number of occasions, in addition to the fact that the heroine is a boy dressed as a girl.

In contrast to this, the Karpūramañjarī is more significant and more original. It is one of the best comic plays of Indian literature. It is the only available comedy that is wholly in Prākrit[4]. It is often said that it is either the poet's first work or a work written at a time when he had not attained maturity—a statement that seems to be without basis. On the other hand, we are able to conclude from the remarks in the prelude that after Rājaśekhara had attained fame as a Sanskrit poet, he wanted

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1. Edited by C. Cappeller, Strassburg 1885 and Km 4, 1887. Cf Weber, Ind Stud 18, 481 ff. Three verses have been borrowed from the Mahābhārata ad verbatim. Probably the work consisted of ten acts or it originally had the same volume.

2. Edited with a commentary in the Pandit, Vol VI; [with the commentary of Vāmanācārya] by B R Arte, Poona 1886. English transl. by L. H Gray, JAOS 27, 1906, 1ff.

3. Edited in the Pandit, Vol. VII, with the commentary of Vāsudeva in Km 4, 1887 and critically edited by Sten Konow, in addition to an English translation by Ch R Lanman in HOS Vol IV, Cambridge, Mass 1901. [Ed Manomohan Ghosh, Calcutta 1939].

4. The technical expression for this type of drama is saṭṭaka. Rāmacandra's Candralekhā, ed by A. N. Upadhye, Bombay 1945, is another saṭṭaka, that also is wholly in Prākrit

to prove by writing this that he was able to employ the most complicated metres in Prākrit as in Sanskrit But he seems to have made use of not only the popular Prākrit, but appears to have been otherwise dependent also upon popular plays. Many a time the somewhat naked humour and the character of the song-play that appears in occasional songs are vulgar.

Witty, but at the same time also blunt, is in act I the dialogue between the vidūsaka, who boasts of being a scholar, since the father-in-law of his father-in-law used to carry books to the houses of his neighbours, and the highly gifted maid-servant, who recited her poems in the presence of the king and the queen, who praise her. This makes the Brāhmana very angry and vindictive. The entry of the wizard and the tāntrika priest Bhairavānanda, who very nicely caricatures the religion of the Śāktas with his filthy eloquence, is described with blunt humour. A little intoxicated, he, in rhyming four-lined stanzas, praises the majestic religion of the Kaulas, for whom neither book nor word nor meditation is necessary for the purpose of attaining salvation, but only wine, woman and meat. Then he boasts swaggeringly at the efficacy of his magic with which he can bring down the moon upon the earth, can stop the chariot of the sun, can make gods visible etc. The king expresses the desire that he should make a beautiful woman appear. And at once there appears a wonderful girl for enchanting the king The girl is Karpūramañjarī, the heroine of the drama, and the king immediately falls in love with her. The further treatment runs almost according to the model of Mālavikāgnimitra. In any case, new is the scene of the swing-festival, celebrated in honour of Gaurī, in which a beautiful maid sports on the swing before a picture of the goddess, and the king gets an opportunity to see his beloved again. The songs

5 So V Sh Apte, Rājaśekhara His life and writings, p. 22ff and K o n o w ibid p 184

In the prelude it is said that the difference between a rough unadulterated Sanskrit poem and a fine Prākrit poem is similar to that existing between a man and a woman The drama written in "effeminate" Prākrit was (according to the prelude) staged at the desire of Avantisundarī, the wife of the poet

in which the swinging of the beautiful young girls is described are really master pieces of syllabic decoration with alliterations and internal rhymings that in an excellent manner give expression to the peaceful to-and-fro movement of the girl in the swing. In act IV too we have the description of a popular feast, that is of vatasāvitrī, and in it takes place the mask-dance, that is exacting and interesting at the same time.

If we take the works of Rājaśekhara as a whole, we are in agreement with the opinion of Pischel[1] who says: "Rājaśekhara was a master of language and his dramas are extremely important for knowledge of Sanskrit and rather of Prākrit. His verses are elegant and flowing, and in his terribly dull and tedious Bālarāmāyana one comes across many scenes that, on account of their nicely sounding stanzas and idiomatic phrases and allusions to the manners and customs, are not devoid of interest and pleasure. But as a dramatist Rājaśekhara's position is not high."

With Bhavabhūti the line of great dramatists in Indian literature comes to an end. Bhatta-Nārāyana and Rājaśekhara already belong to the category of imitators. This imitative literature, however, has not come to its real end even upto this day. Down upto our days new dramas, following old models have been and are being composed. The old traditional stories have throughout supplied the themes for the recent dramas. In this connection the Rāma-tale stands in the front line[2].

One of the dramas that on account of its style and language is much esteemed by Indian panditas is the Anargha-

rāghava[1] of the poet Murāri, who may have lived in between 1050 and 1135 A. D.[2] The Unmattarāghava "(the Drama of the Angry Son of Raghu)"[3], (called preksāṇaka) of Bhāskarabhaṭṭa is a soliloquy of angry Rāma after the sudden disappearance of Sītā, in imitation of Vikramorvaśīya Very much esteemed by Indians is the Prasannarāghava[4] of Jayadeva, the son of Mahādeva of Kaundinyagotra In the first-half of the 17th century Mahādeva, a disciple of Bālakrsna (who in 1637 wrote one Nīlakaṇṭhavijayacampū (in 1636 A D.) wrote the Adbhutadarpaṇa[5] in ten acts, in which the original story of Rāma is hardly recognisable. In about the same period South Indian Rāmabhadra Dīksita, a disciple of Nīlakantha Dīksita wrote his drama Jānakīparinaya," "The Marriage of Sītā"[6], likewise with stronger deviations from Vālmīki's poem.

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1 Edited [by Premachandra Tarkavāgīśa, Calcutta 1860 and] with the commentary of Rucipati in Km 5, 1887. Extracts in Wilson II, 375 ff

2 So according to Bhattanātha Svāmin, ibid, whilst Durgāprasāda places him the middle of the 9th century A D Mankha and Ruyyaka knew Murāri He calls himself a son of Tantumatī and of Varddhamānabhatta, and in several places he is called "Bālavālmīki" The drama is often called "Murārināṭaka". Konow, Indische Dramen, p 83 considers Murāri as older ["The earliest citation from the Anargharāghava occurs in the Daśarūpaka II 1 (*rāma rāma* . =Anargha III, 21) Therefore, it may be justifiable to place Murāri at the end of the 9th century and in the beginning of the 10th century The position is not invalidated on account of occurrence of the verse in the Mahānāṭaka, "which is notorious for its appropriation of stanzas from most of the Rāma-dramas cf S K De, HSL, p 449]

3 Edited in Km 17, 1889 According to the prelude the drama was staged before an assembly of learned men, who had gathered for honouring Vidyāranya In case this Vidyāranya be identical with Mādhava, the brother of Sāyana, the drama would be attributed to the 14th century

4 Edited [by Govindadeva Śāstrī, Varanasi 1868) in the Pandit, Vol II, and a commentary thereupon by Gangānātha in the Pandit N. S Vol 26-28 It is quoted in the Sāhityadarpana, see Bhattanātha Svāmin, ibid 143 note (edition also by S M Paranjape and N S Panse, Poona 1894 and K P Parab, NSP; 1893 and again 1914) The age of the work is not definite, but "probably it was written in the 13th century", cf S K De, Sanskrit Poetics, p 215 f and HSL p 462) In about 1390 Maṇika in Nepal wrote a drama Abhinavarāghava (Lévi 268) and in about 1599 Sundaramisra wrote a seven-act drama Abhirāmamaṇi (Wilson II, 395), that is also quoted frequently by the author in his Nātyapradīpa (see Eggeling, Ind Off. Cat III, p 347 f)

5 Ed in Km 55, 1906

6 Edited in Km 1894 Levi 286 gives the contents of the seven acts On the poet cf T S Kuppuswami Śāstri, Ind Ant 33,

A most characteristic and literarily and historically most important of the Rāma-dramas is, however, "The Mahānāṭaka, "the Great Drama", that claims as it author, a personality not inferior to Hanumat, the monkey of the Rāmayaṇa-fame, and hence known also by the name Hanumannāṭaka. Since it has already been referred to by Ānandavardhana, its age cannot be later than 850 A.D. However, this work has come down to us in two recensions that seemingly differ strongly from one another. In course of time the volume of the drama has grown larger with interpolations to such an extent that in it we find passages from other Rāma-dramas, like those of Bhavabhūti, Rājeśekhara and Murāri. The difference is not only in respect of the number of verses, but also, in that of the acts in the manuscripts. The western recension, that is attributed to Dāmodaramiśra[1], has 581 stanzas in 14 acts, while in the Bengal recension[2], attributed to Madhusūdana, there are 730 stanzas in 9 acts. However, the division into acts is not important. The Mahānāṭaka is hardly a model drama, but something between epic and dramatic poetry. Like any proper epic, almost the entire work is full of metrical lines. We come across just occasionally short passages in prose and that only in a few unimportant places. The stanzas contain partly the dialogue and partly they simply narrate action in an epical fashion In place of stage-directions we find epical stanzas written in the kāvya-style. There is no dialogue in Prākrit, nor a vidūṣaka. In the beginning of the drama the stage-manager does not speak about the performance, but says, "I shall speak about the Rāmāyana". Then he says also : "It appears that we are the lucky actors (*nartakāḥ*,

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1904, 126 ff 176 ff [Ed also by Lakṣmana Sūri, Tanjore 1906. The same author wrote also one Śṛngāratilaka, (ed. Kedāranātha and Vāsudeva Panasikara, NSP, 1910 In this drama the demons appear in the guises of Viśvāmitra, Rāma, Lakṣmana and Sītā in a curious manner and this results in confusion It is of little dramatic value from the literary point of view]

1 Published with the commentary of Mohanadāsa several times in India, so Bombay 1860, 1868 etc. [According S K De, HSL, p 506 it has 548 verses]

2 Edited (with the commenary) by Jībānanda Vidyāsāgara, 2nd Ed, Calcutta, 1890 [According to S K. De, ibid, following Aufrecht, Bodl Cat p 142 b, it has 720 verses Edition also by Chandrakumāra Bhaṭṭāchārya with the commentary of Chandraśekhara Calcutta 1874]

actually "dancers"), so it appears that the poem is meant to be recited by one person, while other silent actors will pantomimically represent the narrated events. Another presumption is that the piece was meant to be a Shadow-play[1].

Not only the two recensions deviate from one another, but likewise two different legends are current regarding the origin of this work In Mohanadāsa's commentary on the Dāmodaramiśra-recension it has been said as follows — The divine ape Hanumat, the battle-companion of Rāma, composed this drama and copied it on stone-slabs. Vālmīki feared that the charm of this poem would completely overshadow his Rāmāyana Since the monkey was generous and without egoism, he laughed at Vālmīki and threw into the ocean the stone-slabs on which he had written his drama Several centuries later it so happened that certain parts of the poem were recovered and brought to King Bhoja, who entrusted to Dāmodaramiśra the task of bringing together the stray parts of the poem, to fill the lacunae and to make from them one unified work. But at the end of the recension of Madhusūdana it is said that this sublime Mahānāṭaka was composed by the higly well-known Hanumat and was recovered by Vikramāditya Tọ describe this the commentator says —Once Hanumat wrote these verses on rocks and sunk them into sea-water. Vikramāditya, however, got them taken out with the help of fishermen[2].

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1 So Pischel, SBA 1906, 498ff and KG 179 f and Lüders, SBA 1916, 698 ff Lüders ibid 704 ff does not consider it as certain that the smaller recension is also older, as we ordinarily assume The statement of Max Müller (Jahrbucher für wissenschaftliche Kritik 1846, p 472ff) that the Mahānātaka may be considered to be the first rudiment of the real drama, "the first experiment in the dramatic art . , of an age, when it began to be separated from the sphere of the epic, but had not" "still taken a status independent of it", does not appear as probable. [Konow Indische Dramen, p 89 f, speaks with too much of confidence about the Mahānāṭaka as a shadow-play, although it is still a mere presumption]

2 Edited in Km 28, 1891, translated into English by L H Gray, JAOS 32, 1912, 58 ff Cf Eggeling, Ind Off Cat , p 1604, ff , C Bendall, JRAS 1898, 229 f, P E Pavolini, GSAI, 25, 1912, 315 ff , Pischel, SBA 1906, 494 ff , Luders, SBA 1916, 698

The hypothesis that the Mahānāṭaka was meant to be staged as a shadow-play finds support in the fact that it has great similarity with the text of the Javanese shadow-play and that Dūtāṅgada, "the Drama of Angada's Errand"[1], of Subhaṭa, that is very similar to the Mahānāṭaka, is expressly called a shadow-play (chāyānāṭaka)[2]. This drama describes a single episode of the Rāmāyana, namely the mission of Aṅgada, that proceeds the declaration of war against Rāvana. The Dūtāṅgada too has come down to us in two recensions: one longer, the other shorter; but manuscripts greatly differ from one another through-out. In one of the recensions, not only the dialogues in verses but also narrative stanzas have been inserted, so much so that the work appears likewise as something intermediate between an epic and a drama. Subhata himself admits to have brought into his work verses by other poets too, and a number of stanzas are borrowed from the Mahānāṭaka. The Dūtāṅgada was staged under an order of the Caulukya king Tribhuva-napāla of Gujarat on March 7 of the year 1243 during the spring-festival on the day of the swing-feast in honour of a picture of Śiva obtained by Kumārapāla[3].

The drama Gopālakelicandrikā ("Moon-beam of the Sports of the Cowherd"), that is to say that like the rays of the moon shines forth the sport of the cowherd

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1 We are able to draw from these legends at least the chronological conclusion with regard to the manner in which from certain anecdotes literary works have got associated with King Vikramāditya or King Bhoja.

2 According to S K De, HSL, p 507, "there is nothing in the work itself, in spite of irregularities, to show that the composition was intended or ever used for shadow-pictures" Continuing De, ibid, p. 509, says—"All this presumption is perhaps more in keeping with the nature of the work and the period in which the recensions were redacted than the solution of an unwarranted show-play theory or superficial lese-drama explanation, [see also S P. Bhattacharya, IHQ, 1934, p 492 f]

3 [Rajendralal Mitra, Bikaner Catalogue, p 251, suggests that the drama is perhaps simply intended as an entr'acte] There are yet other shadow-plays of still later ages So Vyāsasrī Rāmadeva wrote in the first-half of the 15th century A D the shadow-play Pāndavābhyu-daya, that describes the birth and marriage of Draupadī with the five sons of Pāndu Rāmābhyudaya ("Rāma's Rise") and Subhadrā-parinayana ("Marriage of Subhadrā", Krsna's sister, with Arjuna)" Cf Eggeling, Ind Off Cat., p 1602 ff and Bendall, JRAS 1898, 231 and British Museum Catalogue No 271 A wholly modern shadow-play is the Śāvitricarita in seven acts of Śankaralāla that was printed in Romboy in 1882 and perhaps was written in that very year; see Lüders, ibid p 699

Krsna[1]) of the poet Rāmakrsna, son of Devajīti of Gujarat[2]. It is written wholly in Sanskrit and is full of epical and lyrical stanzas that do not sound appropriate in the the mouth of appearing characters Probably lyrical portions, as also communications in prose, are given seldom in the forms of the past tense of verbs, as is the case with narratives They are intended to be addressed to the spectator by the reporter (sūcaka)—so is called once the stage-manager. Metrical descriptions and narrations in the kāvya-style often take the place of stage-directions.

In its contents the Gopālakelicandrikā is partly idyllic and partly mystic. Charming scenes from pastoral life, in which Krsna with his conveyance and his beloved Rādhā with her friend enter, are sometimes extended by songs and sometimes by dialogues Humour too is not wanting. Jayanta, a cowherd, is the comic figure who enters in the scenes, full of mirth[3] On the other hand, the religious and mythical background are appropriately brought to light. It is clearly stated that this drama is to be staged in some festival congregation of the bhaktas, the faithful devotees of Krsna It is also pointed out from time to time that Rādhā is the śakti of Krsna, that really both of them are one and that Krsna is the Best of being (Purusottama), who has come upon the earth in the form of a cowherd (gopāla). As in the Gītagovinda, so here too, Krsna is often mentioned as "forest-garlanded" (vanamālī). But this pastoral play has otherwise little of common with the Gītagovinda. The latter is more a lyric than a dramatic poem; while the Gopālakelicandrikā is something between an epic and a drama, like the Mahānātaka Like the latter, it is probably meant for recitation. Silent actors, perhaps children, have to combine recitation with gesture in music and dance.

1 Een onbekend Indish tooneelstuck (Gopālakelicandrikā) Tekst met inleiding door W Caland (Verh der kon Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam Afd Lett N R Deel XVII, No 3) Amsterdam 1917 Cf Hertel, LZB 1917, p 1198 ff Winternitz, ZDMG 74, 1920, p 137 ff See also Keith in BSOS, 1917, p 126 ff and Konow, Ind Ant 49 1920, 232 ff

2 About the age of the author we simply know that he knew the Mahānātaka and the Bhāgavatapurāna and that he lived after Rāmānuja (12th century A D)

3 He is, however, essentially different from the Vidūsaka of the classical dramas.

Bhāsa's Bālacarita goes to prove that the Krsna-legend was dramatised in an already earlier age. But we do not possess any of the Kṛsna-dramas of the golden age of Indian dramaturgy. Like the Gopālakelicandrikā, that belongs to a post-Rāmānuja age, there are other dramas of later periods that are based on the Krsna-legends. In about the 15th century Mathurādāsa depicted the life of Krsna and Rādhā in a small drama (nātikā) Vrsabhānujā[1]. Caitanya, who appeared as an incarnation of God Kṛsna in the 16th century, seems to have commanded his disciples to adopt theatre as an instrument for popaganda. Rūpa Gosvāmin, his follower, wrote for glorification of Kṛsna the two dramas, the Lalitamādhava (in 10 acts) and the Vidagdhamādhava (in 7 acts)[2] and one bhāna Dānakelikaumudī[3] In the 16th century, the scholar Śesa Krsna, son of Nṛsimha, too wrote a drama Kamsavadha[4] in seven acts, that narrates the story of killing of Kamsa by Kṛsna and the preceding events according to book X of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa[5]. The drama Pradyumnābhyudaya[6] of the Keral king Ravivarman (Born in 1265 A. D.), that depicts the victory of Pradyumna, son of Krsna, over Vajranābha, the lord of the daityas, belongs to the legendary region of Kṛsna[7].

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1 Edited in the Pandit, Vols III-IV, and in Km 46, 1895 2 Edited with a commentary in Km 81, 1903 It was written in 1533 A D. Cf Wilson II, 393 f; Lévi 237 ff.; Eggeling, Ind. Off Cat p 1592 f, Nilmani Chakravarti, JASB, N S 3, 1907, p 210. [All these works were printed in the Bengali script at Berhampur, Murshidabad, respectively in 1924 and 1902 See S K De Introduction to Padyāvalī, Dacca 1934 and HSL, p. 468].

3 Composed in 1509 A D according to Rājendralāla Mitra, Notices of Sanskrit MSS. 3278

4 Edited in Km 6, 1888, Cf. Wilson II, 400 f; Lévi 237; Eggeling, Ind Off Cat. p. 1591 [The author lived in the time of Akbar and wrote the work for a son of Todara Malla—S K. De HSL p 468 f]

5 The Śrīdāmacarita of Sāmarāja Dīksita too treats a topic selected from book X of the Bhāgavata, see Wilson II, 404 ff [On Krsna-dramas, see Sten Konow, ibid p 99]

6. Ed. in TSS No VIII. On the author see Kielhorn, Ep Ind. 4, 145 ff.

7. The same topic, according to the same source (Harivamśa, chap 150 ff.), is treated by Śamkara Dīksita, son of Bālakrsna Dikṣita, in the drama Pradyumnavijaya, that was written in the first half of the 18th century (see Wilson II, 402 f) In the same century Prince Rāmavarman of Kerala, who lived from 1755 till 1787 A D, wrote his drama Rukminīparinaya, edited in Km 40, 1894, that depicts the marriage of Kṛsna with Rukminī.

Individual episodes from the Mahābhārata have often been the subject-matter of dramatic treatment Thus Kulaśekharavarman, the king-poet of Kerala (between the second-half of the 10th and first-half of the 12th centuries A D.) wrote the dramas Tāpatīsamvarana in 6 acts and Subhadrādhanañjaya in 5 acts[1]. The first one treats of the story of the Kuru-king Samvarana, who fell in love with Tāpatī, the daughter of the sun-god. She, with the help of the Ṛsi Vaśiṣtha, enjoyed the love of her sweet'heart for twelve years. "It is rather a narrative in a loose dramatic form of six acts, utilising the conventional devices of the vision of the beloved in dream, meeting of lovers in the course of a royal hunt, the inevitable longing and sentimentalities, union, abduction and final reunion, with plenty of supernatural and marvellous incidents[2]." The second drama describes how Dhanañjaya (i.e. Arjuna) obtained Subhadrā, the sister of Kṛsṇa[3]. In the vyāyoga Dhanañjayavijaya[4], the poet Kāñcana, son of Nārāyana, describes the recovery by Arjuna of the cows stolen away by Karna, as in the Virātaparvan of the Mahābhārata. A poet Rudradeva wrote the drama Yayāticarita[5] in 7 acts that narrates the story of Yayāti and Śarmiṣṭhā follow-

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1 The two dramas with the commentary [of Śivarāma] have been edited in TSS Nos 11 and 13, 1911, 1912 by T Ganapati Śāstrī. The age of these two dramas in the opinion of K Rama Pisharoti (IHQ) VII, p 319ff is the end of the 7th and beginning of the 8th century A D The story of kidnapping of Subhadrā is narrated also in the one - act play Subhadrāharaṇa of Mādhava Bhaṭṭa (edited in Km 9, 1888), a MS of this drama is dated 1610 A D

2 [S. K D e HSL, p 466]

3 Mahābhārata, I, 171 ff ; 219 ff. The Subhadrāharana is staged upto this day by the Cakkyaras, the native actors, on the Malabar coast (see K Rāmavarma Rāja, JRAS 1910, 637)

4 Edited in Km 54, 1895, Cf Wilson II, 374; Lévi 251 f. The drama was presented under an order of King Jayadeva (another reading Jagaddeva) One Jayadeva of Kanauj probably belongs to the 12th century A D according to Wilson Duff 285 mentions only one Jayacandra (about 1170 A D) in the list of Kanauj-rulers In about 1286 A D. there was one Jayadeva ruling in Kāntipura and Lalitapaṭṭana and one Jagaddeva was ruling in Paṭṭi - Pombucchapura in the beginning of the 12th century A D (see Duff 117, 140, 206)

5 Wilson II, 388 f According to Krishnamacharya 103 the author might have been identical with Pratāparudradeva, of Orangal, who ruled from 1268 to 1319 A D However, very frequently the name occurs as Rudradeva

ing the Mahābhārata (I, 78 ff) ends with the union of the pair and appeasement of the queen Devayānī. The rhetorician Viśvanātha (c., 1316 A.D.) wrote the vyāyoga Saugandhikāharana[1]. The drama has only one scene of 145 stanzas and contains a dialogue between Hanumat and Bhīma, who is in search of a lotus-flower desired by Draupadī[2].

More seldom than Rāma and Kṛsna, god Śiva appears in dramatic poetry. To the poet Bāna, the court-poet of Harsadeva, is attributed a drama the Pārvatīparinaya, "Marriage of Pārvatī"[3]. In almost a slavish fashion the author narrates the story of the Kumārasambhava - the word "narrates" has been used, since nothing is remarkable in the whole drama. The five tiresome acts describe how Kāma, the god of love, is reduced to ashes and Pārvatī becomes the consort of Śiva. In this drama we do not find any trace of originality or of any of the requirements that Bāna, in the introduction to his Harsacarita, lays down for the poets. This deficiency and the fact that it has not been referred to in any text-book of poetics strongly support the view that it was not written by Bāna of the 7th century A.D., but its authorship goes to some young poet, who made himself known as "New Bāna", perhaps to Vāmanabhattabāna, who lived in the 15th century A.D. and belonged to the same Vatsa-gotra, in which the older Bāna was born, and who, many a time, is also designated as "the new Bāna[4]."

The same position holds good also for the ḍima-type of drama, the Manmathonmathana, "The Destruction of

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1. Ed in Km 74, 1902. The drama calls itself a preksanaka, but Viśvanātha in his Sāhityadarpana (514) has mentioned it as an example of vyāyoga

2 Mahābhārata, 3, 146 f.

3 Vāmanabhaṭṭabāna's Pārvatīparinayanāṭakam, critically edited by R Schmidt, AKM XIII, 4, Leipzig 1917 Cf K. T Telang, Ind. Ant. 3, 1874, 219 ff., K Glaser, Über Bānas Pārvatīparinayanāṭaka, SWA 1883, Pārvatīs Hochzeit translated into German by K. Glaser (Separ from the Jahresbericht des Staatsgymnasiums in Triest for theyear 1886), Triest (1886; R. Schmidt, Ind Ant 35, 1906, 215 f ; Über die Srīrangam first of all, attributed the work to Vāmanabhaṭṭabāna), Krishnamacharlar, who at 1903 erschiene Ausgabe von R V Krishnamacharlar, who at charya, 91; Winternitz, DLZ 1918, p. 470 ff A comparison of Vāmanabhaṭṭabāna's Śṛngārabhūsana with the Pārvatībhūsana rather supports the hypothesis that this was written by a third Bāna On this and other Śiva-dramas see Konow, ibid p 103 f.

4. See also p 293.

Love-god", of a poet Rāma of the Kauśikāyana-family and of an unknown age[1].

The well-known legend of king Hariścandra, famous for his benevolence and truthfulness, taken from the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna, has provided a favourite theme to later-day drama writers In the five-act drama Candakauśika, "Drama of Terrible Kauśika[2]", the poet Ksemīśvara[3] has handled this story. It is a seriously gloomy piece; and the scenes, in which are described the awe and horror of a funeral place and the bloody cult of the horrible goddess Kātyāyani have been depicted, remind us of the Mālatīmādhava The force of language and of pathos as well as the difficult kāvya-style with long compound words, to some extent, remind us of Bhavabhūti, upto whom Ksemīśvara, however, could not reach. The legend was once more in the 12th century A D. handled by the poet Rāmacandra, the disciple of Hemacandra, in his Satyaharıścandra, "Drama of Truth-loving Hariścandra"[4].

A versatile drama-writer, who worked on different types of dramatic poetry was Vatsarāja, the minister of King Paramardideva (1163-1203). He lived further under his successor Trailokyavarmadeva, whose inscriptions are dated

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1 Edited with a table of contents by R Schmidt, ZDMG 63, 1909, 409 ff ; 629 ff Perhaps it was written just in the year 1820 A D and is preserved in a single MS.

2 Edited with a commentary by Jibananda Vidyasagara, Calcutta 1884 Translated into German by L Fritze (Reclams Univ-Bibl. 1926) Cf. Pischel, GGA 1883, p 1217 ff Kausika is the family-name of Sage Viśvāmitra, see above I, p 468 f ; trans 560 ff

3 He is called Ksemendra too; but he is different from the Kashmirean poet of the same name He is the author also of one Naisadhānandanātaka, from which Peterson, 3 Reports, p 340 ff has given extracts The Caṇḍakauśika is mentioned first of all in the Sāhityadarpana We are not in a position to decide whether Mahīpāla, under whose patronage this drama was staged according to the prelude, is the same prince, in whose court Rājasekhara presented his Bālabhārata on the stage, and who ruled in about 910-940 A D —that is the opinion of Pischel— or he, as Krishnamacharya p 100 believes, is identical with Mahīpāla Bhuvanaikamalla, of whom we possess a panegyric inscription dated 1093 A D. in a temple in the Gwalior Fort (See Kielhorn, Ind Ant 15, 33 ff)

4 Translated into Italian by M. Vallauri, Firence 1913 Popular adaptations of the Hariscandra-legend in the popular languages of India are not seldom One such Hariścandranrtyam, an old Nepalese dance-play, has been edited by A. Conrady, Leipzig, 1891, Cf Fritze's translation, p. 9, Jackson JAOS, 23, 1902, 317

between 1212 and 1241 A.D. He is the author of a vyāyoga Kirātārjunīya, in which is narrated the same tale as in Bhāravi's epic, bearing the same title. He wrote also one īhāmṛga Rukminīharana, a ḍima Tripuradāha, a samavakāra Samudramanthana, a bhāna Karpūracaritra and a prahasana Hāsyacūdāmaṇi[1]. The vyāyoga Pārthaparākrama of Paramāra Prahlādanadeva, whose brother Dhārāvarsa ruled in Gujarat between 1163 and 1208, depicts the cattle-robbery from the Virāṭaparvan of the Mahābhārata[2].

Occasionally historical characters too have been made heroes of dramas. So is the hero of the drama Karnasundarī (nātikā)[3] of the Kashmirean poet Bilhana, the Cālukya prince Anhilavād Karna, son of Bhīmadeva, who ruled from 1064 to 1074 A. D. The drama was performed in the temple of Śāntinātha on the occasion of the festival of Jina Ṛsabha in Aṇhilvād and describes, after the model of the Ratnāvalī, the secret love of the prince with a Vidyādharī-princess.

There have been also poets, who have composed dramas for the glorification of living rulers, and these dramas, therefore, can outright be taken as praśastis in a dramatic form. And like the epics these dramatic praśastis too are sometime carved on stones. Thus in a mosque in Ajmer (Rajputana) have been discovered two on two basalt-plates, on which extracts from the second drama are engraved. That one of these dramas is Lalitavigraharājanāṭikā of a poet Somadeva, who composed it for glorification of his patron Vigraharāja IV of Ajmer. The second one is the Harakelināṭaka that is dated 1153 A.D. and was written by King Vigraharāja himself. This drama contributes towards glorification of Śiva. Here a ruler, who is also poet, has left evidence of his poetical genious engraved on stones simply to make sure

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1. The six dramas have been edited in the Gackwad's Oriental Series No VIII. 1918.

2. The drama has been edited in the Gackwad's Or. Scr. No. IV. 1917; see Hultzsch, NGGW 1921, 37 ff.

3. Edited Km 7, 1888 Cf. Buhler, Hemachandra, p. 83. [On Bilhana's Karṇasundarī (Ed. Km. 1888); see Konow, Indische Dramen, p 112; Keith, SD, p. 256 The age of the work is given as about A D 1080-90]

that through this it may come down to posterity. He could not of his own accord presume that later Mohammadan conquerors would be so unscrupulous that they would use these stones to serve as pillars in a mosque[1]. Another inscriptionally preserved drama, that too calls itself a praśasti, is the Pārijātamañjarī (or Vijayaśrī) nāṭikā of a poet Madana, with the epithet Bālasarasvatī. It was composed in honour of King Arjunadeva, one of the successors of King Bhoja of Dhārā, in the 13th century A D.[2] The prelude begins with the verse...

atha kathamcidalikhite śrutilekhyaṁ likhyate śilāyugale |
bhojasyaiva gunorjitamarjunamūrtiyāvatirṇasya ||

"On these two stone-blocks ... the might of the virtuous Bhoja himself, who has appeared in the body of Arjunavarman, is written". The heroine Pārijātamañjarī, the daughter of the Caulukya king of Gujarat, that was conquered by Arjunavarman, has become the actual queen The poet appears to have followed the Ratnāvalī as his model. A panegyrical drama, written in about 1310 A.D. for glorification of a living ruler, is the Pratāparudrakalyāṇa or Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa, that was included by Vidyānātha in his manual of poetics[3]. The nine-act drama Gaṅgādāsapratāpavilāsa

1. The two plates were discovered during the year 1875-76 from the polished basalts in course of a repair of the mosque and were published by F. Kielhorn (Ind Ant 20, 201 ff, NGGW 1893, 552 ff and "Bruchstücke indischer Schauspiele in Inschriften zu Ajmere," Sonderabdruck aus der Festschrift zur Feier des 150 Jährigen Bestehens der Koen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 1901, Berlin 1901) On the Prākrit of this drama, see Konow, GGA 1894 479 ff

2. The first report about this dramatic prasasti (only the first two acts are preserved; the second slab of stone, that contained the remaining two acts is lost) was given by K K Lele in the year 1903 It has been edited and published (Ep Ind 8, 96), also separately on the basis of a proof-copy by E Hultzsch under the title. The Pārijātamañjarī or Vijayaśrī, a nātikā, composed in about 1213 by Madana, Leipzig 1906; a commentary upon it by Laksmanasūri, Leipzig 1907 There are inscriptions of Arjuna varman of the years 1211, 1213 and 1215 A D.

3 See above p 28 As Lévi (App. 45 f) says . the poet has succeeded in making a contemporary king the hero of his drama without caring in the least to bring in any actual historical moment [Pratāparudra was a ruler of Warangal, and his inscriptions are dated 1298—1314 A D —Keith HSL p 293] The Hammīramadamardana too of the Jaina poet Jayasimha is a quasi-historical drama It describes how the pride of Hammīra i e of Amir Shikār or of the Sultan Samsu-d-dunya (†1235 A D) was shattered Cf. also S R Bhandarkar, Report II, p 16 ff 72 ff. [This work, that was written between 1219 and 1229 A D, has been published in the GOS, No 10, 1910]

of Gangādhara describes events from the life of King Gangādāsa Bhūvallabha Pratāpadeva, of Campakapura in Gujarāt. The act V was played in the court of Sultan Muhammad (1443-1451) of Ahmadābād[1].

We find also dramatic gnomic poetry in Indian Literature. The most famous amongst these dramas is the Prabodhacandrodaya, "Rise of the Moon of Knowledge[2]" of Krsnamiśra, son of Visnu. He wrote it for King Kīrtivarman of Chandella, who ruled between 1050 and 1116 AD[3]. As in the case of the oldest Buddhist dramas, (see above p 119) here too almost all the appearing characters are abstract notions.

From the union of God Śiva (Iśvara) with Illusion (Māyā) there is born the son mind (Manas). He has two wives· Activity (Pravrtti) and Renunciation (Nivrtti). From the first was born King Confusion (Moha) with his whole family and from the latter King Discrimination (Viveka) with his family. A very fierce battle, like the one between the Kauravas and Pāndavas, breaks out between these two related families. A rumour is spread that a terrible female demon (Vidyā) will be born with the Moonrise of Knowledge (Prabodhacandrodaya[4]) from the union of King Discri-

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1 Lévi, App 46, Eggeling, Ind Off Cat, p 1608 ff

2 Edited by H Brockhaus, Lipsiae, 1835. Of the many Indian editions, the only one that can be recommended is that of Panasīkara Vāsudevaśarman, with two commentaries, 2nd Ed, Bombay 1904, NSP. Translated into German (by Th. Goldstucker, whose name is not mentioned on the title-page) with a foreword by K Rosenkrantz, Königsberg, 1842, also by B Hirzel Zurich 1846. About translations into English, French, Dutch, Russian and new Indian languages, see in M Schuyler, Bibliography, p. 64 ff Cf Schroeder ILC, 658 ff, Lévi 229 ff, Oldenberg, LAI, 282 f.

3. In its prelude the work mentions the defeat of Karna of Cedi (1042 AD) Hence it must have been written after the year 1042, see Hultzsch and Kielhorn, Ep Ind 1, 217 ff, 325; V A. Smith, Ind Ant 37, 1908, 143 According to a tradition (Krishnamacharya p 100 f.) Krsnamisra was an ascetic of the Hamsa-order, who instructed several young people for propagating the Advaita—philosophy. Among them was found one, who ridiculed philosophy as such and was devoted more to dramatic and erotic literature In order to change the course of his mind Krsnamiśra composed this drama in which he taught philosophy in the guise of secular poetry

4. Hence it is called also briefly Probodha (Knowledge), or Prabodhodaya (Rise of Knowledge) or Prabodhacandra (Moon of Knowledge).

mination (Viveka) with his wife Revelation (Upanisad), who will destroy the whole family of Confusion (Moha). Moha (Confusion) and his adherents obstruct this. his main followers are the Sexual Instinct (Kāma), his wife Sexual Pleasure (Rati), Spiritual Conceit (Brāhmana Dambha) and his grandfather Egoism (Ahamkāra), Anger (Krodha) and Greed (Lobha) and his wives Injury (Himsā) and Desire (Trsnā). The maid-servants of King Confusion are Wrong Knowledge (Mithyādrsti) and Bewilderment (Vibhramavatī). Among his reliable confederates are to be found Heterodox Learnings, particularly Materialism (Lokāyata) of Cārvāka. These mighty devils are opposed in the battle from the side of King Discrimination (Viveka), Peace (Śānti) and Compassion (Karunā), the daughters of Religion (Śraddhā), and their friends Love for Man (Maitrī) and Love for God (Visnubhakti), too have joined hands In the formidable battle, that is described in act V, the two troops of heroes, with their elephants, chargers and foot-soldiers push one another in a bloody arena. Materialism, that stands in the front row, is overthrown, so that the contestants get hold of each other. The heretic religions get scattered in the wind through the flood of the ocean of True Dharma. Buddhism takes shelter among the barbarious people, Digambara Jainism, Kāpālika Śaivism and other heretic teachings flee towards the regions of Pāñcālas Mālavas, Ābhīras etc, all infested with fools.

At the end Old Wisdom is victorious The Revelation (Upanisad), through Divine Love (Visnubhakti), becomes pregnant From her womb are born a daughter, Science (Vidyā), and a son Rise of Knowledge (Prabodhodaya). A voice from behind the scene announces that the terrible Science (Vidyā) has burst forth the breast of the Mind (Manas) and that she has swallowed King Confusion (Moha) with his retinue Immediately there appears Rise of Knowledge (Prabodhodaya) and greets

respectfully the Original Spirit (Puruṣa), who with pleasure takes him within his arms:

mohāndhakāramavadhūya vikalpanidrām
unmathya kopyajani bodhatusārarasmih |
śraddhāvivekamatiśāntiyamādi yena
visnvātmakam sphurati visnurahaṁ sa ekaḥ ||

"Ah ! Removed is now the veil of
Darkness and it is morning,
He who dispels the darkness of Illusion,
The Night of doubt, he has torn asunder;
Born is the Rising of the Moon
Of knowledge, with the help of
Faith, Discrimination, Peace and Intellect
In All is personified Visnu—and I am that.
Through the grace the exalted Love for God
(Visnubhakti) I am fully happy."

The explicit aim of the work, as we have already seen, is to glorify the orthodox Vedānta-theory from the point of view of the Vaisnava cult in contrast to the heretic religious teachings. In case, however, one expects to find in this allegorical drama nothing but pedantic artificiality of a scholar, he will be agreeably surprised. He will be simply impressed also with real pieces of poetry in this work that does not lack in dramatically exciting handling. Here the characters are less stereotyped and more vividly sketched than in several other dramas· and—what should be probably most surprising—humour too comes into play. Although there is no vidūsaka, in act III the priests of the heterodox sects are caricatured with blunt humour. Here a little probe from these scenes, that are of interest also from the point of view of history:—

Pity and Peace enter into talk with one another. Suddenly Pity bursts forth : "Friend, a demon (*rāksasa*), a demon !"

Peace:—"What a demon is there ?"

Pity:—"Look there, look there, friend ! He, who has no clothing, is carrying a feather from the tail of a peacock in his hand and has a terribly repulsive appearance on account of filth dripping from his body, is coming this way.

Peace.—Friend, He is not a demon; rather he is a weakling

Pity.—Then what can he be ?

Peace —I fear, he is a goblin (*piśāca*).

Pity.—Friend, how can a goblin dare come out when the world is brilliant with the net of the blazing rays of the sun ?

Peace.—Then possibly he is a creature of the hill that has come up from its den. (Marks him and pondering) (Ah, I have found out the truth). It is the Digambara-canon that has been set into motion by Confusion. Let us, therefore, leave him the passage wide open. (She turns about her face).

Pity.—Friend, wait a moment, till I look for Śraddhā in him. (So both of them stop. The Digambara Jaina appears in the guise of a Jaina monk)

Digambara —Hail to Arhats. Hail to Arhats. In the house with nine gates[1] the soul burns like a lamp This is the emancipation- and bliss-bestowing highest truth uttered by the most exalted Jina. (Goes away). (From inside the stage) Hear, Hear, O young lay-men,

malamaapuggalapinde saalajalehim kelisī suddhī ।
appā vimalasahāvo lisipalicalanehi jānavvo ॥

"How can the water of the whole world
Clean this body, the mass of filth ?
The soul, that by nature, is pure,
Can be known by no means,
That is different from devotion to sages."
What do you say ? What sort of devotion to sages ?
Hear this—

dūle calanapanāmo kidasakkālam ca bhoanam mitttham ।
issāmalam na kijjam lisinam dālam lamantānam ॥

"Bow before the holy-men from a distance,
Extend them all hospitability and
A sweet dish, you must offer them :
While these holy-men be enjoying with your women,
Do avoid condemning them filthily "

1. That is in the body of human-being.

Soon there enters the Buddhist Canon in the guise of a monk, with a book in his hand. He recites a Buddhist stanza and praises his religion in the words:—

aho sādhurayam saugato dharmo yatra saukhyam mokṣaśca tathāhi |
āvāso layanam manoharamabhiprāyānukūlā vanin-
nāryo vāñchitakālamistamaśanam śayyā mrduprastaraḥ |
śraddhāpūrvamupāsikāyuvatibhih klptāngadānotsava-
krīdānandabharam vrajanti vilasajjyotsnāṅkurā rātrayaḥ ||

"How excellent is this Buddhist religion, in which both pleasure and emancipation can be had. Thus:

"(A Buddhist) has a pretty house for his abode;
Willing wives of traders remain at his command;
He is served with dainty dishes whenever he likes;
He is provided with a soft bed (to sleep upon);
Believing young beauties offer themselves for his pleasure;
He passes moon-lit nights in revellings and sports."

Pity—Friend, who is coming there, the man, slim like a young palm-tree, with down-hanging brown mantel and a wholly shaven skull?

Peace:—Friend, that is the Buddhist Canon. Monk (from inside the curtain). hear, O laymen and monks, hear the nectar of the word of the Buddha (Reads from a book): I see with my divine eye the good and the evil of man. All things of this world are momentary. There is no eternal soul Hence do not grow zealous of the monks meeting your wives. Zealousy is the name of sin.

It is followed by exchange of words between the Jaina and Buddhist monks. Each one of them declares his religion to be superior, and while doing this they ridicule each other in a most filthy manner. This scene reaches its climax with the entry of Tantricism in the garb of a Kāpālika.

Kāpālika (moving about)
narāsthimālākrtacārubhūsanah
śmaśānavāsī nrkapālabhojanah |
pavitra yogāñjanaśuddhacakṣuṣā
jagarmuko bhinnamabhinnamīśvarāt ||

"My ornament is a garland of human-bones,

The funeral yard—my residence
I take my food in a skull of man
With my eye cleared through witchcraft,
I see the world and God,
Both as one and different."

The Jaina ascetic asks him as to the nature of his religion and its principles of emancipation At this the Kāpīlaka describes the manner of his worship of God in the words

mastiskāntravasābhighārtatamahāmāmsāhutīrjuhvatām
vahnau brahmakapālakalpitasurāpānena nah pāranā ।
sadyahkrttakathorakanthavigalatkīlāladhārojjvalair
arcyo nah purusopahārabalibhirdevo mahābhairavah ॥

"We offer to our God human-flesh mixed up with brain, marrow and fat in fire·
We break our fast with drink of wine kept in the skull of a Brāhmana
We worship the divine great Bhairava with offer of human-flesh,
Looking bright with the stream of blood flowing from the hard neck just severed"

Monk. (Listening attentively)· O Buddha, Buddha ?
What a terrific religious practice !

Jaina Ascetic O Arhat, Arhat ! How much has this wretched fellow been under the influence of some devil ?

Then the Kāpālika angrily proceeds towards the two, since they have accused God Śiva of witchcraft and threatens them with his terrible sword. Overwhelmed with anxiety the monk and the ascetic yield before him and request him to pardon them Then he puts back his sword into the sheath and takes upon himself the duty of propagating his religion wider. One cannot be happy without enjoyment of sensuous pleasure, without enjoyment there cannot be spiritual emancipation an emancipated person should have the form of Śiva, who sports rejoicingly embraced by his loving wife Pārvatī Since both of them doubt about the correctness of the principle that a being given to suffering can be emancipated, the Kāpālika summons his religion. that enters in the

guise of a Kāpālinī, resembling a voluptuous woman of lowly origin. The Kāpālika orders her to take hold of the two spirits. Now she embraces the monk and the Jaina ascetic one after another. These two persons give expression to their feeling of joy and quickly they get rid of their religion and embrace the religion of the Kāpālika, whom they recognise as their teacher and master and let themselves be initiated with the drink of wine into the great teaching of Bhairava—all this is described with severe humour, that is hardly to be met with in many places.

The great popularity of this allegorical drama among the panditas is proved not only by the large number of its extant manuscripts and printed editions, but also by the several imitations that it has found[1]. Thus in between 1229 and 1232 the Jaina Yaśahpāla wrote a drama Moharājaparājaya, the "Defeat of King of Illusion", in which the conversion to Jainism of King Kumārapāla and his marriage with the princess Krpāsundarī ("Generosity, the Beauty") are presented and Hemacandra is mentioned as the priest, who solemnises the marriage in the presence of the Arhat[2]. In the 13th or 14th century the Vedānta-scholar (Vedāntadeśika) Veṅkaṭanātha (or Venkateśa)[3] wrote a philosophical drama, the Samkalpasūryodaya, "Rise of the Sun of Will" in 10 acts[4]. In the 16th century Kavikarnapūra (born 1525) wrote his allegorico-philosophical and quasi-

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1 A paraphrase of the Prabodhacandrodaya is the Vijñānagītā, that was written after 1600 A D by the Hindi poet Keśavadāsamiśra (perhaps a descendant of Krsnamisra), see Grierson, JRAS 1908, 1136ff

2 Cf Buhler, Hemacandra, p. 4, 32, 55, 81, Kielhorn, Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency 1880-81 Bombay 1881, No 50 The drama Moharājaparājaya has been edited in the Gaekwad Oriental Series No IX, 1918 In the same series have appeared other dramas written by Jainas. A particularly successful dramawriter was Rāmacandra, a disciple of Hemacandra. Cf. Hultzsch, NGGW 1921, p 39 ff, and ZDMG 75, 1921, p 61 ff Rāmacandra wrote together with Gunacandra a commentary on the Nātyadarpana, a work on dramaturgy The Jainācarya Vijayadharmasūri had reported to W that he possessed a MS of this work

3 On the author and his large number of works see Aufrecht, CC II, 142 f, III, 126 and Krishnamachariyap 123 f

4 Published with a commentary in Pandit N. S Vols. 28-34 On a new edition of the Sankalpasūryodya (Srirangam 1917), see JRAS 1921, p 591.

historical drama Caitanyacandrodaya in 10 acts[1] at the command of King Pratāparudra. Kali ("Evil Age") and Adharma ("Disbelief") appear in this piece and complain that on account of the preachings of Caitanya their rule is losing force. Immediately Caitanya himself (as a demi-god) appears with his disciples for the purpose of propagating the right principles. By the side of the mythological and allegorical characters (Bhakti, Maitrī, Nārada, Krsna, etc) there appear also human beings like King Pratāparudra and others A very learned work is also the drama Amrtodaya[2] in 5 acts of Gokulanātha of Mithilā It is attributed to the year 1693 A.D. Here characters like Śruti, Ānvīksakī, Kathā, Patañjali, Jābāli and others enter In the first half of the 18th century Ānandarāya Makhin[3] wrote a philosophical drama Jīvānandana in 7 acts[4] It is likewise a text-book on Medicine and an allegorical drama with religio-ethical (Śivaitic) tendencies. It presents how King Jīva (Life) in his Capital (śarīra), "body" is besieged by the army of diseases under the leadership of yaksman (consumption) and at last attains victory in the strife through the grace of gods.

An instructive composition of a different type is the drama Bhartrharinirveda, ("the Drama of) Bhartrhari's Disgust with the World[5]" of the Śiva-worshipper Harihara of Mithilā It is a peculiarly dramatised legend that belongs to ascetic poetry, of which we have found so many probes in the epic, purānic, Buddhist and Jaina literatures

1 Published in Bibl Ind , Calcutta 1854 and in Km 87, 1906 Cf. Lévi 237 ff To the 16th century belongs also the Dharmavijaya ("Victory of Religion") of Śukla Bhūdeva, printed in the Grantharatnamālā III, Bombay 1889 , see Eggeling, Ind. Off Cat p 1596 f, Schuyler, Bibliography, p. 89

2 Published in Km 59, 1897. Cf Haraprasād, Report I, 17 f.

3 According to Krishnamacharya, p 112, his father was a minister of Śāhārāja of Tanjore (1684-1711) See also Burnell, Tanjore 172b.

4 Edited in Km 27, 1891. Detailed index by C Cappeller in the Festschrift Windisch, p 107 ff Another allegorical drama of the same poet is the Vidyāparinayana, "Marriage of Knowledge", Edited in Km 39, 1893

5 Edited in Km 29, 1892 Translated into English by L H Gray, JAOS 25, 1904, 197 ff Harihara is mentioned also as the author of a drama Prabhāvatīparinaya (Gray, ibid 197)

According to tradition Bhartṛhari was a king. He loved his wife Bhānumatī very dearly. After a long period of separation from her husband, who wanted to go on a world-tour, once the queen said, that she would not remain alive without him. The king wanted to get this statement tested. He went on a hunt and got the rumour spread that he had been killed by a tiger. The moment the queen came to know of this she breathed her last. The king returned back and heard the unhappy news. Now he was wholly perplexed, burst into tears and reproached his own-self —

svayaṁ nirmāyāndhuṁ bata hatadhiyāsminnipatitam
mayā vyādāyāsyam svayamahipateścumbitamidam |
kṛpāṇena svena prahatamidamātmanyakaruṇaṁ
svayam suptvā sadmanyahaha nihito dvāri dahanah ||

"A fool, I am, who dug a ditch into which I myself fell;
I myself opened the mouth of the snake that has bitten me;
With my sword I have mercilessly struck my my ownself;
Oh, I myself kept fire at the door, while I was sleeping inside the house."

In unrestrained perplexity he enters into a funeral pyre with the intention of burning himself with the corpse of his wife. Then there comes the ascetic Goraksanātha[1]. The latter appears as aggrieved and laments seemingly because his begging bowl is broken into pieces, in the same way as the king does for his deceased wife, and thus he makes the king feel that it is nonsensical to lament the death of any person[2] and that real happiness consists in renunciation of this world But now the king does not like to have anything to do with his kingdom, government and worldly pleasures. But this helps him little and the

1. Gorakhnat, as he is usually called, the founder of the Śivaite sect of Kaṇphaṭās ("torn-eared"), perhaps lived in the first-half of the 15 century A D. Therefore, the drama must have been written sometime later Cf Gray, ibid 198; A Barth, The Religions of India, 2nd Ed, London 1889, p 218, D P Khakhar and G S Leonard, Ind Ant 7, 1878, 67 ff, 298 ff,

2. Cf. the consolatory stories, above II, 115; transl p 143

yogin brings to life his wife through his magical power. Bhānumatī, who is awoke from her slumber of death, is disdainfully rejected by the king. As the real ascetic likes, he knows nothing about his wife. All her implorings and coaxings are of no avail. Then the queen takes resort to the last means. She brings her children before the king and tries to arouse fraternal sentiment in him But even this meeting evokes little response from him. He is convinced that this world is a lengthy dream, an illusion, a fata morgana, and he renounces his throne and the family. Then Goraksanātha praises him as the best of the nirvana-seekers[1].

Not only was philosophy taught in the drama, but there exists also a drama that attempts to teach philosophy beside grammar. This object of curiosity is Antarvyākarnanātyapariśista[2] of Krsnānanda Vācaspati. Here the verses are to be explained as having two meanings; on one side they mean rules of grammar and on the other they teach philosophy and moral

Learned dramas of all types have been written in Sanskrit upto our times[3]. Dillīsāmrājya[4] written in the year

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1 In act V the verse
citram citramarangavārtikamidam nirbhittikam śilpinah
sankalpasya nikalpanairviracitam cidvyomapatte jagat |
dīrghasvapnamidam vadanti sudhiyah kepīndrajālam punah
procuh kecidathāntariksanagarīmevāpare menire ||
sādhu vatsa, sādhu | *sarvānapi nirvānaśālino*
jīvānātiśayya vartase, in which King Bhartrhari gives expression to this feeling of renunciation of the world, partly reminds us of the Vairāgyaśataka, but verbal correspondences are not to be found

2 That is to say "appendix to the dramatic art with inclusion of grammar", Published in Calcutta 1894, earlier editions 1840 and 1855 (see Schuyler, Bibliography, p 66)

3 On the attempts that have been made for revival of the classical drama in modern India, see Lévi 401 ff, 466 ff and Barth, Revue crit 1892, 193, f Amongst these dramas of the 19th century are included also the dramas having strong social bias, e g Kulīnakulasarvasva (nāṭaka) of Rāmanārāyana Tarkaratna, written against polygamy and amongst the Kulīna Brāhmanas Umeśacandra Mitra's Vidhavāvivāhanāṭaka, for introduction of remarriage of widows (The purposive dramas Kulīnakulārnava and Vidhavāvivāha are in Bengali and not in Sanskrit) European dramas too have recently been translated into Sanskrit thus Shakespeare's Midsummer-Night's Dream" by R Krishnamachariar under the title Vāsantikāsvapna, (Kumbhakonam 1892)

4 Madras 1912 The author had made a complimentary presentation of the work to Winternitz An analysis and partial translation by Cappeller in Deutsche Rundschau, 39, 1913, p 452 ff.

1912 by Pandit Laksmana Sūri in 5 acts describing the coronation in Delhi, may be mentioned as one of the latest written dramas, that is composed strictly according to the model. Not less than 51 characters appear in the piece and among them are also King George V and Queen of England, the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Lord Curzon and others. A debate in the House of Lords is presented almost in the same manner as many centuries ago ministers discussed matters among themelves in the court of any Indian prince. By the side of the king and an American, who witnessed the coronation-ceremony from an airbaloon, and had travelled in a motor car from Bombay, an astrologer Dr. Perin was not missing. Without taking into consideration the anachronisms, here we find all that is most modern by the side of the oldest known Indian ornate poetical tendencies[1].

Bhānas and Prahasanas.

It is understandable that only a few of the more popular types of dramatic poetry of earlier ages have come down to us. They were composed for particular occasions and did not have enough of literary merits for the purpose of being retranscribed and preserved[2]. Hence it comes that the bhānas, dramas in monologue, and prahasanas, farcical comedies, that have come down to us, all are of comparatively of more recent times. They are mostly of unknown ages.

The bhāna consists of a single act, in which a single person actually appears on the stage; but this person holds conversation with a large number of people, who do not appear before the audience, but whose part is verbally repeated by the conveyor of the drama before he replies to it.

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1. However, it is instructive, since it shows that the old features can occur even in wholly recent writings, as in India poems are always composed on earlier models

2. The popular farcical comedies on the whole were never written down "Rather the manager made his actors conversant with some plot, that often was of his own creation, and left the work of detailed performance to the improvising faculty of his troupe". (Fr Rosen, Die Indrasabhā des Amānat, p 4) The monologues (bhānas) and the farcical comedies, that we possess, are probably just court-imitations in the kāvya-style and in Sanskrit, of popular models in popular dialects. Now-a-days farcical comedies are performed at the end of presentation of a long piece, that takes up the whole of the night, towards the advent of the morning (Rosen, ibid)

For the purpose of giving representation to this type of dramatic poetry we may here briefly state the plot of one Śṛngārabhūsana, "Ornament of God of Love"[1], of the poet Vāmanabhattabāṇa (15th century A D.[2])

Matching with the plot of the drama, the introductory prayer has a strong erotic colouring. After the usual prelude in the form of a dialogue between the stage-manager and his associate is over, there enters the worlding (vita) Vilāsaśekhara and he remains all alone on the stage till the end From his monologue we learn that after he has spent the night in the company of his beloved he gets further intoxicated with the rapture of love under the idea that he will stroll about in the harlots' quarters during the day for the purpose of being present on the occasion of the feast of puberty of the daughter of his friend Kāmamañjarī. He begins with a description in ornate verses of the sunrise and the dawning morning. As in a cinematograph, there pass before our eyes most colourful pictures of life in the harlots' quarters of the city, where harlots, procuresses, worldings (vitas), court-fools (vidūsakas) and dance-master (pīṭhamardaka) loiter about, and love-revelling is associated with chanting of music and song. His various encounters with the characters, who are not made visible to the audience, offer to our Vilāsaśekhara opportunities for more or less witty and humorous conversations and poetical descriptions. There he sees the beautiful Kamalāvatī at the terrace of her mansion:

smaramrgayurvāgurābhānasitānavakīrya nakhamukhairalakān |
tarunajanahrdayaharināmnisargataralān grahītumudyunkte ||

"With her fingers she is spreading her black hairs like the net of Kāma, the hunter, in order to entrap therein the gazelles, the wavering hearts of young man." He makes his glowing declaration of love and adds to it a malicious remark on the harlot's mother. Proceeding further, he meets the Brāhmana-wordling (vipravita) Mandāraka, the son of Mādhava, "who has misappropriated the amount

1. Edited in Km 58, 1896.
2. See above p 278

that his father had left to his care for the purpose of performing sacrifices and who has taken the vow of offering the same to the god of love." He makes himself full of humour and he is comical in a seemingly heretic manner towards young Brāhmanas. One of his next meetings is with Indumatī, who is sporting with a ball. He describes admiringly her beauty and is envious of the ball, that she strikes with her lotus-hands and which, while falling upon or falling down, rests on her breasts. The beauty invites him to an idle gossip. But laughing, he remarks that he fears to miss the feast of his friend and advances further. Then he utters—

"The maiden, whom I see there at the summit of the mansion, is awaiting her lover, who has been turned out by the mother.

ābhāti malayamarutā taralitasaṁvyānapallavā taruṇī ।
cārutaranayanaśapharā śambararipuvijayavaijayantīva ॥

"This young girl looks like the victory-staff of Cupid; her delicate mantle fluttering in the wind is the flag-cloth and her wandering eyes are the śafara-fish set therein[1].

(Having looked carefully). Here is Vāsantikā, the daughter of Mādhavī. (Approaching her) Friend Vāsantikā, what are you, sitting on the summit of the mansion, doing there? What do you say? "I am gazing at the majestic beauty of the grove that has become charming with the advent of the spring:—

komalastabakanamrā cārupallavarāginī ।
mākandamiha vāsantī saṁtyajya kimu śobhate ॥

"Does the jasmine-shrub, bent down on account of clusters of delicate blossoms, shine forth after it has left the mango-tree and longs for beautiful sprouts.[2]"

Smiling bashfully, why are you keeping silent? What do say? "I know your great affection for my friend Mākanda." Has he been expelled by the mother,

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1. The god of love carries śapharas (small but very much moving fish) in his banner.

2. The stanza has two interpretations and can also mean: "Does Vāsantikā rejoice her after she has deserted Mākanda (her lover), bent down with the delicate tufts (of her mantle), seeking the sweet pleasure of love?"

greedy of money, overpowered with the devil of old age? What do you say? "That your honour knows to read the feeling of another person". Friend Vāsantikā, let the crow caw and let the wheel of the water-mill move along. See!

ākrandanam kāmukakālarātrih
karotu tāvajjananī piśācī |
tathāpi bhūyādayamavyapāyā
mākandasambhogarasānubhūtih ||

"Let the devil, of your mother, who is as unkind as the night of death for the lover, just cry and bewail. Still let this pleasure of union with Mākanda be incessant."

Our vita advances further. One of his next meetings is with a group of female dancers who are going to some drama-hall In order to enjoy their presence he visits his friend the dance-master Guṇadatta, praises his method of dance-training and does not feel ashamed in giving expression to his sentiment of love for a dancing girl. Then an enchanting swing-song strikes his ear. His friend Makaranda celebrates the spring-swing festival in the company of his beloved. The vita comes nearer, admires the beauty and repeats the swing-song that she sings[1] In the meantime it is noon and the vita rushes forth into the garden of his girl-friend Candravatī, on account of heat After he has some chat for a little while, he moves further and meets a realistically described old woman, for whom he utters the proverb : *vrddhā vāravilāsinī vānarī bhavati*, "an old harlot becomes a she-monkey". She has in her grip a young man, "who had married" her daughter six months ago without discharging his monetary obligations; she is dragging him to a court of law. Our vita interferes in the quarrel as a mediator. It is followed by a description of a ram-fight, of a cock-fight, of a fight between two wrestlers, and of a bloody fight that takes place between two rivals Then he meets one of his old beloved, who reminds him of his amorous pleasure of the last night. Then he listens to the wonderful and charming sweet tune of the harp of beautiful

1 It is a Prākrit-song, the only Prākrit passage found in the bhāna.

Mañjubhāsīnī, till when it is evening. Now it is time to attend the festival of his female-friend. He describes the splendidly decorated hall in which his female friend is celebrating the feast of her loving daughter. He praises her beauty. His woman-friend hurls herself upon him for embracing him. He wishes happiness to her daughter and finishes with the usual concluding dramatic song that is as erotic as the nāndī in its content.

This monologue is not wanting in poetically beautiful passages—at least according to the Indian conception of ornate poetry—still the limits in respect of obscenity, the limits that can be tolerated by western taste are transgressed more than once.

There are other bhānas, that are of the same type and of similar contents, that have come to be known up to this time[1]. Even the Mukundānanda of Kāśīpati Kavirāja[2], [who lived in the early part of the 18th century in the court of Nanjarāja of Mysore], in which Kṛsna has an unendingly long and mostly erotic conversation in verse and prose with his male and female friends (who do

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1 Such bhānas are the Vasantatilaka of Varadācārya (See Lévi, 255 f. and Eggeling, Ind Off Cat p. 1620f [The author is known also as Ammālācārya It was written in the 14th century A D. and has been edited by Damaruvallabha Śarman, Calcutta 1868; editions also by Vavilla Ramanujacharya, Madras 1872, and also Jivananda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1874, cf S. K. De, ibid, p. 489], the Śāradātilaka of a poet Śankara (contents in Wilson II, 384 ff; [the author was a native of Vārānasī—S. K. De, HSL, p 490], the very much ornate and seemingly extensive Rasasadana (published in Km 37, 1893) of Yuvarāja of Koṭilingapura in Kerala, the Śrngāratilaka (published in Km. 44, 1894 [it is called Ayyā-bhāna to distinguish it from Vasantatilaka which is called Ammābhāna; cf S K. De, ibid, p. 489] of Rāmabhadra Dīksita (17th century), and the Śrngārasarvasva (published in Km. 78, 1902) of Nallā Dīksita son of Bālacandra Dīksita. Nallā (apparently towards the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century) is the author of one Subhadrāparinayanāṭaka, as well [Some of the others bhānas, that we have come to know of by now are—Karpūracarita (ed. GOS, 8, 1918, in the Rūpakasaṭka) of Vatsarāja of Kālanjara (end of the 12th century A D.) the Pañcabānavijaya of Rangācārya (ed. V Rāmasvāmī Śāstrulu in Telugu characters, Madras 1915), Rasikarañjana of Śrīnivāsācārya. See also Sten Konow, Indische Dramen, p. 121-123 and S K. De—A Note on the Sanskrit Monologue Play in JRAS, 1926, 63 ff]

1. Published in Km 16, 1889 Eggeling, Ind Off Cat., p 1615 knows an edition brought out in Madras in 1882 [On the author and his date see M. P. L Shastry, NIA, IV, 1941, p. 150 ff.]

not appear on the stage), makes little distinction between God Krsna and common worldlings such as appear in other bhāṇas.

Almost none of the prahasanas or comedies of earlier ages has come down to us, and even of the productions of recent days only a few have been printed[1]

Sankhadhara of Kannauja wrote the comedy Latakamelaka, "The Association of Scoundrels"[2], for the entertainment of his king and patron Gavindacandra in a spring festival, probably in between 1113 and 1143 A D. The famous Dhūrtasamāgama," "The Meeting of the Rogues"[3] of Jyotirīsvara Kaviśekhara, son of Dhīreśvara is a work of later years The contents of this piece may be summarised as follows —

> The student Durācāra makes a confession before his teacher, the mendicant Viśvanagara, that he loves the harlot Anaṅgasenā, at which the teacher creates in him the impression that he too is in love with the beautiful Suratapriyā. The teacher and the disciple both go in for common begging. This brings them into the house of Anangasenā The teacher is so much charmed at her sight that he wishes

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1. Many more may probably be existing in manuscripts Bühler once told Winternitz that he had brought with him very many prahasanas from India, but he was not thinking of publishing them on account of their being too obscene To an earlier age (7th century A D) belongs the Mattavilāsa-prahasanaof Mahendravikramavarman (edited by Ganapati in TSS, No 55, 1917) It is of little literary value

2 Published in Km. 20, 1889

3 Edited by Chr Lassen in the Anthologia Sanscritica (Bonn 1838), pp 66-96, 116-130 and by C Cappeller, Jena 1883 According to Haraprasād. Report I, p 23, it was written in 1324 A D Lassen places it in the 2nd half of the 15th century Cf Levi 252 f [Keith, HSL, p 261 has given the following account about this work — of much later date is the well-known Dhūrtasamāgama of Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekhara, son of Dhaneśvara, grandson of Rāmeśvara of the family of Dhīresvara, who wrote under the Vijayanagara-king Narasimha (A D 1487-1507), though a Nepalese manuscript makes his father Dhīrasimha and his patron Harasimha, who has been identified implausibly with Harisimha of Simraon (A D 1324) S K De, HSL, p 497 —"The Meeting of Knaves" of the Maithila Jyotirīsvara Kaviśekhara, son of Dhanesvara, grandson of Rāmesvara of the family of Dhīreśvara, was composed under King Harasimha or Harisimha of the Karnāta-family, who ruled in Mithilā during the first quarter of the 14th century. But the relevant lines read· *rāmeśvarasya pautrena tatrabhavatah pavitrakīrterdhīreśvarasyātmajena kaviśekharācārya-jyotirīśvareṇa viracitam dhūrtasamāgamam nāma nātakam* So Jyotirīśvara was a son of Rāmeśvara and a grandson of Dhīresvara Cf S K Chatterji, Introduction to Varnaratnākara, p XV]

to take her into his own possession and thus incurs the displeasure of his disciple. They fall in violent quarrel. With the intention of getting rid of both of them the harlot goes to a court of arbitration. They approach the Brāhmana Asajjātimiśra. who tries to arrive at a decision in respect of this difficult case of arbitration. The act II takes us into the house of this gallant Brāhmana, who even enters into a philosophical discourse with the vidūsaka in which the former asserts that the essence of life consists in the enjoyment of love, whilst the latter maintains the view that theft of money belonging to another person is not less heinous than enjoyment to another man's wife. In the meanwhile there comes the mendicant with his disciple. They place before the arbitrator their points of difference. Then Aśajjātimiśra is moved at the beauty of the harlot and he orders that she must stay with him till he arrives at a decision. While she is staying in his house, the vidūsaka tries to obtain her. At this stage the barber Mūlanāśaka arrives and asks Vasantasenā to clear the debt that she owes to him. She refers him to Asajjāti, who pays him out of his pupils's purse. Then the Brāhmana requests the barber to shave his hairs and pair his nails. But the barber chains his hands and feet and runs away. The Brāhmana cries for help and the vidūṣaka sets him free.

A still worse company we meet with in the farce Hāsyārnava[1] of Jagadīśvara. Here not only the priests, but also princes, doctors and astrologers are ridiculed. In the house of a harlot we find a Śaiva mendicant, his disciple, a quack, a police officer who reports with great satisfaction that the state should be in the hands of thieves, a military officer who overpowers a leech, etc. In act II there appears a Brāhmana, who claims to have composed the Vedas and to have been in the heaven, where he thrashed Lord Śiva. At the end of the 16th century Saint Sāmarāja Dīkṣita wrote a

1. Edited by C Cappeller, Jena 1883; also printed in India (Calcutta) 1835 and 1872 [and Ed. Śrīnātha Vedāntavāgīśa, with a commentary, Calcutta 1896]; cf. Wilson II, 40 ff.; Lévi 253 f. Its age has not been determined.

comedy Dhūrtanāṭaka [1], that ridicules the Śaiva ascetics, one of whom had fallen in love with a dancing girl[2]. One Pandit Gopīnātha is the author of the comedy Kautukasarvasva, that was played on the occasion of the autumn festival during the Durgāpūjā in Bengal (we know not when). The drama is rather a satire on kings and their ministers than on religious men

Another satire on the kings is the drama Kautuka-ratnākara [3] of a poet, who calls himself Kavitārkika, son of Vāṇīnātha. He was the chief priest of King Laksmana Mānikyadeva [end of the 16th century A D]. The hero is a silly king whose wife is kidnapped away and who utilizes the services of all sorts of scoundrels and fools for her recovery Even the names of characters of this piece are comical. Thus the chief priest's name is Ācārakālakūṭa ("poison of discipline"), the name of a guard of the harem is Pracandcaśepha, the military general is Samarakātara ("terrified in battle"), and the police officer is Suśīlāntaka ("ender of courtesy") and the doctor is Vyādhivardhaka ("increaser of disease").

Even these farces are composed in the language of ornate poetry, and not unoften even in a bombastic style It can, however, be hardly doubted that these too have been written for the purpose of offering amusements in courts and that on the model of popular farces already present in popular dialects

[Here a mention has to be made of the four one-act monologue plays that were discovered and printed as late as 1922. They have been included in a single volume under the title Caturbhānī [4]. The titles of these four bhānas

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1 According to Wilson II, 407 the drama is not an attractive production, but at the same time it is less vulgar than other prahasanas what Klein (Geschichte des Dramas III, 371 f) has described in the words "The farce has the merit of a bald-head that is free from noxious insects and hairs at the same time" [On Sāmarāja Dīksita's age (latter part of the 17th century) and his works, see S K De, Sanskrit Poetics, I, p 320 and P K Gode ABORI, X, p 158 f]

2 Cf Wilson II 410 ff, C Cappeller in the Gurupūjā-kaumudī, (Festschrift A Weber, Leipzig, 1896) p 59 ff [Ed. Rāma-candra Tarkālamkāra, Calcutta 1828 Dacca University MS No 1580 D]

3. Extracts in Cappeller, ibid 62 f. and Eggeling Ind. Off Cat p 1618 ff [and Dacca University MS No 1821]

4. Ed Rāmakrsna Kavi and S K Rāmanātha Śāstrī, Śivapurī, Trichur. Edited again under the title Śrngārahāta by Moticandra and Vāsudevaśarana Agravāla, Bombay

are Dhūrtaviṭasamvāda, "The Dialogue between the Rouge and the Rake", Ubhayābhisārikā, "The Drama of the Girl who meets two lovers", The Padmaprābhrtaka, and the Pādatāḍitaka, "The Drama of the Kicked." We know nothing about the authorship of any one of the first three bhānas, and about the fourth we know from its colophon that its author was one Udīcya Śyāmilaka, son of Viśveśavaradatta[1]. The other three dramas are attributed to as follows:—the Padmaprābhrtaka to Śūdraka, the Dhūrtaviṭasamvāda to Īśvaradatta and the Ubhayābhisārikā to Vararuci. But this attribution is based on a single traditional stanza[2] that is mentioned in the introduction to the Caturbhānī by its editors and said to have been found at the end of Padmaprābhrtaka.

In the opinion of scholars the, probable age of these bhānas falls in about the 5th century A.D., and in any case none of them was written later than the 10th century A. D.[3], especially as the Pādatāditaka is quoted by authors who, lived not later than that century.

Except in the Dhūrtavitasamvāda, the hero is not the vita, but a friend of the viṭa. This friend-hero does not appear before the audience, but all that he does is reported by the vita on the stage on which he alone makes his appearance. In contrast to other monologue plays, these bhānas give not only descriptions of amorous adventures of the vita, but other topics of interest too are introduced[4] in them.

A mention may here be made of the Bhagavajju-

1959, with introduction, Hindi translation and notes Ubhayābhisārikā translated into English by Sukumar Sen, Calcutta Review 1926, p, 127-147. The Padmaprābhṛtaka, with English translation, etc. by J. R A Loman, Amsterdam 1956. For Bibliography see Appendix Six, Ed Moticandra.

1. See p. 150 and p 259 of the Caturbhāni, ed Motīcandra.
2. The stanza reads.

vararuciriśvaradattah śyāmilakah śūdrakaśca catvārah
ete bhānān babhanuh kā śaktih kālidāsaiya ।

3. S.K De, HSL, p 248 ff, JRAS, 1926, p 63 ff. See also F. W. Thomas, JRAS, 1924, pp 129-36 (Centenary Supplement); P. T. Burrow, The Date of Śyāmilaka's Pādatādita, JRAS, 1946, p 46. ff.
4. For detailed criticism see S K. De, (ibid)

kīyam[1] and the Dāmakāprahasana[2] of unknown authors and age. In the former Śāndilya, a disciple of a Buddhist saint, falls in love with Ajjukā, a prostitute, who is bitten by a snake and dies. The saint's soul enters into the body of Ajjukā with the intention of setting the mind of his disciple on proper line The soul of Ajjukā is put through mistake of Yama's agent into the body of the saint. Now with the soul of the saint Ajjukā behaves like the saint and the body of the saint with the soul of Ajjukā behaves like the latter to the great astonishment of everybody. But Yama's agent becomes aware of the mistake, and the two souls are let re-enter into their proper bodies. The Dāmakāprahasana is an imitation of the usual type of the vidūsaka episode of a drama, and perhaps it is part of another drama, and not an independent work The Naṭavataprahasana[3] was written by one Yadunandana, son of Vāsudeva Cayani It is of an unknown date. It does not conform to the requirements of a prahasana and does not present any noteworthy literary quality.]

NARRATIVE LITERATURE

Tales, fables and stories belong to the best productions of the Indian mind and they were elevated to the status of real literature in India earlier and in a much greater measure than among the other civilized countries As we have already seen above, they occupy not only a prominent position in respect of religious books of the Buddhist and the Jainas[4], but also in respect of ornate poetry, they are not of an inferior standing.

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1 Editions—A Banerji-Sastri, JBORS, 1924, with a commentary by P Anujan Achan, Cochin 1925 Prabhākara Śāstrī Madras 1925

2 Ed K Venkatarāmaśāstrī, Lahore 1926 See also Jolly in Festgabe Garbe, Erlangen 1927, p 115-121

3 Ed Granthamālā, Bombay 1887

4 We can hardly arrive at a decision as to whether the Buddhists or the Jainas had contributed more towards development of the Indian narrative literature and towards circulation of Indian stories In any case it is an exaggeration to say, as assumed by Hertel, that we ought to be grateful to the Jainas, "due to whom we possess simple excellent prose of the type of narrative literature" (Geist des Ostens 1, 1913, p 185) It can never be true, since we find the use of Sanskrit in Jaina literature first of all in the 9th century A D, when Sanskrit prose had long before become fully developed.

For the people of the West in many respects these tales, etc. are more valuable than all other branches of Indian ornate poetry.

When one reads the court-epics, in which the same old narrative materials are repeated again and again and the dramas, that, with a few exceptions, contain the same themes over and again, with which we have already become familiar in the epic, whilst in the comedies the same intrigues are repeated with minor deviations according to certain pattern, one could be led to believe easily that Indians lacked in creative genious as such. What a great difference in narrative literature! What an inexhaustible phantasy in creating wonderful intricacies in stories! How much of spirit and wit in respect of inventing sober and comic scenes in the fable: what an abundance of increasing new materials in stories, novels and fictions[1]! Unlike other types of Indian poetical works, in this narrative literature the tendency is not to delineate only the stereotyped figures, but we meet here quite often several types of people—in fables men in the guise of animals—that exhibit a distinct physiognomy. And these men are not only virtuous kings or bold warriors, or beautiful and loving princesses and venerable priests, as in the epics and mostly in dramas too, but also people from other spheres of life, viz farmers, manual workers, salesmen, artisans, and all sorts of people like jugglers, swindlers, rascals, selfish Brāhmanas, hypocrite monks, harlots and procuresses. Lastly, no branch of Indian ornate poetry has exercised so great an influence on foreign literatures and has become so much important for world literature as the narrative literature. It is most wonderful that the Indian narrative material has passed from nation to nation in such a way that we find in almost all the countries of Europe and Asia and even among those of Africa, stories and tales of which the original home was in India. And the fact is that not only have individual stories, per hazard, found their way from India into other countries through oral transmission by traders and tourists, but the entire bulk of Indian books, as we shall see, have through translations become common to the people of different countries. For a long time it was generally believed that India was the

1 F. von der Leyen, "Das Indische Marchen" in the Preuss. Jahrbuchern, Bd 99, 1900, p 62 ff. sets down fine characteristics of Indian narrative literature

birth place of all tales. But with advancement of our knowledge of folklore and ethnology this theory has been completely exploded. But the fact still remains that many tales of different nations have had their original home in India

Long before the existence of bigger narrative works in Indian literature, it was possessed of all sorts of tales and stories that offered amusement to the people. Besides there were stray fables that were invented for teaching religious or worldly lessons. Tales, swangs, anecdotes and stories that were in circulation among the people for a long time and the fables that were included in different places in literary works formed partly the source and partly the model for stories contained in narrative works In India, as in other countries, tales and stories have occupied in all the ages the same place as the so-called light literature does during the modern days[1]. Tales are different from myths, that almost always try to explain something and satisfy some urge for knowledge or a religious necessity in the same manner as from the fable, that always tries to teach and follows the padagogical objective in one or the other way. Hence it comes that tales and stories had been in existence among the people long before they found entry into literature and that they found their place first of all in Prākrit literature[2], whilst the fable originated in literature itself, and in all probability it belonged to Sanskrit literature from its very beginning However, it is also probable that the animal fable sprang up from animal tales, and the former added to itself short gnomic stanzas, that are instructive sentences. There are many gnomic stanzas that at the same time contain fables *in nuce*. These gnomic stanzas are very often placed at the top of the stories, just like the titles in the narrative literature of the West[3].

1 Cf Benfey, Kleinere Schriften II, 158, Jacobi, GGA 1892, 632

2 Cf Jacobi, ZDMG 48, 416

3 About Indian fables, the opinion of K Müllenhoff (Zeitschrift f deutsches Altertum, N F 6, 1875, p 1) on the German fables literally holds good "Many old German proverbs contain small animal-fables the heron scolds water, because he can not swim, if the mouse is fully fed food tastes bitter, etc Gnomic stanzas were enlarged poetically more than once into fables, so conversely were many fables abridged into gnomic stanzas" The German word "Spruch" (saying) should be used for "Sprichwort" (proverb) in respect of India

The fact that adages always constitute essential elements of Indian fable-poetry should also point to its still earlier origin.

The characteristic form of narrative literature, therefore, is a mixture of prose and verse, in which the latter are partly metrical tales and fables[1] and partly gnomic stanzas. It is only of the later times that we come by works of narrative literature written wholly in verses. Narrative works that are written wholly in prose are rare, and in ornate novels too verses have been intercalated within a limited range.

Thence it follows that the oldest tales and stories do not really belong to proper literature, and any effort to trace their beginning would be fruitless. Certain tale-like stories that we have found in Vedic works belong to mythical, declaratory and legendary poetry and not to genuine tale-literature[2]. Likewise some animal-stories, that we find in the Upanisads, such as the story of the dogs, who assembled around a white dog, in order that he procures for them food through hymns,[3] or the stories of Jānaśruti, who attracts the attention of pious Raikva to the conversation of the two flamingoes, or the one of

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1. Partly these are kathāsaṁgraha-stanzas, that is verses, in which the subject-matter of the story is abridged, ("Headline-stanzas"), and partly they are ākhyāna-stanzas, that is the stanzas that themselves form part of the narrative (tale-verses) Cf. Hertel, Das Pañcatantra, p 37 Sometimes, however, many ākhyāna-stanzas are put together in a ballad Hence, there are (for example in the jātakas) several stray fables and tales in the form of ballads, although elsewhere the ballad is just the form of narration for myths, sagas and legends.

2. The stories of Purūravas and Urvaśī, of Śunahśepha, of the monkey Vṛṣākapi and other Vedic ākhyānas and itihāsas, exactly as the monkey-stories of the Rāmāyana, belong to a line of development different from proper narrative literature. They are parrallel channels of narrative poetry and not the forerunner of works like the jātakas or the Pañcatantra The stories that were narrated in the preliminary ceremony (pāriplava) of the horse-sacrifice, after a funeral celebration etc. (see above I, 259 ff.; trans p. 311), were not tales and fables, but itihāsa and purānas. When Amalānanda (13th century) in the Vedāntakalpataru posits that stories of the type of Tantrākyāyika should be narrated in the Pāriplava (see G A Jacob, JRAS, 1911, 511), this evidence of so late an age proves nothing. Winternitz does not consider as probable that there took place an uninterrupted development from Vedic literature down upto the Tantrākhyāyika and the ornate novels (as assumed by Hertel, WZKM 23, 1909, 345; 24, 1910, 122f. and pointed out also by Oldenberg, NGGW 1911, 457) The region in which ākhyānas and itihāsas were cultured in the form of ballads were quite different from those in which tales, fables, fictions and novels had been popular.

3. Chāndogya-Up 1, 12, that appeared, according to Indian view, is correctly allegorical to Winternitz, is in the opinion of Deussen "a satire on the activity of priests and their egoistic ulterior motive."

Satyakāma, who receives by turn instructions from a bull, from a flamingo and a swan[1], can hardly be called fables.

In Indian literature we come by the earliest fables in the Mahābhārata, and in fact, in the epic proper, as also in book XII[2]. The existence of fables in India in the 3rd century B. C. is proved by the reliefs on the stūpa of Bharhut (2nd century B. C.[3].) As regards their currency during the age of the grammarian Patañjali in the 2nd century B. C. the evidence is to be found in learned formations like *kākatālīyam* "unexpected, as in the fable of the crow that was killed by a palm-fruit falling down" and *ajākṛpāṇiyam* "in the manner of the she-goat and the dagger" or in "that of the she-goat killed by a dagger[4]."

In case we now review the actually existing narrative literature of India, we can divide it under the following groups:—

1. A great mass of popular tales, stories and swangs, that we now know in a larger number, meant only for spiritual or worldly objective, that were originally circulating just orally. They are found in popular languages, and not only in Sanskrit.

2. Collections of stories that were gathered together for religious propaganda by some compilator or compilators. To this class belong the jātakas and other story-books of the Buddhists and the Jainas, that were no doubt told for the satisfaction of the people[5].

1. Chāndogya—Up 4, 1; 5; 7; 8.

2. Cf above, I, 349 f, trans 405 ff; Mahābhārata 8, 39 and 41; Holtzmann, Das Mahābhārata, IV, 88 ff. Probably in the Mahābhārata 12, 1-130 we may find the precursor of the Pañcatantra

3. See above II, 13 and 102; transl. p 17 and 127.

4. Mahābhāṣya, on Pān 2, 1, 3 and 5, 3, 106 f Cf Weber, Ind. Stud. 13, 486. It is noteworthy that in the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra, animal-tales are not mentioned "As against this, throughout there abound political maxims and epigrammatic expressions that bear comparison with natural kingdom, living and not-living, in which we are to find the rudiments of political fables (Hertel, WZKM, 24, 1910, 421).

5. In a more limited measure, the Brāhmanas, the Brāhmanical sects and schools make use of this very method. Such is the way of teaching of the Sāmkhya in respect of elaboration of basic principles by means of stories. Therefore, the Sāmkhyaśāstra contains a section on narrative (ākhyāyikādhyāya), see Sānkhyapravacanabhāṣya, translated from Sanskrit into German by R Garbe, (AKM IX, 3, p 251 ff and Jacobi, SBA 1911, (P. 270).

3. Narrative works in Sanskrit that pursue the express objective of teaching political principles and wordly wisdom. Of this type is the Pañcatantra in its numerous recensions and redactions.

4. Narrative works, that offer crude entertainment (didactical subsidiary objective excepted) in the form of fictions with intercalated stories, firstly in Prākrit and later in Sanskrit too. To this class belong the Brhatkathā with its later reductions, the Vetālapañcavimśati, Śukasaptati and others.

5. Fictions and novels in Sanskrit ornate prose (Daśakumāracarita, Vāsavadattā and Kādambarī).

The works of the last three groups are not compilations but compositions in ornate poetry, of which the authors try to build their narrative stuff partly from the first two groups and partly invent it independently. But in any case they have to make efforts in framing and arranging them in the form of an independent work. The popular and generally usual form of narrative work is the so-called "intercalation[1]". In a frame-story are included stories in a small or large number, and each of such stories can in turn serve as a frame for one or more other stories. In every kind of Indian narrative work we find tales, fables and stories beside one another. In the middle of a narrative, that has purely the affairs of human-being as the subject-matter, we always find also tales, relating to the world of wonder and witchcraft of superhuman beings, and animal-stories, in which human behaviours are carried over to the animal world[2]. In the narrative works, that pursue some padagogical objective, naturally the fable predominates, and the tale prevails in works of light literature. Hence the latter too are far more dependent upon popular narratives and tales than the former do. Since the fables and stories, that are meant to inculcate a political or wordly wisdom, are generally the creation of a poetical

1. In the epics and in the purānas too, we find a certain type of intercalation and also consequent narrative given in the first person (I-story). It is just a refinement of this natural type of narration, when not only the hero narrates his story, but some other persons as well retell their stories.

2. This too is wholly understandable, since according to the Indian conception of the world the different forms of creation are essentially alike, and between gods, demi-gods, spirits, men and beasts, the difference is not qualitative, but merely quantitative, that is capable of being levelled in course of repeated births

personality and not popular in the real sense of the term[1]. They became popular in course of time, as has probably been the case with the stories of the Pañcatantra and with the Aesopean fables. As against this, the tales have generally been popular, inasmuch as they spring up directly from the heart of the people, that is from religious ideas and myths, from popular belief in witchcraft and from the whim of story-telling men and women, drawn from the common people. In most cases there is no objective other than to cause amusement to one's ownself or to others[2].

The common name for all the different types of narratives in Sanskrit is ākhyāyikā "little story, small narrative" and kathā, "conversation, entertainment, narrative". In manuals of poetics attempt is probably made to distinguish between these two terms and to employ each of them for two different kinds of composition in prose; yet the authors of these manuals are not all alone in the respect of their use[3].

THE PAÑCATANTRA IN ITS OLDEST TEXT-FORM

No work of Indian literature has so long and eventful a history as the Pañcatantra. The credit of making its history clear goes to the greatest extent to two researchers: Theoder Benfey[4], who has followed the course of history of this work beyond India in its travel into different regions of world

1. Similarly already Benfey, Pantschatantra I, 103.

2 That does not stop even moral ideas incidentally finding expression in these tales and stories, when they are turned into ornate poetry. Down upto present times Indian poets have remained a particular class of teachers of morality

3. Kāvyādarśa 1, 23-28; Dhvanyāloka 3, 7 f Patañjali (on Pānini 4, 3, 87 Vārtt 1) gives as examples of ākhyāyikā the titles of works that are probably fictions. Vāsavadattā, Sumanottarā and Bhaimarathī Bāṇa calls his historical novel Harsacarita an ākhyāyikā, while he has referred to his romantic fiction Kādambarī as a kathā. In the Pañcatantra single stories are called kathā In the Kathāsaritsāgara, the stories are generally called kathā, and several times also ākhyāyikā Ksemendra in the Kathāsaritsāgara mentions kathā as the chief narrative and ākhyāyikā, the intercalated stories (See S K De, in BSUS, III, p 307 f)

4. Pantschatantra, fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen Aus dem Sanskrit übersetezt mit Einleitung und Anmerkungan I. II Leipzig 1859

literature and Johannes Hertel[1], who has elucidated the history of the Pañcatantra in India itself through critical editions of the most important relevant texts and with a large number of scientific researches. [Another scholar, who has succeeded in going back to the primary Pañcatantra is Franklin Edgerton[2], who has further examined in detail the different available versions of the work].

It is just too easily understandable that the original form of the text of a work that consists of a large number of single stories and gnomic stanzas, in course of its long history, has undergone alterations in a very strong measure. Thence it is evident that in such a work new stories and new epigrams have got included in a large number, that the stories, that did not please later redactors have been replaced by others, and that some ambitious writers have effected real or supposed improvements, refinements, intentional alterations—new motifs. But in spite of all changes that the Pañcatantra has undergone in its centuries-long course, it has not altogether obliterated its original character. It has always remained, according to its original plan, a work of which the objective has obviously remained to teach in a pleasing style what the Indians call the nītiśāstra, "the science of conduct" i.e. the art of administration, and which is called also by another name—arthaśāstra, "the science of worldly gains". In other words, the Pañcatantra has from the very beginning been a work, that was meant to teach the art of administration and wordly wisdom through fables, stories and epigrams. In its original form it was used for teaching of princes, as it is mentioned in the introduction (kathāmukha) found in all the extant versions. But in later-day redactions, it has rather become a book of training mainly

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1. Über das Tantrākhyāyika, die kaśmīrische Rezension des Pañcatantra (CXXII Bd der ASGW), Leipzig 1904; Tantrākhyāyika, the alteste Fassung des Pañcatantra aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen I, II. Leipzig and Berlin 1909; the same published, Berlin 1910; Pañcatantra, seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung, Leipzig and Berlin 1914 Cf. Winternitz, DLZ 1910, Nos. 43 and 44; 1914, Sp. 2430 ff. and F. Edgerton in the American Journal of Philology, Vol. 36, 1915, 44 ff, 253 ff An "editio minor" too has been published by Hertel in the HOS, Vol 14, 1915

[2. JAOS, XL, p 271 f. Pañcatantra Reconstructed,... Text, Critical Apparatus, Introduction and Translation. New Havan 1924.]

for youth, and not only for that of princes[1]. Purely moral stories were added into later redactions, and there too not in a considerable number.

The original text of the Pañcatantra, commonly mentioned as the "primary work", is in fact no more available to us, yet we are in a position to arrive at a well-grounded conclusion with regard to its condition with the help of the still—extant or deduced oldest redactions of the work. The redactions are:

(1) the Tantrākhyāyika, that is preserved for us in an older recension and a younger one[1].

(2) The text that was translated into Pahlavi[3] in about 570 A D. Actually neither this text nor its Pahlavi translation is available by itself. But we are able to draw a conclusion posteriorly about the existence of the Pahlavi translation and its Sanskrit original[4] on the basis of the translations into Syriac[5] and into Arabic[6] made from Pahlavi, as also from the European renderings made from Arabic.

(3) An extract from the Pañcatantra, that was included in the Kashmirian Bṛhatkathā, that is now lost to us and is preserved for us in the two metrical resettings in Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī and Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara[7]. The stories of the Pañcatantra are narrated without interruptions in Ksemendra, whilst Somadeva has added a fool's story at the end of each book of the Pañcatantra. It is now clear that the stories in the Brhat-

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1. Hertel (ZDMG 57, 1903, 640) mentions the different versions of the Pañcatantra straightway as "school-books" This has certain justification now a day, when the Pañcatantra and similar story-books are included among the books that are translated into modern Indian languages and are used in schools In many Sanskrit manuscripts is found the copyist's remark, as communicated to Winternitz by Hertel, that the owner of the work had got it transcribed for the study of his children.

2. See above p. 308, note 1.

3. Made by Burzoe under the title *Karaṭaka wa Damanaka.*

4 Details about these translations further below.

[5 Made by Būd in about 570 A D under the title *Kalilag wa Dimnag*), edited by Schulthess, Berlin 1911]

[6. Made by Abdullāh Ibnul "Muquffa", under the title Kalila wa Dimna, Ed Cheikho, Beyruth 1923]

7. Brhatkathāmañjarī XVI, 255 ff Kathāsaritsāgara 60-64 Leo V. Mankowski. Der Auszug aus dem Pañcatantra in Kṣemendras Brhatkathāmañjarī, Einleitung, Text Übersetzung und Anmerkungen, Leipzig 1892.

kathā have very much deviated from their original objective and have been transformed into light literature, although the original motif is not wholly forgotten; when Gomukha narrates them to Prince Naravâhanadatta for his education, he remarks that even in the case of animals wisdom prevails over strength. Neither of the two versions has any independent value, and both of them represent the old texts of the Pañcatantra of importance, and in fact Ksemendra's version is of less value than that of Somadeva.[1]

(4) A very abridged selection "for instruction of the boys, who have learnt little", that is available in South Indian manuscripts and hence called "South Indian Pañcatantra"[2]. As shown by Hertel, this goes to a North-Western abridgement made after the 7th century A D. Difficult passages have been excluded. The importance of this text lies in the fact that it stands so close to the Tantrākhyāyika that it can be utilized for reproduction of the original text. Further there exist, in a large number, enlarged and popular recensions made from it that have contributed much towards circulation of the work. There are several extant recensions of this abridgement;

(5) A Nepalese Selection of Stanzas that stands very close to the "South Indian Pañcatantra" and goes back to a north-western text. Although preserved in a unique MS it is of importance for the purpose of criticism[4].

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1. Cf. Speyer, Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara, p. 36 f. Hertel, Das Pañcatantra, p 30 ff

[2. Ed of the recension α by Heinrich Blatt, Leipzig, 1930. Ed. of recension β by J. Hertel, Leipzig 1906]

3. One of these recensions has been edited in an incomplete form by M Haberlandt in SWA 107, 1884, 397-476. Hertel, Das südliche Pañcatantra (Vol. XXIV of ASW), Leipzig, 1906 gives a critical edition of another recension. Cf Hertel Das Pañcatantra, p 33 ff. (Hertel, Das Pañcatantra, seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung, Leipzig 1914, Index p 451 f, registers 200 different versions of the work known to have been existing in over 50 different languages of the world, and that spreading from Java to Iceland

In respect of the text these five recensions agree among themselves to such an extent that Hertel has rightly traced them to a common single source, and from their correspondences he has drawn the conclusion that the Tantrākhyāyika—the only complete Sanskrit text among these recensions—provides the best picture of the primary work, that is to say it stands next to the original Pañcatantra[1]. Hence generally speaking, it also holds that whatever may be said with regard to the Tantrākhyāyika is equally valid also for the primary work of Pañcatantra.

The Tantrākhyāyika is now just a work of Sanskrit ornate literature. Its prose is ornate, and as such it is especially replete with characteristic long compounds Its verses comprise of play of words, duplicity of meaning and linguistic subtleties, that are peculiar to court ornate poetry Besides many stanzas are composed in fully ornate metres. Yet all this is treated with moderation. Its prose does not have the artificiality of language that we find in the novels of Dandin, Subandhu and Bāṇa as well as in the Jātakamālā[3]; even in the case of verses, the artificiality in respect of metres is considerably seldom. However, the author was a man of taste who certainly knew well the kāvya-style, but did not adopt it for the simple

1. We are not in a position to decide the question whether the title of this primary work should be called "Tantrākhyāyika" or "Pañcatantra". In any case the fact remains that the work attained its highest peak of fame in the whole of India under title Pañcatantra only. The title Tantrākhyāyika (i e. Tantrākhyāyikam Nītiśāstram) means· The Instructive Stories comprising (of a manual of Wordly Wisdom and Art of Administration)" and the Pañcatantra means "The five Books" or "The five Instructive Sections or Books (comprising of a manual on the art of administration)" Cf Hertel, WZKM 20, 1906, 81 ff, 306 ff; Tantrākhyāyika, Übersetzung I, 7 f and Winternitz, WZKM 25, 1911 49 ff F. W. Thomas translates the title· as "Authoritative Text (for Policy) in the form of an Ākhyāyikā and "Authoritative Text (of Policy) in five (Books)". Inaccurate is Lacôte's rendering (in Mélange Lévi, p 269)· "livre composé d'histoires" and too learned is the explanation of Jacobi (GGA 1905, 383). "Sammlung von ākhyāyikās in tantras", "die in Bucher eingeteilte Erzählungssammlung."

2. This does not refute the position that in a number of cases the Tantrākhyāyika has not only some interpolated texts but also a corrupt text.

3. Jacobi, GGA, 1905, 377, and Hertel, Tantrākhyāyika, Ubersetzung I, 22, compare the Jātakamālā But this belongs to a different type: it is a campū, in which narrative ornate prose alternates with ornate stanzas composed in the kāvya-style. The Tantrākhyāyika is not a campū, as here the verses serve a wholly specific purpose and have been inserted and employed in a quite special manner

stories that he was going to narrate[1]. He was certainly not a poet of insignificant humour and wit. It will be wholly perverse to regard this work as a collection of popular stories[2]. Probably the author has made use of older materials as well, but he has reproduced them in a free and independent manner. And above all, he has fashioned anew the peculiar class of this sort of narrative works. Although the method of introducing stories within stories and of mixing prose with verse had been in vogue from a very early age in India, still the art of framing and intercalation of stories, as we find in the Tantrākhyāyika, and the art of mixing prose firstly with instructive epigrams and secondly with verses, that in a certain measure contain the whole story *in nuce*, are characteristic of this work. It was also a new idea to teach political wisdom (*nīti*) in this ornate manner. Besides the poet has not made use of only the stories that were existing from before, but he has also composed new fables and stories. Likewise he has not increased the volume of his work just with copious quotations of stanzas, but he has himself too composed a large number of strophes that occur in it. The Pañcatantra became a popular book for the first time in its later redactions, although it was originally not so, nor was it conceived as such[3]. Even the refineness with which some of the stories are narrated speaks against its popular origin. As regards the purpose of the work, that it was written to serve as a convenient manual of politics for sons of rulers, the introduction found in all the recensions leaves no doubt.

> After the poet has, in the preliminary stanzas, expressed his veneration for the gods, the teachers and the masters of politics—Manu, Vācaspati, Śukra, Parāśara, Vyāsa and "Cānakya, the Great," he says : Viṣṇuśarman too, after he has gone through the essence of the arthaśāstras existing in the world, has written in these five books a thoroughly delighting book of lessons. Then it is said :

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1. So for example is the comic story of "the louse and the bug" (I, 7) deliberately written in a very flowery kāvya-style. Contrary to this is the story of the "blue-jackal" (I, 8), in which too we find an ornate kāvya-style, apparently an interpolation

2. So Ma ńkowski, ibid p. LIV and Kirste, WZKM 23, 1909, 387 ff; 29, 1915, 246 ff.

3. In India there are only a few and incomplete manuscripts of the old text of the Pañcatantra that is represented by the Tantrākhyāyika.

In the city of Mihilāropya in South India, there ruled a king Amaraśakti, who was the wish-yielding tree for the desire of all the needy people. His feet were coloured with the mass of rays of pearls and diamonds of highly exalted princes (who bowed down before him)". He was well versed in all the fine arts as also in arthaśāstra. He had three sons, none of whom had much interest in these sciences. Then the king summoned his council for the purpose of consulting them for deciding upon the means by which knowledge could be imparted to those boys. And one of his courtiers pointed to Brāhmaṇa Viṣṇuśarman, who was thoroughly conversant with nītiśāstra and had studied into other branches of knowledge as well. The king permitted him to come near. Viṣṇuśarman, an old man of eighty years, "caused his lion-roar voice to be heard...", "the king may exile him from his country, in case he does not in six months make the boys expert in nītiśāstra". The king and the ministers got astonished at this inconceivable promise of the Brāhmana. However, the king put the princes into his charge. "And Viṣnuśarman invented a useful method and wrote five books for instruction. And among beasts or men there is none who has not been brought within the reach of his imagination in appropriate places[1]."

Each of the five books that go to form the work, probably in its frame story, was meant to teach the main principles of nītiśāstra. The frame of the first book forms the story of the fruitful effort of the cunning jackal

1. As in the introduction to the Tantrākhyāyika, so also in all other recensions of the Pañcatantra, Visnuśarman is mentioned as the author of the work, notwithstanding the fact that many of the later recensions have different authors (Pūrnabhadra, Nārāyana) Benfey (ibid I, 29 ff) has already posed the hypoth is that the name Visnuśarman has been brought in the introduction only, just to recall Viṣnugupta, another name of Cānakya. [But no direct influence of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra can be traced in the Pañcatantra—S K. De, HSL, p. 86, note 1.] Hertel (Tantrākhyāyika, Übersetzung I, 4ff; Das Pañcatantra, p 7) has corroborated this opinion Though it is not improbable that Viśnuśarman had been the real author of the primary work, in any case it is striking that it has been expressly said that he had written the book and not just narrated or explained it to boys Cf Winternitz, WZKM 25, 1911, 1911, 52 ff Whether the author was a Kashmirian or not, as assumed by Hertel (Tantr. Übersetzung I, 23, ZDMG 60, 1906, 787 ff), in the opinion of W., it is doubtful, as is also the case with F. W. Thomas JRAS 1910, 974 f

Damanaka to cause a rift in the friendship of the lion Piṅgalaka and the bull Saṅjīvaka. The two jackals, Karaṭaka and Damanaka are the ministers of the lion, the king of beasts; and in the dialogue between the two ministers are discussed the basic principles of politics and the relationship of the ministers with the king. This is done partly with the help of citations from treatises on politics and partly with fables and stories that are sometimes narrated by the one and sometime by the other.

Book II, in its frame-story, shows how even the weak, who are fast friends, are capable of saving themselves even against a powerful enemy through mutual help. There is an old fable that appears to be found in its oldest form in the Mahābhārata (V, 64) and has been repeated also in the Jātaka (No. 33) that shows the process in which man can avoid danger through unity; whilst it is narrated how the birds with their united strength flew away with the hunter's nest and saved themselves. This old fable has been enlarged by the author of the Tantrākhyāyika and has been very nicely written for the purpose of instructing on the efficacy of friendship in the matter of success in political affairs. Parallel to the bird-fable is narrated how the Coloured Neck (Citragrīva), king of the pigeons, has Gold (Hiranyaka), the mouse-king, as his friend, and the latter cuts through the stitches of the net and frees each one of the birds. The crow Light-flying (Laghupatanaka), who has seen all this, seeks friendship with each of the two animals, and very soon they have two more friends, the tortoise Slow (Manthara) and the deer Colour-ed-body (Citrāṅga). How the last one is caught in the net of a hunter and how he is saved with the united effort of the friends is narrated in a most charming manner. Numerous proverbs and epigrams on wisdom in respect of choice of friends and also on the advantages of friendship and of mutual help bring life into the story. In this book we find few intercalated stories, and this fact remarkably shows how the fable has sprung up from the animal tales.

In the frame-story of Book III too, that is meant to illustrate the political principle of War and Peace, the

author has an old fable, that we meet with for the first time in the Mahābhārata[1], where it is told how the surviving Kauravas were resting under a tree, on which owls had their nest and how at night crows came and killed the owls. This is an occasion for making a reference to the nocturnal attack on the camp of the Pāndavas and to the bloody killing of the whole of the epic. On the basis of the highly simple story of the Mahābhārata, the author of the Tantrākhyāyika has worked out the tales of the fight of the crows and the owls, of the slyness of the minister, the crow, of the destruction of the fort of the owls and of killing of their inmates with the highest skill, whilst he has included a large number of lessons on the different types of ministers, on their duties, on the relationship of the king and his ministers, and on making of war as well on the use of tricks and bravery in war. Closely connected with the frame-story is the fable of the selection of the king of birds that has resulted in enemity of the owls and the crows—an old well-known tale in world-literature. Other intercalated stories are the fables of the ass in the hide of a panther, meant to demonstrate the harm of talkativeness, the fable of the hare and the elephant meant to show that even a weak animal can defeat a mighty master too through craft, the tale of the rat that was transformed into a girl who did not consider even the sun, the cloud, the wind and the mountain suitable to be her husband and finally selected a rat for her groom, etc

The frame-story of book IV goes to show how a fool is deceived when he speaks about a business that he has undertaken in response to false words As an illustration of it serves the fable of the crocodile and the monkey, who pretends that he has hung his heart on a tree The intercalated-story of the ass without heart and ears teaches the same moral

The frame-story of the fifth book forms in the Tantrākhyāyika the touching story of innocently killed mongoose, that is meant to serve as a warning against

1 Parvan X see above I, 312, transl p 368 and Benfey I, 336 ff. It is noteworthy that Kāmandaki (Nītisāra IX 40) refers to the fight of the owls and the crows in the Mahābhārata and to that in the Pañcatantra

thoughtless action. The same moral is taught also by the intercalated story of the Brāhmaṇa who was building a castle in the air.

It may be doubted if the last two books, particularly the fifth book, have come down to us in a complete form or if many of the fables that entered into later recensions of the Pañcatantra have been or have not been brought together in these books. Likewise it is also possible that these later recensions fabricated new narratives for the purpose of filling in the gaps that the old texts required.

Whilst in the first three books, at least in their frame-stories, attempt has been made to express explicity the relevant political principles, the 5th and 6th books contain merely lessons regarding common worldly wisdom. No sharp line of demarcation can be drawn between these two "sciences". For princes, general worldly wisdom is as much necessary as knowledge of political principles in stricter sense of the term. Hence we find among the epigrams many stanzas, that teach political as well as wordly wisdom likewise[1]. Nevertheless the Tantrākhyāyika has predominently the character of a manual of politics. We find at different places of the book big sections that have a purely technical theme: so is the case both with prose and metrical passages, that have been quoted partly verbatim from manuals of politics. At the end of the first book is found the verse that is so unusual in the Indian conception of politics:

na manuṣyaprakṛtinā śakyaṁ rājyaṁ praśāsitum |
ye hi doṣā manuṣyānāṁ ta eva nṛpatergunāḥ ||

"A state is governed not by the customs prevailing among common men:

For, what is a mistake for the people is of use for the king."

A number of citations are taken from the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra. Technical terms of the nītiśāstra too occur frequently[2].

[1] Of the 451 adages of the Tantrākhyāyika, 205 teach political principles (rājanīti), 138, general worldly wisdom and only 108 have moral, [illegible] religious subject-matter.

[2] Cf. A Hillebrandt, Über das Kauṭilīyaśāstra and Verwandtes, Breslau 1908, p 9. f.; Hertel, Tantrākhyāyika, Übersetzung I, [illegible] edition, p 169 ff.

In case the history of the nītiśāstra had been already clear, we would have a chance for determination of the course of development of the Tantrākhyāyika and of the oldest recension of the Pañcatantra. But unfortunately we are not in a position to determine the measure in which Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra is the genuine work of Cāṇakya, the minister of King Candragupta. All that we can say is that the Tantrākhyāyika did not originate before the age of Cānakya, that is the 3rd century B.C. Provisionally this only may be stated that the Pañcatantra had become a famous work already in the 6th century A.D., that under an order of King Chosru Anōshirwan (531-579 A.D.) it was translated into Pahlavi, and that as early as 570 A.D. a Syriac translation from Pahlavi was ready. We would be able to arrive at the truth at least approximately in case we could put the age of its writing between 300 and 400 A.D. The Tantrākhyāyika apparently creates an antiquarian impression, and without doubt it is one of the oldest works of Indian ornate poetry[1]. But since there are doubtless interpolations even in older recensions of the Tantrākhyāyika, the age of the primary constituent of the Pañcatantra has to be placed earlier than that of the Tantrākhyāyika.

We are not in a position to arrive at a chronological conclusion from the religious and otherwise cultural conditions as presumed in the Tantrākhyāyika. Among the religious ideas we find nothing that could particularly be very old. The general social life, as described, is Brāhmanical with Vaisnava tendencies. In respect of mythology we find the common epic-purānic divine world, as it is commonly described in ornate poetry. The minister is usually a Brāhmana. Brāhmanas are fed on the full-moon and new-moon days. The

1. As the "oldest of the extant work of Indian ornate poetry" (Hertel, Tantrākhyāyika, Ubersetzung I, 22), we need not point to the Tantrākhyāyika The poems of Aśvaghosa are older. The often recurring word *dināra* (denarius) proves that it was written after the 2nd century A D. The word rūpaka that occurs once (text p 157, line 5) is mentioned as a gold coin for the first time in Āryabhaṭta (born 476 A D), but rūpa, "picture" is older, see Luders, SBA 1919, p 749 f The author of the Tantrākhyāyika considers the Mahābhārata as an authoritative work, since a number of verses, (for example II, 103-106) are quoted as of "Vedavyāsa".

Brāhmanical order has attained its perfection. Killing of a Brāhmana is considered a grave offence. In brief we find ourselves in the Brāhmanical world. Only in this sense the work can be said to be "Brāhmanical", but not in any way in the sense that it has any kind of Brāhmanical colouring or in the sense that it aims at propagation of Brāhmaṇical influence. Religious ideas stand wholly far away from the author. Brāhmanas and priesthood are not by all means spoken in very good terms. A greedy wandering monk is the hero of the third story of book I. The cat in the fourth story of book III is the type of the sanctimonious ascetic. In the epigram IV, 13 the greedy nature of Brāhmanas has been alluded to :

dharmamartham ca kāmaṁ ca tritayaṁ yobhivāñchati ।
soṛiktapāṇiḥ paśyeta brāhmanam nrpatiṁ striyam ॥

"He who is in quest of the triad;
Who strives in quest of religion,
In quest of gold and in quest of love,
Must not go empty-handed
To the priest, to the king and to his wife."

In the Tantrākhyāyika there is no allusion to Buddhism. This has been observed by Benfey. He has further elaborated that the Pañcatantra has a Buddhist origin. But today this must be considered to have been fully refuted. The very nature of the book as a manual of politics shows that it can never be a Buddhist work, since Buddhists have never admitted the justification for any effort made for earthly prosperity and for earthly power as presupposed in nītiśāstra[1].

The ethical standpoint of the Tantrākhyāyika too is basically different from that of Buddhism The virtues of the common man are the same as those of a responsible head of a family. Fidelity to friends and hospitability are particularly esteemed high. But the real morality of chivalry, essentially different from the morality of asceticism, holds good also for the king and the warrior. Their duty is to fight in order to enter into the heaven. The pigeon-king Citragrīva of book II is the model of heroes and princes - faithful, courageous, sacrificing, but not peace-loving. Even the blessings of contentment is praised, as in verses, II, 78 ff., or when in II, 83, it is said: "What is religion ? Kindness towards the being", it is not to be interpreted from the standpoint of ascetic - morality, but from that of the fighter, who is not obliged to save all the animals (*ahiṁsā*), but only the weak, who have resigned into his care and have been assured of protection and security (*abhaya*).

Notwithstanding the fact that the Tantrākhyāyika does not deny that its aim it to teach administrative and wordly wisdom, great stress is laid on the narration of entertaining stories. In the matter of transformation of an animal-tale into an animal-fable, there is still left behind much of the original, that is not even touched by the didactic tendency[1]. The stories are not always well-knitted together[2]. For the author it is of much more importance to bring in a beautiful story than to set nicely his interpolation We must keep this thing always before our mind when the question is raised whether a story in a Pañcatantra-recension is "genuine" or "spurious," i e. whether it belongs to the primary work or not. We should not declare each story as has been inappropriately or forcibly inserted into the collection as spurious. Above all we are not in a position to differentiate between individual stories on the basis of their being genuine or spurious Generally speaking, it may probably be taken as correct that the subject-matter and the extent of the basic work are capable of being deduced from the whole of the oldest recension Thus for example, if a story

1. Thus the story of Hiranyaka's experiences (II, 1) has just quite incidentally also the instructive tendency Primarily it is an animal-tale The story of the courser-bird (I-, 10), who humiliated the ocean, is more an animal-tale than a nīti-teaching fable

2. Thus for example, I, 2 and I, 5

does not occur in all the recensions, but only in some of the old ones, it remains doubtful whether we can include it in the text of the primary work. Reversely, it is not impossible that an old story may have found place just in one of the younger recensions of the Pañcatantra[1].

In the case of epigrams it is still more difficult to determine whether they belong to the original text of the Pañcatantra or if they have been interpolated later than it is in the case of the stories. The various recensions of the Pañcatantra strongly differ from one another in respect of epigrams, and in later recensions the epigrams occur not only more frequently, but also appear in very inappropriate contexts. This is seldom the case with the Tantrākhyāyika. It is true that the epigrams as also the narrative stanzas belong to the original text of the work. But we are not in a position to believe that the narrative stanzas that either introduce or conclude individual stories are taken from the stories that were originally metrical[2]. It might have been the case with some particular stories, but it is not so in general. Then only in exceptional cases we find even in the middle of the stories narrative stanzas here and there, and they are more like tales in verses, that are inserted at random in places of importance in the tales current in western countries for the purpose of making the stories lively. As a rule the narrative strophes serve merely as introduction and conclusion; whilst at the same time they allude to their morals and in a few words the subject-matter of the story.

We are hardly in a position to distinguish between the epigrams cited from those written by the author of the Tantrākhyāyika. Since many of the epigrams occur only in the Tantrākhyāyika, (and in later recensions of the Pañcatantra) we can consider these in any case as based on stories invented of the author. Many of the epigrams found in the anthologies that are attributed to Cānakya or to Bhartrhari might have their original place either in the Tantrākhyāyika or in the primary

1. Hertel, Tantrākhyāyika, Übersetzung, I, 98-126 gives a survey of the general contents of the primary work. Cf. also Man'kowoski, ibid, p. LIII, and Benfey, ibid I, 419 f. and 340 ff. Hertel, in his researches on the Tantrākhyāyika, has attempted to maintain a distinction between the stories of doubtful genuineness and those of "doubtlessly spurious" origin. But in any case we ought to put a question-mark after "doubtlessly". Cf. [illegible] of W. in DLZ 1910, pp. 2759 ff.

2. S. Hertel, WZKM 25, 1911, 19.

work of the Pañcatantra. In any case the epigram sconstitut the essential part of the work, and many of them, on accoun of their wit and humour are not less noteworthy than the fable and stories. Here are some of the examples.—

rājānamapi sevante visamapyupabhuñjate ।
ramante ca saha strībhiḥ kuśalāh khalu mānavāḥ ॥ (I, 27)

"The wise men serve the king,
They can swallow even poison,
They enjoy the company of women."

yadaśakyam na tacchakyam yacchakyam śakyameva tat ।
nodake śakatam yāti na nāvā gamyate sthale ॥ (II, 20)

"What is not possible is impossible;
What is possible is possible;
A cart does not move in water;
One cannot travel on a boat on land."

sarvah sampattayastasya samtustam yasya mānasam ।
upānadgūḍhapādasya sarvā carmāvrtaiva bhūh ॥ (II, 79).

"He who is mentally content,
For him everything is prosperity :
He who has covered his feet with shoes,
For him the entire earth is covered with leather."

Later Redactions of the Pañcatantra.

None of the old texts of the Pañcatantra has been so popular and has had such a wide circulation in India as the so-called "Textus simplicior", that is the recension of the text that has been best known in Europe and that for the longest time and up to the time of discovery of the Tantrākhyāyika was considered to be the Pañcatantra[1]. It is wholly a new redaction of the old work, rather a completely new work. A lage number of recently written stories and stanzas have been brought in, whilst many of the stanzas occurring in old recensions have been left out. The stories

1. The complete title of the "Textus Simplicior", as also of "Textus Ornatior", is "Das Lehrbuch der Regierungskunst Namens Pañcākhyānaka, mit anderen Namen Pañcatantra" The "Textus simplicior" has been edited by F Kielhorn and G Buhler, BSS I, III, V ; translated into German by L Fritze, Leipzig 1884 Cf Hertel, Das Pañcatantra, p. 70 ff

are narrated in a clearer and simpler language, mostly in a better style, and always they are longer and more comfortable than in the Tantrākhyāyika. Particularly in books IV and V, that contain only a few stories in the Tantrākhyāyika, there have been interpolated[1], in a large number narratives, tales and also pornographical stories, that certainly originated in a wholly different region of stories and possibly have been taken from other books or from popular oral tradition.

Of this text, according to Hertel, there are two recensions that "differ very little in respect of the subject-matter, but almost throughout in respect of the language." The same researcher has proved that this "Textus simplicior" ultimately goes back to the same North-Western text, to which goes back probably the Pahlavi translation, as also the redaction from which has been abridged the Southern Pañcatantra. This text must have been current for a long time in North-West India, before a redactor gave to it the present form[2]. Hertel[3] has also made it probable that this redactor, whose name is not known, was a Jaina and had been living in between the middle of the 9th and the 11th centuries A.D. However, we must make a note of the fact that any Jainistic tendency is not positively visible in the work, in which the stories are based on Brāhmanical back-ground exactly as in the old recension of the Pañcatantra. In this respect the new recensions differ as little from the old text as in respect of the purpose of teaching the science of administration and worldly wisdom[4].

In this recension too the fable-element dominates, and among the twenty stories, that were included in it later, there are nine fables that might appropriately have occurred in the old recensions. Among the rest, we find seven tales,

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1. Reversely the Tantrākhyāyika, in book III, contains many interpolated stories, whilst there are found only 4 in the "Textus simplicior". It almost appears that like the individual parvans of the Mahābhārata the different books of the Pañcatantra too had their independent circulation.

2. Cf Jacobi, GGA 1905, 377 ff.

3. Hertel in BSGW 1902, p. 62 ff.; cf. also Jacobi in GGA, 1902, p. 380 ff.

4. Whilst the old recensions are associated with Cānakya or with the Kauṭilya-Arthaśāstra, attributed to him, in later recensions the Kāmandaki's Nītisāra is mentioned and cited as the main authority.

one intrigue-story, a witty anecdote, one story about adultery and one story of fools. One of the most famous tales is that of the Weaver as Viṣṇu (I, 5), of which the subject-matter is briefly reproduced here below:—

A weaver falls in love with a wonderfully beautiful princess. His friend, a cart-wright, helps him to have a meeting with her. He makes a wooden Garuda[1] that can fly in the air. The weaver mounts him, having assumed the form of God Viṣnu, and one night he enters into the palace of the princess through a window. She takes him to be God Visnu, who marries her in the Gāndharva form. After sometime marks of enjoyment of amorous-pleasures become visible on the person of the princess. The king is told about it, and he is very happy to hear from his daughter that God Visnu Himself has become his son-in-law. Proud of his powerful son-in-law, the king feels extraordinarily courageous and annoys the neighbouring kings. They enter into war with him. His capital-city is besieged and menaced by a powerful army. Then the king, with his daughter as the intermediary, invokes his divine son-in-law for help. In fact the city is saved by the weaver who appears in the sky in the form of Visnu mounted on Garuda. Since the real Visnu does not like that man should lose confidence in Him, He is obliged to enter into the body of the weaver and causes Garuda to enter into that of the wooden bird[2].

In a far greater measure than in the Tantrākhyāyika, in the textus simplicior, as in all later redactions of the Pañcatantra, the character of the work stands out as an anthology of epigrams. Without or with little consideration either for cohesion or for propriety and impropriety of occasions, a long

1. The bird Garuda is the conveyance of God Viṣnu

2 Hertel (BSGW 1902, p 115 f, Das Pañcatantra p 72 f) has reproduced this story, that he has translated into German in "Bunte Geschichten aus dem Himālaya", p 50 ff, as a proof in support of his hypothesis that the author of the "textus simplicior" was a Jaina, since only a heretic could speak about God Visnu in such a "contemptuous manner". Winternitz, (with Edgerton, American Journal of Philology 33, 1912, 273 ff), however, is of the opinion that it is very much probable that this story may not have been wholly a "satire in reference to Viṣnu In popular stories gods are spoken about with doubtful respect The original place of the story apparently was in a wholly different narrative work, perhaps in the Vikramacarita, where it occurs in several manuscripts

series of epigrams have been brought in. Nevertheless most of these epigrams teach either science of polity or worldly wisdom in the widest possible measure[1].

The so-called "textus ornatior" i.e. the Pañcākhyānaka or the Pañcatantra, that was completed by the Jaina monk Pūrṇabhadra in the year 1199 A.D. at the command of King Soma, is based on the "textus simplicior", with the later recension of the Tantrākhyāyika too having been utilized. This is the best of the available later recensions[2]. Pūrnabhadra himself says that he has revised the Pañcatantra "syllable by syllable, word by word, sentence by sentence, story by story and verse by verse". He has, however, partly from unknown source, introduced a number of new stories and epigrams[3]. Linguistic peculiarities show that Pūrnabhadra, has *inter alia* used also Prākrit works or stories in popular dialects[4]. Among the lately interpolated stories are found several that are known also from other sources, such are the tales of grateful animals and ungrateful people (I, 9)[5], the tale of the pious pigeon and the hunter (III, 8) based almost *verbatim* on that of the Mahābhārata and the comical story of the two hen-pecked (IV, 6) and others. Some of these stories are included also in manuscripts of the "textus simplicior".

Both the recensions made by the Jainas[6] have had the widest circulation in India, and from them have sprung up

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1. Of the 869 epigrams (found in the edition of Kielhorn and Bühler) there are 381 that teach politics (rājanīti) and 388 general wordly wisdom and only 140 are moralistic sentences.

2. It is presented also in a fine critical edition of Hertel in HOS Vols XI-XIII (1908 and 1912). R. Schmidt in his German translation Leipzig, Lotusverlag 1901. Again Berlin and Leipzig 1909. W. had not used the critically edited text. (A W. Ryder, Chicago 1925 has translated the critically edited text into English.). Cf. Hertel, Das Pañcatantra pp 20, 76 ff.

3. Pūrnabhadra has 21 stories, that are not found in other recensions. Hertel (ZDMG 56, 1902, 324) was able to call the "textus simplicior" as the "textus ornatior" (so Kosegarten). According to Hertel (WZKM 17, 1903, 343 ff.; HOS XII, p. 15 f.) Pūrnabhadra had utilized Nārāyaṇa's selections

4. Gujaratisms and Prākriticism shown by Hertel, HOS XII p. 29 ff.

5. Translated by Benfey, ibid, II, 128 ff. On the Buddhist version see also II, 164, 180 f., transl p p. 129 f., 225 f

6. Neither of the two recensions is characteristically "Jainite". As practical people the Jainas too had enjoyed influential positions in courts and consequently were interested in nītiśāstra too Some of the stories of

numerous "mixed recensions" and "new recensions" even in the popular dialects[1].

A selection from one of these mixed recensions was made during 1659-60 A.D. by the Jaina monk Meghavijaya "for imparting simple instruction to boys" under the title Pañcākhyānoddhāra[2]. This text contains several new stories, many of which are of importance for study of comparative folk-lore and for discussion of the question of relationship of Greek and Indian poetical fables. The stories of Ratnapāla, added at the end, that does not occur in any other recension of the Pañcatantra, are Jaina-made legends that are based partly on stories of the Hindus[3].

The "South Indian Pañcatantra" too presents a very much enlarged Sanskrit-text. In this text many stories, taken from different recensions of the Pañcatantra and prepared from Tamil sources as well, have been recently added Most of the lately added stories are tales that have had their original in popular literature. The language of this work has been called "Cooked Sanskrit" by Hertel[4].

The Tantrākhyāna, that too is preserved in Nepal, shows points of contact with the Jaina-recensions[5], particularly

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the Pañcatantra are found also among the Āvaśyaka-stories of the Jainas that are attributed to the 7th century A D by Leumann (OC XIII, Hamburg 1902, p 24 ff) But it is still open to question whether the stories originated actually in the Pañcatantra, or whether, as there, so here too they have been construed rather from popular stories

1 To this class of texts belongs the thoroughly uncritical edition of J G. L Kosegarten (Bonn 1848) that has its importance even upto this day on account of the fact that the well-known translation of Benfey is based on it

2 Hertel, ZDMG 57, 1903, 639 ff; ZVV 1906, 249 ff. Pañcatantra, p 105 ff The main source of Meghavijaya was a metrical Sanskrit recension, that is based on the Pañcākhyāna-Caüpaī, an old Gujarātī-recension made by the Jaina monk Vacchairāja in the year 1591-92

3 In one of these stories is found a passage that reminds us of Bürger's ballad "Der Kaiser und der Abt" The question that is put is how much of water and how much of mud is in the sea To this wise Dhanadatta replies "much mud, and little water is there in it In case you do not like to believe this, dam the river and count the water of the sea."

4 "Über einen sudlichen textus amplior des Pañcatantra", ZDMG 60, 1906, 769 ff, 61 1907, 18 ff; Pañcatantra, p 304 ff Since it contains not less than 96 stories, it is the most copious of all the Pañcatantra texts This text stands very close to that of the book "Le Pantcha-Tantra ou les cinq ruses", published by Abbé J A Dubois in 1826.

5. On the Jaina-recensions based also the Kathāmṛtanidhi of Ananta and a recension by Dharmapaṇḍita. Cf. Hertel, Das Pañcatantra, p 250 ff. and 307 ff.

with that of Pūrṇabhadra, as also with the "South Indian Pañcatantra", particularly with the "textus amplior". Of this Tantrākhyāna there are three recensions: 1, that contains only Sanskrit stanzas, of course narrative stanzas; 2, the one that gives mostly stanzas and stories in Sanskrit; and 3, the one that, in addition to Sanskrit stanzas, gives stories in the Nepālī language (Newārī)[1]. We are not in a position to decide whether or not the writer of the stories in prose is identical with the compiler of the anthology. The Tantrākhyāna was earlier considered to be a Buddhist work[2]. But it has as little to do with the Buddhist religion as with Jainism, even if of some the stanzas may have been taken from some Jaina source. The compiler should have been living in the 14th century A.D., and in no case he was posterior to 1484 A.D., the date of one of the manuscripts.

The most important of the recent recensions of the Pañcatantra is the Hitopadeśa, "the Wholesome Advice[3]", that was compiled in Bengal and is best known both in India and in Europe. In fact it is a wholly new work, of which the Pañcatantra, in all events, is the main source and that in its North-Western Indian version, on which is based also the South Indian Pañcatantra as well as the Nepālī collection of stanzas. In the colophon the author mentions his name as Nārāyana and that of his patron as Dhavalacandra. On the antiquity of the origin of the work we can say this much only that it was written between the 9th and the 14th century A.D.[4]

In the introductory stanzas the author says that his work is based on the Pañcatantra "and" one other book." By the latter is apparently meant a hitherto-unknown story-book. But Nārāyana has gone very far in an independent manner . He

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1. C Bendall, JRAS 1888, p 465 ff.; Hertel, ZDMG 64. 1910, 58 ff ; Pañcatantra, p 313 ff , where the first recension too is fully included,

2 So Bendall, ibid, Leumann in BSGW 1902, p. 132 and Barth, Mélusine IV, 561.

3. Critical editions are those of A. W v. Schlegel and Ch. Lassen (Bonn a Rh 1829-1831) and of P. Peterson, BSS No. 33, Bombay 1887 Besides the Introduction to the editions, cf. Hertel, Uber Text und Verfasser des Hitopadeśa, Diss , Leipzig, 1897, and Pañcatantra, p 38 ff On individual manuscripts of the Hitopadeśa see Hertel, ZDMG 55, 1901, 487 ff ; 64. 1910, 58 ff. and Zachariae, ZDMG 61, 342 ff.

4 An old Nepalese MS was prepared in the year 1373 A D. Hultzsch has located quotations from Māgha's Śiśupālavadha in the Hitopadeśa (see Hertel, Tantrākhyāyika, Übersetzung, I, 145 f.). In the

has reversed the order of the first two books and has divided into two the third book, that is called "Fight and Peace" in the Pañcatantra'[1]. He has included the contents of the fifth book in these two books and has omitted the frame-story and the intercalated stories of book V. Hence the work consists of only four books: I Winning of Friends, II Dissension among Friends, III War and IV Peace. The warring animals are not owls, but a flamingo and a peacock with their followers The fable has been very much altered and the frame-story of book IV has been constructed anew. Even individual stories have been further extended or undergone alterations[2].

Of the 17 stories of the Hitopadeśa, that are not found in other recensions of the Pañcatantra, 7 are fables, 3 are tales, 5 are love- and women's stories and 2 are religious narratives One of the last two (III, 7) is the story of the servant who was faithful to his master, that is of Rajaput Vīravara, who offered to sacrifice one and every member of his family to Goddess Durgā. This story, as also the adulterine stories, and the stories of pranks of women have been taken from different story-circles[3].

Hitopadeśa occurs the expression bhaṭṭārakavāra, "day of the Lord", for "Sunday", a nomenclature of this week-day, that is not found in India in any inscription of a period earlier than the 5th century A D, but had become common in the 9th century A D, from which Fleet (JRAS 1912, 1045 f) has concluded that the work was written for the first time after the 9th century A D Winternitz believes that it follows also from the 7th story of book, I, where Gaurī is worshipped with little girls, therefore, which presupposes the tantric cult of Śakti. This cult is nowhere mentioned in older Sanskrit literature Hertel (Pañcatantra, p 39 f) deduces from the same story that Bengal was the original place of the Hitopadeśa, since this cult is indigenous there

1. Hertel had drawn the attention of Winternitz to the fact that Nārāyaṇa alone had not altered the order of the first two books, but this had already taken place in the arch-type of the Nepal-recension and in the Hitopadeśa See Hertel, Das Pañcatantra, p 37 f

2. The beginning and the end of each of these books contain the conversation between the teacher Viṣnuśarman and the princes (that occurs only in the Kathāmukha in all the other recensions of the Pañcatantra), and each of the four books ends in a benedictory stanza, in which Śiva is honoured Notwithstanding his name, (Nārāyana-Viṣnu) the author must have been a devotee of Śiva

3 The story of Vīravara has probably been taken from the Vetālapañcavimśati 4 The story (II, 6) of the woman, who is attracted to the son of a village-magistrate and whom with her cunning she hits in the presence of his father, who too is her lover, and in front of her own husband, has its proper place in the Śukasaptati. The story of the sly procuress (I, 7) occurs also in the book of Sindbad. Cf. Benfey I. 331 who compares also Boccaccio II, 5)

The tale (IV, 5) of the rat, that was turned successively into a cat, a dog and a tiger in order to save its life by a pious hermit, whom it then wants to kill, at which the hermit again turns it into a rat, is probably just a story that is merely a variant of the transformed dog narrated in the Mahābhārata (XII, 116 f.), refashioned by the author himself. Even the recently added fable might have wholly or partly emanated from Nārāyana himself.

The nature of the work as a manual of politics is much more marked in the Hitopadeśa than in any other recension of the original work. There are several long sections in it that are not different from nitiśāstra-quotations in prose as well as in verse. The verses have been taken from Kāmandaki's Nītiśāstra There are numerous epigrams that have been introduced on every appropriate or inappropriate occasion and often form altogether long sections. The Hitopadeśa is equally a collection of epigrams as of stories. But even in the epigrams the political character of the work is visible in a prominent measure[1].

The Hitopadeśa is of Indian literature in Europe that have been best known the longest period of time in Europe and it has been repeatedly translated into European languages[2].

We have seen that many a time even the stories composed in popular dialects as also narrative works were utilized as source-materials for later recensions of the Pañcatantra. Reversely the Pañcatantra has been repeatedly rendered into popular languages and these have become new recensions of the work. A Hindī-translation of the old Pañcatantra was already known to the Arabic tourist Alberuni in the beginning

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1. Of the 600 epigrams (that is to say that are neither narrative stanzas nor benedictory verses) 273 have political ideas, 222 concern common worldly wisdom and only 105 have a moral or religious theme.

2 German translation of Max Muller (Leipzig 1844), I. Schoenberg (Wien 1884), L. Fritze (Leipzig 1888), J. Hertel (Reclam Univ-Bibl (1895) The earliest translation in European languages (London 1787) and into French by L Langlés (Paris 1790). According to Wilkins, Herder had translated a number of epigrams in the "Gedanken einiger Brahmanen". Ruckert has poetically reproduced the fable of the out and out greedy jackal (I, 6) in the "brahmanischen Erzahlungen". On the translations (and recensions H of the Hitopadeśa in Western and Eastern languages, see Hertel, Das Pañcatantra p. 43 ff., and ZDMG 72, 62 ff.; 74, 95 ff and 75, 129 ff).

of the 11th century[1]. Since the Pañcatantra-recensions redacted by the Jainas originated in Gujarāt, the main domicile of the Jainas, and were mostly enlarged here, it is no wonder that there are numerous redactions in the Gujarātī language. In South India too there are numerous translations in popular languages : Telugu, Kanarese, Tamil, Malayālam and Modi[2]. The Malaya recension made by the Malāyan scholar Abdullah Bin Abdelkader Munshi[3] is based on the Tamil version made in 1835 by Pandja Tandaram[3]. The Hitopadeśa has been repeatedly translated also into modern Indian languages; thus in Bengali, Braj Bhākhā, Gujarātī, Hindī, Hindustānī, Marāthī and Newārī[4].

The Pañcatantra in World Literature

In the famous introduction to his translation of the Pañcatantra Th. Benfey has shown how this old Indian book impregnated the literatures of three continents of the globe[5] for many centuries and particularly influenced the European narrative literature of the whole of the Middle Age in an extraordinary measure. With his marvellous extensive study into a large number of the different languages of the East and the West Benfey has combined his admirable sagacity, and has succeeded in pursuing through the world literature the

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1. Hertel, Pañcatantra, p 69

2. Hertel (Pañcatantra, p 121 ff) treats in detail verses of the Pañcatantra found in Gujarātī, in Marāṭhī (ibid p 254) and in South Indian Languages (ibid, p 291 ff)

3. Hertel, ibid p 294 ff

4 Hertel, ibid p 48 ff Many Pañcatantra-stories or parallels to these are found also in the modern Indian folk-tales, e g B. M Stokes, Indian Fairy Tales, Calcutta 1879

5 The Indian narrative themes (such as the fables of the donkey without heart and ears, of the monkey and the sea-animal, of the crow and the owls) are found even in the homes of the Suahelis in East Africa Cf R. O. Franke, WZKM 7, 1893. p 215. 384 f. and R. Köhler (Kleinere Schriften I, 514 ff. In W. H. J. Bleek, Reineke Fuchs in Afrika, Fabeln und Marchen der Eingeborenen (Werner 1891) we find also some Indian fables (for example the story of the jackal who does not go to the sick lion in the cave, because he saw only the traces of going inward and not one of coming outward) [illegible] African stories are originally animal-tales, [illegible] mixed up here and there a number of [illegible] European, Indian and Mohammedan [illegible]

history of a large number of Indian stories and motives[1]. He was actually able to trace the Indian source of so many stories[2], and so he candidly advanced the theory that India was the land of tales and stories, whilst he believed to have found the home-land of the fables in Greece and assumed that the India had borrowed them from the Greece. Since he believed to have been able to prove further that the great majority of stories of the Pañcatantra had Buddhistic origin, he presumed that the Buddhists had mainly contributed towards wide circulation of these stories.

All these conclusions of Benfey, in the form, in which he has stated them, deserve to be rejected outright as untenable. It has already been shown that the stories of the Pañcatantra are not of Buddhistic origin. However, now-a-days nobody considers India to be the home-land of all tales and stories or in any case, speaking generally, nobody regards any one particular country as the home of all tales and stories. As fantasy is a common property of mankind, so is the fancy for hearing and narrating stories common human nature. Today it is like struggling against the wind to attempt to prove that all tales, fables and stories, that we know about the different nations of the East, originated in India[3]. But this common human fancy

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1. Max Koch, the founder of the "Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte (I, 1887, p. 6) too admits that Benfey laid the foundation of "the comparative literary history" with his "Pantschatantra". On Benfey's Pañcatantra, see also F Liebrecht in the Jahrbuch fur romanische und englische litteratur 3, 1861, 74ff, 146 ff.

2. F. von der Leyen, Das Marchen, Leipzig 1911, p. 103 ff. gives a resumé of narrative motives, that are certainly or apparently of Indian origin. Leyen, p. 125 has precisely established that Grimm's tales are wholly or partly of Indian origin.

3. It is amazing that not only J Bédier (Les fabliaux, études de litérature populaire, Bibl de l' École des Hautes Études, t. 98, Paris 1893 3 éme Ed. 1911), but W. Wundt (Volkerpsychologie, II, 1, 340 ff and A. Forke (Die indischen Marchen und ihre Bedeutung für die vergleichende Marchenforschung, Berlin 1911) too should have believed to be carrying this struggle against wind. In any case we will have probably to distinguish between animal-tales and animal-fables, as probably on the whole between tales and fables Animal-tales, that is to say wonderful narratives about animals, certainly belong to the common heritage of mankind. The animal-fables, that is to say, those animal-stories, that have been invented for the purpose of giving moral lessons, as "examples" or as "similes", however, may have probably originated in some particular country In fact we find animal-fables in homes of the uncivilised people of Africa, but of course only in such homes in which contact with Indians, Christians or Muhammadans is partly not prohibited, and partly proved.

for fabulisation directly brings with itself the idea that all nations and all men are determined to adopt willingly and quickly strange stories, to hear them and to circulate them further. So much more this is the case that there cannot be even a doubt that the capacity of man to invent stories stands in no relation to his desire for hearing and narrating them. The human power of invention in this respect is limited, and all persons do not have it in equal measure, whilst the pleasure of narration is unlimited. Hence it comes that a good story once told acquires such a vitality, that throughout centuries it continues to be repeatedly ever told and spreads over wider and wider geographical regions. This too is possible that the circumstances for invention of stories are more favourable to the people of one country than those of the people of other countries, and that in respect of exchange of stories on a mass scale, that took place between the peoples of different centuries, one race might have contributed more than another. And since it seems undoubtful that in India there was an especially favourable soil, particularly for invention of fables, animal-stories and tales. We may refer only to the Indian theory of transmigration of soul, that directly obliterates the distinction between man and animal, and this seemed so natural that animals were made the heroes of stories[1]. We may refer further to the exceedingly luxuriant Indian phantasy that was never satisfied in introducing in stories sub-human and under-human beings —even in the creative art too—knew no limits or measure Lastly it may be pointed out that in India there were in all times numberless idlers. Thousands of ascetics, mendicants and pilgrims have been wandering there throughout cities and villages since centuries ago, and they have always liked to attract the people towards themselves by telling them stories and to while away their own time in narrating among themselves stories, that have not always been religious

Yet another fact, that might have been the cause, is that hardly any people have such a rich story-literature as the Indians have and that actually Indian narrative works as a whole, not merely individual stories or individual motif, are

1. Hertel (Bunte Geschichten vom Himalaya, p XVIII f) decidedly goes too far, when he means "that animal-stories could develop only on the soil of this way of thinking about the world".

found in literatures of other countries. And this too is a fact that very often we are able to trace the way through which Indian fables and tales have in course of their journey entered into the world. Although many of the statements of Benfey stand be refuted today, still many of the results of his researches there remain correct, and in reference to many of the points even now we cannot go further than Benfey[1].

But the most important work of the Indian narrative literature, in any case, is undisputedly the Pañcatantra for the literature of the world. As stated above, the fame of this work had already in the sixth century A. D. spread as far as Persia. Then a North-Western recension of the work, with certain other Indian texts, was rendered into Pahlavi, the middle Persian literary language under a command of the Persian king Chosrau Anōscharwān (531-579 A. D.) by Arzt Burzōe. Unfortunately this translation is lost to us, but an old Syriac version as well as an old Arabic rendering from Pahlavi is still preserved, and they allow us to draw our conclusion with regard to the Pahlavi text. Already in about 570 A. D. the famous Syrian priest and writer, Būd by name, actually translated the book under the title "Kalilag and Damanag" from Pahlavi into Syriac. Unfortunately this translation is preserved with long gaps in it and that incompletely, particularly the beginning is wanting. More than full, that is to say enlarged by interpolations is the Arabic translation written in about 750 A D. by Abdallah ibn al-Moqaffa with the title "Kalīla and Dimna[2]". This

1. F. von der Leyen (Festschrift Kuhn p 404) says that it confirms "the irrefutable cognition that the tales that are often narrated even today and which circulate most widely are available in their original form in India". The researches of Gaston Paris and especially of Antti Aarne and Emmanuel Cosquin have once more proved that the oldest of these tales are best preserved in mostly finished forms in India, and there tradition is the richest The theory of Benfey, that is so hasty and often so unintelligibly disputed, assumes their revival and their currency till modern days in refined forms" He believes in many cases to have been able to trace their "original form" in the Indian tales, which can no more be proved to be existing among the tales of other countries. However, it is doubtful that the science in regard to this "original form" will ever come to be more than a vague presumption

2. "Kalilag and Damnag" or "Kalīla and Dimna" are corrupt forms of the names Karaṭaka and Damanaka, the two jackals of the first book of the Pañcatantra (see Benfey I, 34 f). In all probability this first book this special bore title, which was made the appellation of the

Arabic translation was the source, from which have sprung up numerous translations in European and Asian languages so much so that Ph. Wolff, the German translator of the book, was able to remark that it was "probably next to the Bible, translated into the largest number of languages of the world" and called it a book "that inspired the entire mankind and which was held in respect by kings and princes and to which they lent their attention[1] So rightly Max Muller[2] says: "The history of march of Indian tales from the East towards the West is indeed wonderful, more wonderful and more instructive than many of the stories themselves"

Benfey had already admitted that the Pahlavi translation stood closer to the original recension of the Pañcatantra, the "primary work" than the only Sanskrit text known in his time. However, he went too far when he tried to derive from it his conclusions with regard to original volume of the "primary work." The Pahlavi-translation comprehends, of course, not only the five books of the Pañcatantra, but also other five of the apparently further eight chapters, that contain other Indian stories, and two more chapters, of which the one contains the story of Būrzoe's expedition[3] and the other the introduction by Burzōe[4].

whole book by the Pahlavi translation The Syriac translation was first translated and published by G Bickell (Leipzig 1876) and has recently been brought out by Γ. Schulthess (Berlin 1911). The old Arabic translation has been published by Silvestre de Sacy (Calilah et Dimna ou Fables de Bidpai en Arabe, précédées d'un mémoire sur l'origine de ce livre, Paris 1816) On this edition is based the German translation of Philipp Wolff (Calila und Dimna oder die Fablen Bidpais, das Buch des Weisen in lust-und lehrreichen Erzählungen des indisches Philosophen Bidpai aus dem Arabischen, 2 Aufl, Stuttgart 1839) Other translations from the Arabic text into German, Danish, English, French and Rassian are mentioned by Hertel, Pañcatantra, p 393 On Ibn Moquaffa see also Th Nöldeke, ZDMG 59, 1905, 794 ff.

1. Victor Chauvin has given a complete list from almost unsurveyable literature on the translations and translations of translations of the "Kalila and Dimna" in vol II of his "Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes" (Liege and Leipzig 1897). Here he gives *inter alia* a list of 40 languages into which this work has been translated See also Hertel, Pañcatantra p. 357 ff. According to Hertel (p. 451 f) there are translations of the Pañcatantra and "Kalila and Dimna" in 15 Indian, 15 other Asian, 2 African and 22 European languages

2 Essays III, 303 ff

3. From Arabic translated by F. Schulthess in Hertel, Tantrākhyāyika, Übersetzung I, 45 ff.

4 Cf Benfey I, 74 ff and Th Nöldeke, Burzōes Einleitung zu dem Buch Kalīla wa Dimna übersetzt und erläutert, Strassburg 1912. All sorts of Indian parables, those of the "man in the well" have been assimilated in this introduction.

According to him the whole work had ten chapters, that were contained in the Syriac translation, but apparently from 15 chapters, that must have been really taken from the 22 chapters of the Arabic translation. Probably Burzōe had before him a codex, in which, to the Pañcatantra, were added other similar stories, or he, with the help of his Indian friends, following whom he had translated the Pañcatantra, added a number of chapters from other Indian books. There his intention seems to be to collect in his book not only the stories that might serve as suitable "mirrors for princes", for teaching them the art of government and worldly wisdom, but also to include in it a number of moral stories. Thereupon the sentence containing a statement about the intention of Burzōe indicates that Anōsharwān passionately wished that this book should be not only the root of all culture and sum total of all wisdom and a guide to every kind of profitable work"[1], but would serve also as a key in the pursuit to the other world and as instrument of saving oneself from its horrors"[2], and would be so potent that kings would utilize it in administration of their kingdoms and thereby they would lead their life in the right direction"[3]. Although the Pahlavi translation has its importance for the history of the text of the Pañcatantra, its chief credit lies, however, in the fact that it was the starting point for enlargement of the Pañcatantra and that the contents of its stories were set according to the methods of the West. The Arabic translation of the Pahlavi text was the source, from which sprang all the subsequent translations and adaptations in the languages of Europe and Asia either directly or indirectly. The book was directly translated from Arabic (probably already in the 10th

1. Thereby the character of the work is strictly paraphrased as that of an arthaśāstra.

2. This does not take any notice of the contents of Pañcatantra, but probably it hints at some of the Buddhist stories contained in the Pahlavi text

3. Therefore, the book is appropriately considered also as the "nītiśāstra", a work on "rājanīti". The Syriac as well as the Arabic translation adds to the five books of the Pañcatantra three chapters from the Mahābhārata (XII, 138, 13 ff, 139, 47 ff; 111, 3 ff), that too contain nītiśāstra-stories (see Benfey, I, 541 ff.) On the chapters of the Pahlavi translation not belonging to the Pañcatantra, see Hertel, Pañcatantra, p. 366 ff and Benfey I, 6f, 57 ff. 74 ff, 585 ff

or in the 1 century) once more in Syriac[1]. At the end of the 11th century Symeon, son of Seth, translated the book from Arabic into Greek, under the title Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης The Protector and the Investigator (based on a wrong interpretation of the Arabic name Kalila and Dimna). On this Greek text are based the Italian translation of Giulio Nuti (Ferrara 1583), two Latin, one German and several Slav. translations. Of the highest importance is the old Hebrew translation of Rabbi Joel (beginning of the 12th century), that is unfortunately preserved in a single incomplete manuscript[2]. A Latin translation of this Hebrew text was done by Jew Johannes von Capua, a Christian convert, under the title "Liber Kalilae et Dimnae, Directorium vitae humanae"[3] between 1263 and 1278 A.D. In about 1480 A D. there appeared two printed editions of this text, that were based on a bad manuscript On a better manuscript is based the famous German translation of Anton von Pforr, who under orders of Count Eberhart at Barte in Württemberg translated it from Latin. Under the title "Das Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen" is the work that has been repeatedly printed in Germany since 1483, and for a long time this translation has contributed the most towards our knowledge of this work. It has not only influenced German literature in many ways[4], but it has been also translated into Danish, Islandic and Dutch. Benfey praises it for its merits as "the most reliable mirror" of the Arabic translation[5].

1 Kalilah and Dimnah or the Fables of Bidpai, being an account of their literary history, with an English translation of the later Syriac version of the same, by J G N Kieth-Falconer, Cambridge 1885.

2. Edited by J. Derenbourg with French translation (1881). The tenth chapter has been edited and translated into German by A. Neubauer in Benfey's "Orient und Occident" I, 481 ff, 657 ft.

3 Edited by J Derenbourg, Paris 1887

4. Hans Wilh Kirchhof has borrowed almost complete stories n his "Wendunmuth", and some of them have been taken into "Schimpf und Ernst" of Pauli According to Benfey (I, 107, 139f, 179 ff, 224f.) the popular epic "Reineke Fuchs", in case it does not owe its origin to "Kalila und Dimna ', was at least influenced by it Likewise O Keller, (Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der griechischen Fabel, Leipzig 1862, p. 320 ff) and Mullenhoff (Zeitschr f deutsches Altertum N F 6, 1875, p. I ff) J Grimm (Reinhart Fuchs, Berlin 1834, p CCLXXII ff, CCLXXIX) explains the correspondences between the German animal epics and the Indian fables as "an irremovability of the residue of the akinness of the German and the Indian people".

5 On the merits of the German translation in comparison with the original Latin see Benfey, I, 96 and "Orient und Occident" I, 1860, 138 ff Winternitz knew about the 'Buch der Weissheynt der Alten weisen", in the editions Strassburg 1545 and Frankfurt am Mayn 1565 and 1583

Based on the Latin text of Johannes von Capua along with the German translation of Pforr is the Spanish translation[1], printed in 1493 A.D. at Saragossa. A free Italian imitation of this Spanish translation is the "Discorsi degli animali ragionanti tra loro" of Agnolo Firenzuola, that appeared first in 1548, and was translated into French in 1556. In 1552 was published the Italian translation of Doni in two parts. The first part was translated into English under the title "The Morall Philosophie of Doni" (London 1570 and 1601) by Thomas North.

A second Hebrew translation from Arabic by Jacob ben Eleazar belongs to the 13th century A. D. Only the first half of the work is available[2]. More important is the properly set Persian translation under the title Kitāb Kalīla wa Dimna of Abu'l - Maālī Naṣrallāh ibn Muhammed ibn 'Abdal-Ḥamīd made in about 1142 A. D. On this translation are based several East Turkish translations and adaptations, but the one that is known under the title Anwāri Suhailī[3] acknowledges the Persian rendering by Ḥusain ibn 'Alī al-Wā'iz [1470-1505]. It is a well-known work of Persian ornate poetry. Its style is extremely artificial and ornamented, although Ḥusain says that his intention is to simplify the style of the original work. This work is the source from which have sprung up the numerous retranslations into European and Asian languages. In the East it has been translated into Turkish, Danish Georgian, Icelandic and in several modern Indian languages. In Europe it came to be known through the French translation of David Sahid and Gaulmin, that was published for the first time in 1644 in Paris under the title "Livre des lumières ou la Conduite des roys" and was very soon rendered into Swedish, English and several times into German. The book Anwāri Suhaili got wider

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1 The Czec translation of Nikolaus Konáč (1540) was prepared on the basis of the Latin translation of Johannes von Capua Cf Hertel, Pañcatantra, p 399 f, and V. Lesny in WZKM 30, 1917-18, p 338 ff.

2 Edited by Derenbourg, together with Joël's translation. Cf M. Steinschneider, ZDMG 27, 1873, 553 ff

3. Translated from Persian into English by E B Eastwick, Hertford 1854 Cf Benfey, I, 84 ff and Kleinere Schriften II, 42 ff The title means "Lights of Kanōpus" The work is so named, according to Aḥmad Suhailī, Wazīr of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā of Khurāsān (1470-1505).

circulation through its Turkish translation under the title Humāyūn Nāmeh, "the emperor's book[1]" by 'Alī-bin Ṣāliḥ and was dedicated to Sultan Sulaimān I (1512-1520). Galland and Cardonne translated the book into French from Turkish, and this French translation has further been translated into German, Dutch, Hungarian and also into Malayan

Directly springing from to the Arabic translation of the "Kalīla wa Dimna" is also the old Spanish translation (probably dated 1251 A.D.). The Liber de Dina et Kalila of Raimundus de Biterris (Raimonds de Bézier) is partly based on the Liber Kalilae et Dimnae of Johannes von Capua and partly on this Spanish translation. The author says that he has written the book at the command of Queen Johanna of Novarra on the basis of the Spanish manuscript and has added to in it verses, epigrams and other things. Most of the fables of in "Novus Esopus" of the Italian Baldo, who wrote them in the first half of the 12th century A.D, go back to an unknown recension of the "Kalīla and dimna"[2].

Partly on the "Kalīla wa Dimna" and partly on the South Indian recension of the Pañcatantra are lastly based also two Malayan books of fables, whilst the other Indo-Chinese and Indonesian recensions are directly based on the Pañcatantra[3].

When, therefore, we see how through the "Kalīla wa Dimna" the Pañcatantra found its way, towards the West it is no wonder that we find traces of Indian fables and tales

1 Fabeln und Parabeln des Orients, der türkischen Sammlung Humajún name entnommen und in Türkische übertragen von Souby Bey, Mit einem Vorwort von Rieder Pascha, Berlin 1903

2 Hertel, Pañcatantra, p 363 ff, 400 f, 412 f.

3 On Tamil-Malay versions of Pandja Tandaram and Abdullah Bin Abdelkader Munshi, see above p 329 On the Siamese Nouthuk pakarana, see A Bastian in "Orient und Occident III, 479 ff, on the Laotion Mulla Tantai, see J. Brengues and J. Hertel in JA 1908, Nov, Déc 357ff The Siamese Paksi Pakaranam, 'Book of Birds", is an imitation of the Pañcatantra (cf Bastian, ibid 171 ff and Hertel, Pañcatantra 338 ff) The Siamese books of fables do not contain fables from the Pañcatantra alone, but also from the Vetālapañcavimśati and other works. See A Bastian, Geographische und ethnologische Bilder, Jena 1873, p 248 ff Also in the collection of the Malayan fables and tales of W Skeat (Fables and Folk-tales from an Eastern Forest, London 1901, cf Winternitz in the "Globus", Bd 83, 1903, p 113) we find a number of tales that are known also in the Pañcatantra

in the most popular narrative works of the middle ages[1], like the "Gesta Romanorum", in the French Fabliaux, in the main narrative classics, like Boccaccio and Straparola, Chaucer and Lafontaine[2] and also in the children and domestic tales of Brother Grimm. As in India, so also outside India, these tales of the Pañcatantra and with them other Indian tales and motives too have repeatedly penetrated from literature into society and again have entered into literature from popular traditions, naturally not having often remained unaltered in course of transmission. By the side of the literary tradition, the oral transmission has not played an insignificant rôle, in which intercourse of the Christians of the Western countries with the Muhammadans and with their Oriental co-religionists during the period of the Crusade and also during the period of the Arab rule in Spain, likewise the rôle of mediation played by the Jews between the Arabs and the people of the West[3] have had their parts.

In any case, we can become sure about the Indian origin of a tale only when we have actually gone through the translations of the Indian work like the Pañcatantra and its out-lets. And it is often very interesting to be able to point to the Indian

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1. The first book of the Middle Ages, that shows the influence of oriental narrative literature, is the "Disciplina clericalis" of Petrus Alphonsus (born in about 1062 as a Jew, and in 1106 converted to Christianity), see A. Wesselski, Monchslatein, Leipzig 1909, p XIX f. The year of birth of Petrus Alphonsi (to be so read, scil. filius spiritualis) is not known, the year 1062 is wrong (communication by Zachariae).

2. In the second edition of his fables, that appeared in the year 1678, Lafontaine, in his foreword says that he was indebted to the greatest extent to the "Indian Philosopher Pilpay" for the new tales that were added into the second edition

3 Cf. Benfey I, 26 H. von Wlislocki, ZDMG 41, 1887, 448f, 42, 113 f. has proved the Gypsies to be the intermediary between the Indians and the people of the western countries; E. Kuhn, in the Byzantinischen Zeitschrift 4, 1895, 241 ff, has proved the part of the intermediary played by the Byzantine literature between the oriental and occidental fiction-materials Benfey (I S XXIV) has also assumed that the Mongols had contributed towards circulation of the Indian, particularly the Buddhist, tales in the West, partly in their campaigns for conquest and partly in their way to Russia This had been indeed disputed byE. Cosquin (Les Mongols et leur prétendu rôle dans la transmission des contes indiens vers l'occident Européen, Niort 1913, Extrait de la Revue des Traditions Populaires, Année 1912), but it has not been yet fully set aside. The assumption of Benfey holds good not only to limited extent he believed. Cf also Wlislocki in ZDMG 41, 1887, 460, [H. Warren, Het indische origineel van den Grieckschen Syntipas; Hertel, ZDMG LXXIV, 458ff, and Kieth, HSL, p. 359 f.].

origin of tales, notwithstanding the fact that the respective stories have already become so deeprooted in Europe that they have assumed the unmistakable local colouring of their new homes. A pair of examples may suffice to prove this statement :

When several years ago W. was travelling in North Wales and was going about the place known as Beddgelert, surrounded by rings of wonderfully beautiful hills, he was struck in an unusual manner, when he read the story in his "Fuhrer", that had provided the name of the place and in it he found again the well-known Indian story. It is the tale of Llewelyn (c. 1205) and his little pet dog Gelert. One day when he returns home from the hunt, the dog comes to him rejoicingly waving his tail, but his snout is besmeared with blood. Llewelyn anxiously rushes forth into his house, finds the cradle of his baby turned down and sees blood-marks near about. He at once comes to believe that the dog has killed his child, takes out his sword and strikes him. Thereupon he turns the cradle up and finds his baby fast asleep and a dead wolf by his side—that had obviously been killed by his dog with the intention of saving the child. Full of remorse Prince Llewelyn gets his dog engraved and gets a monument constructed there : hence the name Beddgelert, i.e. "the grave Gelert". There is the proverb still current in Wales that means : "He regrets like the man who killed his dog."

Who will not believe that here we have before us an original tale ? However, it is nothing but the Indian story that has travelled from India to Wales, that forms the frame of Book V of the Pañcatantra, only with this alteration that here we have a mongoose in place of the dog and a snake in place of the wolf, and it is not a prince, but a Brāhmana, who kills his innocent mongoose. In a Mongolian version the unfortunate animal is a polecat, but in the Syriac "Sindbad"[1], a dog has already come into its place. Again the French monk Jean de Haute-Seille has reset poetically the legend in his "Dolopathos sive de rege et septem sapientibus" of a Latin redaction of "the Soven Wise Masters". Étienne de Bourbon, a

1. Sindban, Syrisch und Deutsch by Baethgen, p. 25 f.

Christian priest of the 13th century A.D., who narrates that in the Diocese of Lyon many women, after a sermon about superstitions in confession, admitted that they had taken their children to St. Guinefort, proves the depth which the legend had got seated among the people in Europe. On inquiry, however, he came to know that it was simply an innocent hunt dog, who was killed and was honoured as a martyr by peasants, and at whose place of burial the mothers had the tendency to take their sick or weak children. The legend reported by him is the same as the one of Llewelyn and his dog[1]. The oldest datable version of the story, however, seems to be found in the Vinaya of Mahāsāṅghika, translated into Chinese in 416 A.D.[2] and this substantially agrees with the Pañcatantra.

Another example of a widely circulated story is the already referred to interpolated story of air-castle-builder, the "father of Somas' arman" in the Tantrākhyāyika: A Brāhmana very often gets as sacrificial fee some barley-flour from a shop-keeper. He keeps it in a jar with care, and in course of time that becomes full. He hangs the jar to a peg near his bed. One morning he wakes up and goes into reveree: 'The flour, I shall sell for twenty rupees,

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1. Cf. A. Wesselski, Mönchslatein, p. XXVIII ff.; Benfey I, 473 ff., 479.; Bloomfield, JAOS 36, 1916, 63. The Mongolian version in Bergmann, Nomadische Streifereien I, 103, and Benfey, Kleinere. Schriften II, 39 ff. On venerable St. Guinefort cf also K. von Hase, Handbuch der protestantischen Polemik, p. 362, cited by Hirtel Hitopadeśa-Übersetzung, p. 171A.

2. Translated from the Chinese Tripiṭaka by Chavannes, Cinq cents contes II, p. 300 ff. Mr. A. Wesselski invited the attention of Winternitz to the story that was narrated by Pausanias (Graeciae descriptio X, 33, 9). F. Liebrecht (Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Litteratur 3, 1861, p. 156), Aug. Marx (Griechische Marchen von dankbaren Tieren und Verwandtes, Stuttgart 1889, p. 119), E. S. Hartland (Folklore 3, 1892, 127 ff) and J. G Fraser (Pausanias Transl., London 1898, vol. 5, p. 421 f.) have already pointed to this position. But the only thing that is common to the Greek and Indian stories is that both of them has an animal, that has saved a child, for whose killing he is accused and killed. In all other versions the snake is attacked, whilst in Pausanias the saving animal is hurt. In Indian and in all other stories the child remains alive, but in the Pausanias he is killed with it. Since the book X of the "Beschreibung Griechenlands" was written in between 166 and 180A.D (Fraser, ibid., vol. I, p. XVII), it is chronologically older than the Indian stories. But the European stories are closer to the Indian stories than to the Greek. So in case the Indian stories were taken from the Greek stories, even then the European stories go back to the Indian.

with which I shall purchase twenty chickens. They will grow up, and I shall have a flock of hens. With them I shall buy a cow, a horse and a big arable plot of land and lastly I shall get built a beautiful house. Then some Brāhmana, when he will see great wealth, many male and female servants, will surely offer me his daughter to be my wife. From her I shall have a long living healthy boy as my heir I shall name him a Somaśarman And when the little boy runs about, the Brāhmanī will be all-busy in her work at the time of home-return of cow. Then I, with my heart full of love for my son shall call for her saying: 'you will not be mindful about the care of the boy' and I shall strike her with a stick." At this he strikes with such a force against the jar that it breaks into hundreds of pieces. Covered with flour, all white, he lies there and is laughed at by the people. Who does not find in this story the model of Lafontaine's comic story of the "milkmaid", to which goes back the English proverb; "count not chickens before they are hatched ?[1]

One more example of wide circulation of the epigrams that contain fables *in nuce* is given below. It sounds as cent per cent German when Fischart in the "Geistlichtsklitterung" says; "why do you not lie like the wren, holding its paws above its head, lest the sky may not fall upon it ?" This expression goes back to a fable that was already narrated by Odo von Ceritona (in between 1219 and 1221 A.D.) "St Martin's bird in Spain is called a bird, that is small and is of the species of the wren, it has thin long legs that resemble the stalks of reeds. Now one day when it was going to attend the feast of St. Martin,it so happened that in the rays of the sun it fell down near a tree, with its face turned towards the sun and the legs stretched high up in the sky, and said : "by-by, if now the heaven falls down, I shall hold it up on my legs". Then a leaf

1. The form, in which the story is narrated in that of Lafontaine is seen for the first time in the 13th century A D in the Christian "Dialogus creaturarum optime moralizatus" Cf Benfey I, 499 ff, Max Müller, Essays III, 303 ff and M Bloomfield, JAOS 36, 1916, 62 f The Indian story seems to have been very much changed in the story of "faulen Heinz" (No 164 of Grimm's "Kinder-und Hausmarchen") The Indian version is closer to the story of the "Beggar with three jars" of South Hungrian Gypsies (Wlislocki, ZDMG 42, 1888, 136 f).

dropped down beside it, and frightened at this, it exclaimed :"Saint Martin, why do you not come to help your bird[1]". This bird is found also in the Syriac "Kalilag and Damnag" in an epigram, where four animals are counted that rejoice where there is no ground for rejoicing. The first one is "the bird that flies about in between trees and, when it sleeps on its back, with its feet raised high up, saying, "If the sky falls, I shall hold it up on my feet"[2]. Although this passage is found also in a chapter of the "Kalilag and Damnag", it does not agree with the Pañcatantra; it certainly goes back to the proverb, contained in several recensions of the Pañcatantra of the ṭiṭṭibha-bird, that kept its little feet high up, so that it might not let the sky fall down[3].

Whilst we stand on a more solid ground in case where we can pursue the course of transportation of Indian stories into the literature of the West through translations of works like the Pañcatantra and the"Kalīla and Dimna", in other cases, where we find the same or similar stories, as those found in Indian narrative works, we can, however, just guess whether India is the lender or the borrower. This holds especially good for such fables as Indian and Greek literatures have in common. The fact is that there are such fables in a big number. Yet the figures are manifold over-estimated. Whether all the fables of Aesop are found in India or if all the Indian fables are met with also in Greece: that is no point at all for argument. The

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1. Wesselski, Mönchslatein, p. 172 (No. CXXXVII). Almost word for word also in Pauli's "Schimpf und Ernst" (edited by Österly, No. 606) where only the moral of the story is added· "Also sein vil menschen, die meinen wan sie nit weren, so künt man nit hausz halten, etc., there are many people, who think, if they were not their one could not manage his affairs etc."

2. So in the Hebrew translation of Rabbi Joel ("Orient und Occident" I, 671) So also till today in Northern India (See F. Liebrecht, Zur volkskunde, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 103).

3. The passage does not occur in the Tantrākhyāyika, but probably in the textus simplicior (I, 314) and in Pūrṇabhadra I, 329, and indeed as a warning against unfounded arrogance. But apparently it is associated with the fable of the bird ṭiṭṭibha, who threatened the ocean and sought the assistance of Garuda (Tantrākhyāyika I, 10), that we are reminded of also by the story of the Saint Martin's bird.

number of fables, such as those of the "Donkey in the Lion's Skin", of the "Donkey without Heart and Ears", of the "Wolf and the Crane" etc, about which we are in a position to safely assert, that once upon a time they originated either in India or in Greece, is limited[1].

With regard to the place of origin of these fables scholars are widely divided in their opinion. There are some, who assert with strong confidence that Greece alone could be their homeland Besides there are others who likewise affirm that it was only in India where they originated. A. Wagner[2] had derived the Greek fables from those of India. Th. Benfey[3] and A. Weber[4] have pleaded for mutually opposite views, whilst Otto Keller[5] refutes the theory of Indian origin of the fables on the whole, but he with Benfey admits that many fables might have in later ages been first taken from Greece to India. Recently Hertel[6] has advocated most firmly the theory of Indian origin of the fables. But all these researchers have depended on certain basic grounds, that are not sufficient for arriving at a decision with regard to the question. They have either attempted to distinguish out as to which recension of the fable is "more natural", "more naif", "simple" (so Weber), or have taken the position (as Benfey) that the more incomplete form may have been the original: against them there are others who have, on the contrary, held the view that such a form of a fable has the claim to be considered original as is consistent or suits more to the nature of animals that appear in it (so Keller). It is clear that axioms of this type can lead us only to purely subjective conclusion. But the circumstances go against this sort

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1 Whilst Joseph Jacobs (ERE Vol 5, 676 f) maintains that 56 of the approximately 260 fables, that are found in Latin, are Indian in origin, so he often admits a connection even where one does not exist at all The remote similarity of a motif or of a story is not sufficient for the purpose of deriving a conclusion of a common origin

2 Essai sur les rapports qui existent entre les apologues de l'Inde et les apologues de la Gréce (Mémoires couronné et mém de sav étrangers, publics par l'academie roy de sciences ... de Belgique, t. XXV) Brussells 1854

3 Pantschatantra I, p. X f, XXI, 102 ff, 170 f., 336 ff, 347, 373 ff, 381 f, 429 ff, 463 etc

4 Indische Studien III, 327-373

5 Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der griechischen Fabel (Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie, (Bd 4), Leipzig 1862, 309-418.

6 ZDMG 57, 1903, 659 ff; ZVV 16, 1906, 149 ff., 253 ff.

of argumentation, inasmuch as in these fables we have before us only productions of ornate poetry and not those of popular poetry[1].

Unfortunately the question of chronology is not capable of ready solution. Only a few "Aesopean" fables are accurately dated. The beginnings of the Greek animal tales point to Hesiod than in greater extension to Archilochos and to Simonides, whilst their blossoming age is associated with Aesop, who lived in the 5th and 6th centuries B C. and whom Herodutus calls a fable-poet[2]. But whilst on one hand the type of the fable, as a means of teaching and training, points to have been used in Greece earlier than in India; on the other hand this type appears to have been shaped in an ornate style in India, and particularly in India alone the fable has been used as a means of teaching a wholly definite science of statesmanship and administration. The oldest Indian fables presumably go back to the 4th and 6th centuries B.C. and only a few certainly to the 3rd century B. C But thence it does not follow that the fables that are common to both Greece and India belong to the oldest Greek fables of the 6th or 5th contury B. C. The good majority of the "Aesopean", like the Indian, fables belong to an age in which the Greek and the Indian were briskly exchanging their ideas[3], and it is like-wise possible that in the very beginning Greek fables came to India and Indian fables went to Greece.

A strong argument in favour of Indian origin of the fable seems to be that the jackal, that in the Indian fable plays the rôle of the fox, follows the track of the lion, in order to while

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1. Quite correctly remarks J J. Meyer (Daśakumāracarita-Übersetzung, Einleitung, p 118), that the greater or smaller completion of a story does not lend any support to any matter concerning the question of determining whether it occurs in its earlier form here or there, since "certain stories in course of time are smoothed into faultless diamonds, whilst others that were very beautiful originally, crumble away, get disintegrated and deformed with increasing antiquity."

2. H. Flach, Geschichte der griechischen Lyrik, Tübingen 1883/84, II, 577 ff Cf Keller, ibid, 381 ff; u. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendroff in Kultur der Gegenwart I, 8, p 34.

3 Babrius lived in the 3rd century A D According to G. Theile ("Die antike Tierfabel" in "Geisteswissenschaften", I, 433 ff) the beast-fable indeed goes back to Homer and Hesoid, but it was during the age of the Roman emperors that a class of literature sprang up from them.

away the superfluous part of his meal-time, and thereby easily declares himself to be a companion and minister of the king of beasts, just like the fox of the European fable - a fact that has been stressed by Keller. According to Indian nītiśāstra the minister has to be a model of the cunning. And the cunning of the jackal in the fable would be explained from the fact that in Indian fable-poems he is a typical minister. The fox of the European fable had the same status. So when he comes to occupy the place of the Indian jackal, he owes his wisdom to him[1] This argument certainly holds good only for the fox-fables and the same cannot be proved in the case of other fables. Hertel has advocated the theory that the political fables are of Indian origin and that they were imported into Greece already at an early age But in the first place the Aesopean fable is in no way expressly or even essentially "political" fable, and secondly in case Hertel is correct, this will be valid only for the political fables and not for all the fables in general So Hertel has gone too far when he says that "it is certain that greater part of the best Greek fables have been taken from India[2]". The hypothesis of E Rohde, that notwithstanding the fact that although these wisdom-poems did not have their earliest source in Greece, still that country had been their place of domicile in any case, that at least such beast-fables found in the Greek version that recur also in Indian collections are extant almost completely in Greece in their original versions and were just thence taken to the oriental countries[3] likewise is of little validity In the opinion of Winternitz the problem really cannot be solved as a whole but it might have been so for only some such individual cases and in many cases we are obliged to leave it unsolved Comparison in general can hardly lead us to any conclusion different from this that for centuries together there took place reciprocal and continual

1. Actually neither the jackal nor the fox is particularly wise, see Brehms, Tierleben, 3 Aufl by Pechuel-Loesche, Saugetieres II, 42 ff, 172 f In the Mahābhārata XII, 111 the jackal appears as the minister of the tiger, who has the status of the king of beasts

2 ZDMG 62, 1908 113 ff, cf WZKM 24, 1910, 421

3 "Uber griechische Novellendichtung und ihren Zusammenhang mit dem Orient" in the Vorhandlungen der 30 Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmanner in Rostok 1875, p 57.

exchange of fables, tales, and stories between Greece and India, as also between India and West-Asia, that the first abode of many fables might have been in India and that of others in Greece[1], and that they have travelled from one place to another like commodities of traders. Although U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff[2] has hypothesised that the real home of the stories that have spread in the West and the East might have been "Hellenised East", that in the "Hellenic sea" flew together all the streams of the East and the West and the opposition between the East and the West has got dissolved in "Hellenism", it will be correct only if it is admitted that into this "Hellenic sea" there have flown many streams and rivers, whose source is to be sought in India

Guṇādhya's Brhatkathā[3] and the works derived from it.

The poets Dandin. Subandhu and Bāna testify that there existed in the 6th century A D. a work of interesting narrative literature, that was known and had become famous by the name "Brhatkathā", a great novel[4]", of which the author is said to be Gunādhya, who is mentioned in a rank of writers like Vyāsa and Vālmīki. The language of this work was not Sanskrit, but the Paiśācī dialect, that is not used in literature. Unfortunately this work has not come

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1 It is a pure presumption on the basis of which many scholars believe that the real home of the fables is either Egypt or West Asia, and that they were thence taken to Europe or to India. We cannot deny that this may be probable. But upto the present time evidence in support of this has not been brought forward Cf Flach, ibid I, 245 ff.; A. Erman in Deutsche Rundschau 31, 1882, 145, G. Ebers, ibid 23, 1880, 286 f; Lévi, JA 1909, s 10, t XIV, 534; Schulthess, Kalila und Dimna, Übersetzung, p XVIII

2. Kultur der Gegenwart I, 8, p 119 f Cf also his "Griechische tragödien", I, 106 ff. See also Aug. Hausrath in Pauly-Wissowas Real-Encyclopadie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft VI, 1724 ff and Philologische Wochenschrift 24. Sept 1921

3 Félix Lacôte, Essai sur Gunādhya et la Brhatkathā. Paris 1908 Cf J. Charpentier, JA s 10, t XVI, 1910, p 600 ff, F D K Bosch, de legende van Jimūtavāhana in de Sanskrit-Litteratuur, Leiden 1913, p 85 ff

4. That the word kathā is used in the sense of prose novel is clear from Dandin's Kāvyādarśa I, 38, as also from Subandhu's Vāsavadattā (ed F E Hall), p 110 So also Lacôte, Essai, p 282 ff and Mélanges 1911, p 253 ff Hertel (Tantrākhyāyika I, 41 f, Pañcatantra, p 30) calls the Brhatkathā a "tale-epic" that contained also a "metrical" extract from the Pañcatantra,

down to us in its original form, but it has been transmitted only in its Sanskrit versions, that are probably separated from the original by many centuries. We are able to draw merely probable conclusions in respect of its subject-matter from these later works. An introductory story presumptively describes the life and adventures of Udayana, a king of Vatsa, and those of his wives Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī and the birth of his son Naravāhanadatta Then the main story describes the adventures of Naravāhanadatta, how he gets a large number of wives and how he becomes the lord of Vidyādharas-half-divine beings, who participate in prosperity and adversity of man more than other divinities do[1]. On the basis of works derived from it, we are able to assume that this story formed the frame in which were fitted many other tales and stories[2]. It is doubtful if the stories of the Pañcatantra and of the Vetālapañcaviṁśati that we find in later redactions of the Bṛhatkathā belonged or not to the original work[3] If the Brhatkathā contained also the story of Udayana, most probably the poet B h ā s a had taken the plot of his famous work of drama from Gunādhya[4], and in that case Gunādhya would have certainly been older than Bhāsa and he would have lived in about the 3rd century A D. or still earlier.

There is no doubt that there was a poet G u n ā d h y a, since the tradition about him is so definite. But we know

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1. On the Vidyādharas, see L a c ô t e, Essai. 276 ff

2 This is already pointed to by the title Brhatkathā It might have been a g r e a t c o m p r e h e n s i v e novel, i e to say of the type in which many small stories were included

3 In the opinion of L a c ô t e, p 229 it is true that they did not belong to the old Brhatkathā B o s c h ibid, p 43 ff tries to prove that the Vetālapañcaviṁśati had these already Subandhu found in the Bṛhatkathā, the stories of Vikramāditya, since Vāsavadattā (ed. Hall, p 110) contains one sure reference to the story in which a girl was transformed into a statue (see Kathāsaritas 123, 132 ff).

4 The argument advanced by H e r t e l (Jinakīrtis 'Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla", p 153 ff) against this cannot be proved Dhanañjaya (Daśarūpa I, 129) advises authors of dramas to fashion their plots on the model of the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata and the Bṛhatkathā Bhāsa had already done it several centuries earlier Kālidāsa (Meghadūta 1, 30) describes Avantī, as the city where old people narrate the story of Udayana, a thing that is already quoted by Vallabhadeva, the oldest commentator of the Bṛhatkathā Even the Udenavatthu of the commentator of the Dhammapada (see above, II, 155, transl p 194) might have been taken from the Bṛhatkathā, since the story is so little Buddhistic, that it would have hardly originated on the Buddhist soil

nothing about the poet himself, and a colourful net work of myths has surrounded this name. He possibly was born in Pratisthāna. There was a city of this name on the Godāvarī in the Deccan, and that was the capital of the Āndhrabhrtyas or of the Sātavāhanas. Consequently the poet has been made by tradition a minister of one King Sātavāhana. Now Sātavāhana is not the name of one king, but the common name of all the rulers of the Āndhra dynasty[1]. Therefore, it would not be of much help to us in respect of determining the age of Guṇādhya, even if the tradition that has made him a minister of Sātavāhana had a historical background. In the opinion of Winternitz, nothing historical can be attributed to these stories, that were narrated for the first time in the 11th century A. D. Probably, however, there was one different Pratisthāna on the confluence of the Gangā and the Yamunā, situated in the neighbour-hood of Kauśāmbī or of Ujjayinī, that had been the actual home of the poet. Since the geography of the Brhatkathā (inasmuch as the events are laid not in the region of the heaven, as often is the case) does not point to the South in any way, but to the neighbourhood of Kauśāmbī[2].

From the tradition, that is not contradicted, we learn that Gunādhya wrote a work in a language called "Paiśācī"[3] Dandin has taken this term to mean "the language of goblins". However, the opinions of researchers in regard to the dialect meant by this name are greatly conflicting. The strongest probability is for the hypothesis that it was a North-Western dialect[4]. But still the doubt remains with regarding to the

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1. See above, p 114 f

2 Cf Lacôte, Essai, p 26 ff The traditions that make Gunādhya a contemporary of the grammarian Pānini and Vararuci and of Cānakya do not at all have any historical value

3 In the Kamboj-inscription of the 9th century Guṇādhya is mentioned as a "friend of the Prākrit language" (S. Lévi, JA 1885, s 8 t VI, 412)

4 Pischel (Deutsche Rundschau 36, 1883, p 368) believes that the people speaking the "language of the demons" came to be so called because of its roughness or crudeness and that the language stands in close affinity with the Gipsy-dialect and the Dardic languages of the North-West India, see also Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, § 27, and Grierson, Ind Ant 30, 1901, 556, ZDMG 66, 1912, p. 49 ff., 67 ff, 74 ff.; Festschrift V. Thomsen, Leipzig 1912, p. 138 ff. Against this Konow ZDMG 64, 1910, 95 ff.; Lacôte, Essais p 40 ff, 201 ff (über die spärlichen Fragmente der Paiśācī Brhatkathā, die in Hemacandras Prākritgrammatik erhalten sind)

meaning of the word "Paiśācī". It has not yet been possible to say definitely whether it meant the dialect of the Piśācas, either a class of people, who were so called or were nick-named as 'demons', or if it had been named as the "dialect of the demons" either on account of its harsh tone or in opposition to the literary languages. We are not in a position to assume that the Brhatkathā either originated or became famous among the wild or half-wild people. In the opinion of Winternitz it is futile to struggle to restore the original work from out of the hitherto known versions[1] and we are able to deduce this much that the Brhatkathā was a poetical work that just originated in some circle of finely cultured people and could get appreciation there.

Upto the present day two recensions of the Brhatkathā have come to be known· one Kashmirian, that has come down to us in two versified versions (Kṣemendra's Brhatkathāmañjarī and Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara) and the other Nepalese that has been transmitted to us (unfortunately incompletely) in a free poetical redaction by Buddhasvāmin. There are other recensions mentioned now and then, but till now they have not been examined closely[2].

There are many points that go to suggest that the

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1. One such attempt has been made by Lacôte, Essai 219 ff. In the opinion of W , his effort deserves as much of consideration as those made earlier by Mankowski, ibid and J S Speyer (Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara, p 27 ff) This is a research made with insufficient materials In case it be correct that in the 17th century A D the grammarian Mārkaṇḍeya had possessed the Paiśācī Bṛhatkathā (Grierson, JRAS, 1913, p. 391), it too may be possible that someday the original may actually is recovered and not deduced

2. King Durvinita of the Gangā dynasty probably had already in the 6th century A D made a Sanskrit translation of the Paiśācī Brhatkathā (see R Narsimhachar, Ind Ant 42, 1913, 204 and JRAS 1913, 389 f But since the inscription on which he depends for fixing the date of the Gangā dynasty belongs to the class of forged inscriptions, it remains doubtful whether the one found by Narasimhachar has any stronger claim to genuineness than those other inscriptions in which the name of Durvinīta occurs (Cf Fleet, Ind Ant 30, 1901, 222, Kielhorn, Ep Ind VII, App. p. 21; VIII, App, II, p 4 note) Winternitz says that he is sceptically against the statement of A. Krishnaswāmi Aiyangār (JRAS 1906, 689 ff and Ancient India, London 1911, p 328, 337) on a Tamil work Udayanan Kadai or Perungadai, that was probably a literal translation of the Brhatakathā and written in 2nd century A D On this Tamil version and the Persian version of the Bṛhatkathā see Lacôte, Essai p 197 ff

Nepalese recension, that has come down to us just in the form of a torso of the Brhatkathā-Ślokasangraha of Buddhasvāmin[1] stands closer to the work of Guṇāḍhya than its Kashmirian version does, even though the difference in time existing between Buddhasvāmin and Guṇāḍhya possibly was very great[2]. The nature of the main story in Buddhasvāmin creates a stronger impression of the work being original than that in the Kashmirian recension. Thus for example Gomukha, who in Buddhasvāmin's work is an interesting character, is just a story-teller in the Kashmirian recension, and it is probable that he has undergone such an alteration, since in this recension the subsidiary stories become more and more important, and the main story of Naravāhanadatta goes into the back-ground. In the Nepalese representation, according to which Kaliṅgasenā, a harlot, and her daughter Madanamañcukā, therefore, of an inferior st tus for Naravāhanadatta, is much more artificial than the correctly twisted narrative of the Kashmirian recension. Also when in the 5th sarga of the Ślokasaṅgraha so much has been said about the artists and the Greek are outright praised as expert artists, who could build the so-called flying machines, which Indian artists could not do, and when in the 18th sarga we hear about the salesman's daughter, whose mother was a Greek woman, they point to the time when Greek artists had become very much famous in North India. In case this was not the age of the Gandhāra art, the period of the 1st century A. D. was the time in which probably Guṇāḍhya's work was written[3].

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1. That is named "the great novel, a small compilation in verses" The work was discovered by Haraprasād Śāstrī (JASB 62 1893, 245 f.); cf. Lévi in Comptes Rendus de l' Académie des inscriptions et belles lattres, 1899, pp. 78, 84; Hertel, Südliches Pañcatantra, p XII ff; LXXXVII f, Speyer, Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara, p. 56 ff.; Lacôte, JA 1906, s 10, t. VII, 19 ff and Essai p. 146 ff F. Lacôte has edited with French translation the first nine of the extent 28 cantos (Paris 1908).

2. We do not definitely know the time of Buddhasvāmin. The hypothesis of Lacôte placing him in the 8th or the 9th century is a crude presumption

3 On the other hand we must not forget that Buddhasvāmin's work is just a small compilation in verses and on account of the versification it has assumed the form of an epic (in sargas), whilst the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya was a prose novel, divided into lambhakas. It is completely impossible to draw a conclusion about the extent of the old Bṛhatkathā,

It is a matter of deep regret that we do not possess the complete work of Buddhasvāmin. There are few books in Indian literature in which humour and mirth in life are so dominent as in the Brhatkathā-Ślokasaṅgraha. The actual life of the people is seldom painted in such a gay colour as in this work. Religious festivals and yātrās are described again and again. We meet with remarkable saints like the kāpālikas in canto XXII and descriptions full of instructions taken from the life of the Jainas in canto XXIV. Canto V contains interesting scenes from the life of artists. In canto X graceful Gomukha takes us into the harlot's quarters and into the palace of the famous harlot Kaliṅgasenā[1].

It is very much striking that Buddhasvāmin's work differs so widely from the Kashmirian recension, not only in respect of arrangement of the subject-matter, but also in that of the contents, that in many sections it appears as an entirely different work. It is also remarkable that the title Ślokasaṅgraha is correct just partly In many places the narrative is so short that it seems to the anticipate in the reader a good knowledge of the story from before. But there are many that are narrated broadly in detail, in a way that it apears as if the poet was more particular about versification (*śloka*) than about compilation (*samgraha*). The composition leaves much to be desired for, in which there are episodes that have been put side by side without any consideration of the context.

The introductory stories on Guṇāḍhya found in the Kashmirian recension is missing in the Ślokasamgraha. The name Gunādhya occurs only at one place in the extant portion of the work, whilst at one place it is said about a king: "Guṇādhya could not sing in his own praise[2]". It is a thing that could hardly be written by an author, who had chosen to

since we have before us only a small portion of Buddhasvāmin's work and probably its beginning is missing (see Speyer, Studies p 56 ff). Hertel (Jinakīrtis "Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla", p. 152 ff) is rather over-confident when he assumes as wholly certain that the Ślokasamgraha presents a faithful picture of the Brhatkathā.

1 According to Lacôte, Essai, p 290 the description of the palace of Vasantasenā in the drama Mrcchakaṭika corresponds to that of the house of Kalingasenā in the Brh-Ślokasangraha (X, 60-163) passage by passage

2. Lacôte, Essai p 20

reproduce the work of Gunāḍhya in a crude abridged form. This single remark goes to indicate that Buddhasvāmin had become rather an independent poet, who made the work of Gunādhya the basis of his own poem.

The Kashmirian recension of the Brhatkathā has come down to us in apparently two different versions, that in a word originated one after the other. The older of the two is the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, "Bud (of the tree) of the Bṛhatkathā" of Kṣemendra, written apparently in about 1037 A.D.[1] As nothing better can be expected from this voluminous writer, he exhibits little taste in his reproduction of the Kashmirian Brhatkathā. Though his real intention is to give an abridged version of the work, on one hand he has many a time made his story factually so short that it becomes almost unintelligible, and on the other he is often garrulous and especially delights in painting erotic scenes and in making the religious section, longer and longer—no matter whether it then relates to Śaivism or to Vaiṣṇavism or to Buddhism. Since the primary work is not known, we are not in a position to say whether Ksemendra or Somadeva presents a more faithful picture of the Bṛhatkathā, that is lost to us[2]. But it is most important for us that neither Somadeva has copied from Kṣemendra, nor the latter from Somadeva, but both of them go back to the same primary work, namely to a Brhatkathā-recension that was in circulation in Kashmir and had its volume very much increased with later additions[3].

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1 See above, p 81, note 2 Edited (badly) in Km. 69, 1901. Cf. Bühler, Ind Ant. 1, 1872, 302 ff.; Lévi, JA 1885, p. 8, t. VI, 397 ff; 422, 1886, s 8, t VII, 216 ff; Mańkowski ibid; Speyer, Studies p. 9 ff.; 27 ff; Lacôte, Essai p 111 f.

2. Lacôte thinks that Kṣemendra, though unimportant as a poet, presents a picture that is more faithful to his model. Mańkowski believes that Somadeva has reproduced a more faithful picture of the subject-matter than has been done by Ksemendra Cf. Mańkowski, ibid 167 f. and Hertel, Tantrākhyāyika, Übers. I, 42.

3 Bosch, ibid 85 ff refutes the correctness of the assumption of a Kashmirian recension and assumes that the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī and Somadeva are directly based on Gunāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā. But since the Bṛhatkathā and the Saritsāgara have so much in common that they absolutely go back to the same source, but the Brh.-Ślokasamgraha differs very widely from both the works, that we can hardly find a connecting link between them. In case Grierson be right, Paiśācī stands sufficiently close to the dialect of Kashmir, so that the Kashmirian recension may be designated as the "Paiśācī Bṛhatkathā. On Paiśācī see also Konow, JRAS

Since Somadeva, wrote his work in between 1063 and 1081 A D.[1], therefore, about 30 years later than Kṣemendra, he might have utilized the work of the latter. But he surpasses his predecessors in respect of poetical talents so powerfully that probably he knew just to cast them aside scornfully.

The Kathāsaritsāgara[2], "Ocean of Streams of Stories" is probably the current title that can be assumed for the work of Somadeva[3]. In fact it is a sea in which all the rivers of stories have fallen, and the main story of Naravāhanadatta forms merely a frame for the rivers of stories, that having sprung out from all possible sources flow into this one ocean. The Kashmirian primary work had already this character, and it was according to this that Somadeva worked. We know from the author himself that he makes no claim to having invented the stories, but he explains (I, 10-12):

> My this book is just like its primary work. I have not allowed myself to deviate in the least. I have merely

1921, 244 ff and Grierson, ibid 424 ff.; S P V Ranganathaswami Aryavaragun, Ind Ant 48, 1919, 211 ff and Grierson, Ind Ant. 49, 1920, p 120

1. Somadeva wrote his book for diverting the mind of Sūryamatī, the grandmother of King Harṣa of Kashmir, see above p 56, note 1.

2. Books I to V edited with a German translation by H. Brockhaus, Leipzig and Paris 1839, from book VI upto the end (Sanskrit text only) by the same in AKM IIand IV (1862 and 1866). Textual criticism with exegetical notes on the same edition by H Kern JRAS III, 1, 1867, p. 167 ff Recent and better edition by Durgāprasād, Bombay, NSP 1889 (2nd ed 1903). Contents of the first five books reported by H. H. Wilson (1824) in his works III, 156-268 Complete English translation by C H. Tawney in the Bibl. Ind. 2 vols. Calcutta 1880—1884. [The same reprinted with notes etc. by N. M Penzer in 10 vols London 1924-28]. Selections from the German translation by J. Hertel, Bunte Geschichten aus dem Himalaya, München 1903. The first volume of the complete German translation (from Sanskrit) by A Wesselski has been published (Berlin 1914-15). The book X has been translated into German by H Schacht, Indische Erzählungen, Lausanne and Leipzig 1918 Text criticism and literary researches have been provided by J. S. Speyer, Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara (Verh. der kon Akademie van Wetensch to Amesterdam, Afd Lett., N. R VIII, 5) Amsterdam 1908. Cf C H. Tawney JRAS 1908, 907 ff and Lacôte, Essai, p. 67 ff.

3 Winternitz does not believe that the real title of the work was Brhatkathāsaritsāgaraślokasamgraha, as suggested by Locôte Essai p. 63 ff In the introduction the author merely says that in his opinion the title of his work Kathāsaritsāgara means a collection of the essence of the Brhatkathā" (Bṛhatkathāsārasaṁgraha). It is not improbable that the dialectical Kashmirian recension had the title or undertitle Kathāsaritsāgara or Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara (see Lacôte, ibid)

abridged together the big volume of the work, and the language is different. I have skilfully exerted myself to the task of resetting the expressions and to keep true to the context (of the stories) on one hand and to introduce into it an element of ornate poetry on the other without letting the (original) sentiment of the story suffer in the least I have not made this endeavour for the purpose of satisfying any desire to become famous for my intelligence, but simply to (impress easily) the colourful net of stories upon the mind of the readers[1].

Really the Kathāsaritsāgara is a work of ornate poetry that combines all the excellences of popular poetry in a certain sense, with the excellences of ornate poetry, such as must have been the Kashmirian Brhatkathā[2]. The nice, fully ornate, but never artificial language, the moderate use of figures of speech like puns and similes and likewise the choiced use of ornate metres are suitably set in the whole work[3]. Whilst in the novels like Subandhu's Vāsavadattā and Bāna's Kādambarī have a gross disparity between the simple narrative theme and the artificial form, Somadeva has realised this, and he has always tried to make the form suitable to the theme and nowhere has he allowed the form to become his main objective. Undisputedly he is one of the most pleasant and first rate Indian poets.

When Somadeva assures us that he has most faithfully followed his model, we should not only believe him, but also attribute even the obvious short-comings found in his work to this situation One such short-coming is the arrangement of the subject-matter. In the Kashmirian basic work itself

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1. The Different interpretations of this stanza have been put together by Lacôte, Essai, p 123 ff

2 As in the strict sense of the term the word popular poetry can hardly designate the Brhatkathā The work has never been a collection of popular tales (somewhat like Brother Grimm's Tales for children), but from its very beginning it has had been an independent work of poetry in which stories after stories have been gradually added, many of which may have been in circulation among the people, whilst others may have had their origin in different literary works. In course of time the work had become popular in the same way as the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana.

3. Of the 21389 stanzas of the Kathāsaritsāgara, there are only 761 that are written in ornate metres, the remaining ones are all written in the epical śloka. Cf Speyer, Studies about the Kathās. p 174 ff.

we find the main story overrun by the rest of the narrative stuff, and probably this is the reason that very often we find stories in places where they are badly misplaced and that sometimes the stories in different versions occur twice even thrice in different places in this extensive work. Besides the main story of King Naravāhanadatta, selected to become the chief of Vidyādharas, having become far less interesting than most of the intercalated stories, too may be attributed to the primary work itself[1]. It is basically somewhat tiring, when we are told, how the king of the story, who is just a little of the nature of Don Juan, wins one woman after another. Since all these women from the beginning are meant for him, all of them throw themselves with all their force about his neck. And the difficulties that present themselves in the way to union or to reunion signify nothing. However, this is not the case only with the main story, but also with many of the subsidiary stories as well - at least from the European point of view - that much of the charm gets lost when it is found just in the beginning of the story that everything is predestined either through a curse or through some prediction[2].

But there can be no question that Somadeva was not so much concerned over the tale of Naravāhanadatta as over the "colourful net of stories" that were interwoven into this fiction More interesting than the stories of Naravāhanadatta are the stories, anticipated as introductory narratives, of his father Udayana, his faithful and wise minister Yaugandharāyana and his two wives Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī. Although in many respects the Udayana-stories correspond to Buddhist narratives[3], still the deviations in individual stories are very

1 Both of these shortcomings were probably not to be found in the recension that formed the basis of the work of Buddhasvāmin

2 Many a time we hear about this predestination first at the end of the story that suits in decidedly better. It is also correct what has been said by Hertel (uber das Tantrākhyāyika; ASGW 1904, p 124) that Somadeva has little consideration for the nature of the tales, and frequently when something appears to him as unbelievable he tries to give it a realistic explanation

3 Cf Lacôte, Essai p 247 ff, besides A Schiefner, Mahākātyāyana und König Tschaṇḍa-Pradyota (Mémoires de l'Acad imp des sciences de St Petersbourg, t XXII, No. 7, 1875) Here we find also (p 35 ff), as in the Kathāsaritsāgara 12, the story of the Wooden Elephant corresponding to the "Trojan Horse"; see above II, 155, transl. p 194 and III, p 220

great, and as a fiction the version of Somadeva was distinctly different.

The (approximately 350) intercalated stories are partly such as may be considered to form the episodes of the main story and stand in somehow natural relation to it or rather may, more or less, be brought within the context; but in a great measure they are such as have been interlaced into the frame of the main story or do not stand in any internal relationship with it. There is hardly any class of stories whatsoever that we do not see to have found entry into the Kathāsaritsāgara. Fictions and fiction-like tendencies like meetings with heavenly damsels, the interferences by gods and demons in the affairs of man, the gifts of wonderful things of the type of a "magic table", etc., wizards and witches, money-seeker, wealth-digger, transformation of man into animals, magic locks and keys etc. are to be found among the stories that do not properly belong to the category of tales. But in the more colourful admixtures, such as we have already seen also in the jātaka-books, we find by the side of proper tales also novelistic stories, the stories of boatmen by the side of those of shipwreck and wonderful palaces under the bottom of the seas, stories on advantageous travels on the earth, romantic love-stories, in which love is often aroused through dreams and portraits, stories of thieves, stories of scoundrels, fools' stories, witty anecdotes, stories about men who are out and out wise, but also stray mythological narratives, epical expressions and Buddhistic, Jainistic and Brāhmaṇical legends. The whole of the books like the Pañcatantra and the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā have been taken into this "ocean of streams of stories", and likewise there are independent big novels in which other smaller stories have been included, such the Padmāvatīkathā in book XVII and the Vikramādityakathā in Book XVIII. Probably it has also a book of "fools' story" (*mugdhakathā*) and one book of "wife-stories" (*strīkathā*) that have been worked into in our book.

In a very appropriate manner, either our poet or his predecessor has inserted a number of fool's stories

in between the nīti-stories of the Pañcatantra[1] for the purpose of drawing a line of contrast, hardly with the idea of teaching his own political (nīti) wisdom. They might or might not, as has happened in all times and among all the nations, set the muscle of risibility into motion. Somadeva did not pursue any other goal[2]. Many of the fool's jokes narrated here are well-known not only in India but elsewhere too in world-literature. Such are the story of the hungry traveller who eats seven cakes till he becomes satisfied and observes that he would have been equally satisfied had he eaten the seventh-cake the first, or that of the servant, who removes the door from the hinge over which he is to keep watch and goes with it to the theatre, or that of the fool who boasts that his father maintained his celibacy during his life-time, etc.

So as all these stories are told mainly for the purpose of exciting laughter - many of which end with the words "even the stones burst when they heard the story"-so also in the stories of knaves, in which the knaveries of a master-thief, of a gambler or elsewhere of some scoundrel leader are narrated in a witty manner. Very remarkable is the story of the rogue, who bribed the king, and through this he began to have a talk with him every-day. At this the ministers began to treat him as an important and influential person and bribed him in order that he might speak to the king in their favour. In this manner he hoarded a great treasure with which he lastly appeased the king so much so that the latter made him his chief minister (66, 110). One of the nice knave-stories

1. Kathās 60-63. The fool's stories in the Brhatkathāmañjarī are placed after the Pañcatantra-section, all put together, XVI, 568-584 Some fool's stories occur also in the Kathās. 65, 140 ff J. Hertel (Ein Altindisches Narrenbuch, BSGW 64. Bd. Leipzig 1912) has shown that at least half of the sketchings of fools narrated in the 11th century by Somadeva have been taken from an old Indian fool's story-book, that was written in about 492 A D and was compiled about the same time by a monk Ārya Samghasena, to which go back the fools' stories translated in 492 A.D into Chinese by his disciple Gunavrddhi (From the Chinese Po Yu King has been made the French translation "Cinq cents contes" by E Chavannes) That stories of this sort existed at least in the 2nd century A D is shown by a relief on the stūpa of Bharhut (see above, II, 108; trans p 134) belonging to the jātaka No 46.

2. Against this Hertel, ibid, who considers the fool's book as a nīti-work.

is that of the master rascal Mūladeva and of his cunning wife, who begot him a son, who surpassed his father in cunning and wit[1]. In many of these rogue-stories religion and still more their champions are badly ridiculed. Apparently harmless is the story of the gambler who deceived the god of death. On account of his evil deeds he must live in the hell till the end of creation (*kalpa*). But because he is sure to become Indra for one day as a consequence of his gift of a piece of gold to a pious man, Yama, the god of death, gives him the option of chosing to have one first: either residence in hell for the duration of the *kalpa* or have the status of Indra for one day. He wants to be Indra first. No sooner he becomes Indra, he permits his all male and female friends to enter into the heaven and rejoices their company and with them he is taken to different religious places on the earth by the gods. On account of this his sins get exhausted and he remains permanent Indra (121, 188 ff.). Mischievous is the story of the two rogues, one of whom calls himself Śiva and the other Mādhava (Viṣṇu). One of them plays the part of a Vaisnava ascetic, and his comrade that of a Rajput. With false gold and false diamonds they excite the greed of a greedy *purohita* and carry away his all wealth (24, 82 ff.). Ascetics are not seldom swindlers and robbers. One such ascetic is himself cheated once. With the intention of taking into his possession a beautiful girl he reports to her father about her birth under the influence of an evil star and advises him to discard her. The father packs her in a box and casts her off. A prince finds the beautiful girl and the ascetic gets a monkey that takes out his eyes and tears off his ears.

The number of women's stories is quite large. Among them the stories of faithless and wicked wives prevail[1]. For example, a king has a wonderful

1. 124, 132 ff. translated into German by F. von der Leyen in Preuss Jahrb. 99, 1900, p 88ff Mūladeva appears as a famous wizard in Kan B (Vetālap 15). Cf. Bloomfield, The Character and Adventures of Mūladeva (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society Vol LII, No. 210, 1913) on this wholly unique character in Indian literature. He is a wizard, a master thief, a teacher of the art of theft as well of the art of love, a veritable gambler and on the whole a lively and amiable rogue. See also P. L. Pavolini, GSAI 9, 1895-6, p 175 ff.

white elephant, who gets hurt and falls down. A divine voice makes the announcement that the elephant will get well when a chaste woman will touch him Each of nearly 80,000 wives of the king and all the women of the town come and touch the elephant, but he does not stand up. Only one poor woman is found, who is so pious and chaste that the moment she touches the animal he stands up. Now the king marries the sister of this pure lady and shuts her inside a palace in a lonely island, but is lastly deceived by her as well (36, 9 ff). The chapters 58, 64 and 65 contain a whole series of such stories[1]. Amongt this sort of world-wide current stories are found those of the water-spirit, who goes about with his wife within his body and is deceived by her[2] who is not faithful to him[3] etc.

As against the stories of wicked and unfaithful wives there are also a small number of stories of honest and faithful wives. For world literature too, the story of the wise and faithful woman Devasmitā, who assures the young men who intend to seduce her away to meet them at a fixed place just to let them go away with a stigma on their faces[4]. An idyll, that is rightly mentioned as a suitable antethesis to the story of Philemon and Baucis[5], is narrated in 27, 79 ff,

There was once a king, Dharmadatta by name, the ruler of Kośala He had a wife who respected her husband as a god One day all of a sudden she came to remember of her former birth and spoke about this to her husband

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1 See also 34, 182 ff , 60, 3ff , 61, 193 ff (at the same time also a fool's story) , 66, 29 ff ; 71, 22 ff , 77, 48 ff ; 124, 140 ff

2 63 6 ff Cf 64, 154 ff , jātaka 436 and Chavannes, Cinq cent contes, I, XIII ff , 377 ff,; Tausend und eine Nacht I, 8 (Weil)

3 65, 2 ff Cf jātaka 193, Benfey, Pantschatantra I, 436 ff ; Gaston. Paris, ZVV XIII, 1903; Pavolini, GSAI XI 1897-8, JRAS 1898, 375

4 Hertel, Bunte Geschichten, p 73 ff A partially doublet is the story of Upakośā (4, 28 ff ; Hertel ibid p 95 ff) Winternitz in the "Globus", Bd 92, 1907, p 78 f has shown that a parallel to the story of Devasmitā, who is a replica of Portia, in a South Arabian narrative (in D H Müller, Die Mehri - und Soqotri - Sprache III, Vienna 1907, p 30 ff ; 78 ff ; 162) See also 56, 171 ff ; 61, 300 ff ; 64, 34 ff

"O king, I am just reminded today of my former birth not far away hence. It will be unpolite on my part if I do not narrate the same to you : in case I tell you this I am sure to die. It is said that in case one is reminded suddenly of his former birth and if he speaks it out he is sure to die. On this account, O my royal husband, I am wholly unnerved." The king retorts that he too has just come to remember of his former birth and asks her to narrate it, whatever be the consequence. At this the queen narrates : "In this very land I was a dutiful maid-servant of a Brāhmana, named Mādhava. The name of my husband was Devadāsa. He was an obedient servant in the house of a trader. There in our own home that we had established we were living on the food that each of us used to bring from our employers. We were three pairs : water-tub and pitcher, broom and bed-stead, I and my husband. We were living happily in the house; there was never a quarrel and we rejoiced and ate the little that was left over after we had made our offerings to gods, manes and guests. In case either or both of us had some spare piece of cloth and if some poor person came, it was given to him. Now there was a famine. Therefore, the quantity of food needed for maintenance became less day by day. When our bodies had become emaciated with hunger and our spirit had already by degrees lost all hopes, one day there came a tired Brāhmaṇa at meal-time. Although we were ourselves dying for food we gave him the last quantity of food that we still had. When he had eaten it and gone away, the spirit of life left my husband, as if out of anger that he had taken care of that beggar and not of it. Then I erected a pyre of wood for my husband, put his body on it and burnt myself with him, and so my ill luck too left me. After this I was reborn in the palace of a king and became your wife. The tree of noble work bears the never-perishing fruit for the pious." When the queen had thus spoken to Dharmadatta, the latter said, "come, dear, I am your husband of the former birth. I was Devadāsa, the servant of the trader. Today I too have come to remember of my that former life". Therefore, after the king has said this and

disclosed his identity, he goes to the heaven, mourns, but immediately rejoices there the company of his wife[1].

The stories of faithless wives mentioned above, at least partly, had originated from Buddhist sources[2]. But Buddhist stories are found even elsewhere in the Kathāsaritsāgara not in a small number, although Benfey's hypothesis[3] that "almost all" tales in Somadeva's work are Buddhistic is certainly not correct. For the purpose of accuracy, it is significant that although Somadeva was not a Buddhist, he has faithfully followed his source and fully maintained the Buddhist character of the stories. For example Buddhistic[4] are, in chapters 27 and 28, the series of karman-stories, besides the stories of the trader's son who is converted for fear of death, of the prince, who becomes a monk and takes out his one eye for the sake of a woman, whose beauty he admires etc. A complete chain of Buddhist stories is narrated in chapter 72 for the purpose of elucidation of the 6 *pāramitās*. Even the Vetālapañcaviṁśati-stories significantly exhibit Buddhist influence[5]. Allusions to Buddhist canons occur elsewhere too[6].

Notwithstanding this the religious atmosphere that permeates the work of Somadeva is quite different. It is

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1. Other stories about faithful wives and actual former life are narrated in 56, 171 ff, 61, 300 ff, 64, 34 ff; 111, 24 ff; 112, 111 ff. The story about a Brāhmana and his two wives who were united with a clover-leaf is narrated in 73,417 ff We learn from 38, 3 ff. and 58, 2 ff that fidelity is not unknown even among harlots

2 Such undoubtedly are all the stories narrated in chapter 64, where the heroes, after the experience that there was no faithful woman, became monks In the stories 65, 2 ff, 45 ff, the hero is expressedly said to be a partial incarnation of Bodhisattva

3 Pantschatantra I, 148 f

4 It is not clear why Hertel, Bunte Geschichten, p 1 55ff, translated saugata (common designation for "Buddhist") by "Jaina".

5 Thus the mention of Māra in the Vetāla-stories 10 and 17 In the Vetāla-story 20, the behaviour of the boy is that of a Bodhisattva Other Buddhistic stories are 33 and 36 ff; 41, 9 ff; 63, 53 ff; 65, 132 ff (a cloister anecdote of a foolish monk); 56, 141 ff (variant of the Mittavindaka-jātaka, see above II, 106, trans p 132) Probably Buddhistic is the story of unmādinī (15, 63 ff) 33, 62 ff, 91, 3 ff Vetālap 16), that corresponds to the jātaka No 527 (see above II, 114, trans; p 140) In Rājataraṅgiṇī 4, 17, a similar story is narrated about a historical king; cf Zachariae, Bezz Beitr. IV, 1878, 360 ff.

6 So 65, 46; 117, 32; 75; 120, 50; 116.

the glorification of Śiva and his consort (Pārvatī, Gaurī, Durgā, Devī etc.) that prevails throughout. Whenever a miraculous relief from some need or danger is required, there appears in person either Śiva himself or his wife. Bodhisattva Jīmūtavāhana himself goes into the temple of Gaurī to worship the goddess[1]. Unusually frequent is the mention of sacrifices of human-being, that is either brought to Durgā or is (more frequently) offered to her for the purpose of success of some witchcraft or for begetting a child or for fulfilment of some other desire. The wild robber-like Bhillas, who live in forests, as a rule make offerings of human-being to the goddess, and for this purpose they attack people and bring them to the temple[2]. The L i n g a - c u l t too is pretty frequently mentioned. Women and girls who offer their prayers in temples are particularly frequent[3]. The Mother-cult and the Tantric rites play a rôle in many stories. So in the w i t c h - s t o r i e s, that are not rare and do not imitate the wild pantomime of European stories of this type. The activities of witches are often described in a very neat manner[4]. Although Śiva is the supreme deity, other gods too appear and all of them are worshipped. So for example Naravāhanadatta himself is taken to Śvetadvīpa, the heavenly abode of Visnu and sings a hymn addressed to this god[5].

Somadeva in all probability found this colourful admixture of these secular and religious stories in the Kashmirian Bṛhatkathā. His work is of beautiful and amiable type, in which he narrates the stories in a fine language, full of witty turnings and poetical descriptions. The praiseworthy simplicity of language that greatly suits the plain stories, necessarily elevates the position of Somadeva higher than

does the kāvya-style over which he certainly possesses mastery. Many stories, for example in the Vetālapañcavimśati section, are narrated in a very ornate style[1]. And wherever the subject-matter so requires his language very often becomes flexible.

Thus above all, when he speaks about his country Kashmir, as the "head-jewel of the earth (*pṛthvīśiromaṇiḥ*)[2]:

himavaddakṣine deśaḥ kāśmīrākhyosti yam vidhiḥ |
svargakautūhalaṁ kartum martyānāmiva nirmame ||

In the south of the Himālaya, there is the country Kashmir, that was made by the creator as if for the purpose of satisfaction of the mortal's curiosity to enjoy the heaven[3] etc.

In respect of employment of similes and puns; Somadeva ranks amongst the best poets Here is given only o n e example (87, 29 ff.) :

bhrāmyataśca jagāmāsya bhīmo grīsmorukesarī |
pracandādityavadano dīptatadraśmikesarah ||
priyāvirahasantaptapānthaniśvāsamārutaiḥ |
nyastoṣmāṇa ivātyusnā vānti sma ca samīranāh ||
śusyadvidīrṇapaṅkāśca hrdayaih sphuṭitairiva |
jalāśayā dadrśire gharmaluptāmbusampadah ||
cīrīcīkāramukharāstāpamlānadalādharāh |
madhuśrīvichānmārgesvarudanniva pādapāh ||

Harisvāmin, a Brāhmaṇa, who has lost his wife, goes about in all the places where one can reach while searching for her. "And while he was thus going from one holy place to another there came the summer, the horrible lion, whose jaws were the terrible sun and whose manes were the burning rays. Scorching hot winds were blowing as if in them the warmth of groaning of the wanderers, separated from their beloved, had got accumulated on account of weeping. The tanks with their water dried up and their drying clay rent asunder were lying there as if with broken heart. The trees standing along the paths appeared with their barks sobbing on account of separation from the friendly

1. The story 55, 26 ff is written wholly in the kāvya-style, so also the (*praśasti*), the concluding stanza (missing in Ed Brockhaus)

2. 63, 53 ff, 65, 214 73, 79 ff

spring, whilst their leaves, like their lips, were withering on account of heat (pain)".

The Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva has the greatest importance for the history of Indian literature also on account of the fact that in it there are several stories which have been worked upon by several other poets[1], of course, not only on the basis of Somadeva's work, but also on that of Gunādhya or on that of some older recension of the Brhatkathā, not available to us elsewhere so nicely as in Somadeva. The work is of the highest importance for the history of the World Literature too, inasmuch as not a few stories that we find in Somadeva, nay that are still older and perhaps have had their source in the Bṛhatkathā, are the most popular and most familiar ones of the West. The question, as to whether the relevant stories are of Indian origin, does not permit of a definite answer in all cases. Often there are only a few passages that the Indian stories have in common with literatures of other countries, thus for example the story of the smiling fish[2] or that of the princess and the thief[3] etc. Other stories, with minor deviations are current among other nations, such is the story of Hariśarman, the Indian "omniscient doctor"[4]. In many cases it may be doubtful to say whether we have before us passages taken from the fables that originated in different countries independently of one another, or if these passages have been borrowed. To this class belong the tales of

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1. To this category belong the thrilling stories 140,17 ff, of which the fable is the basis of Bhavabhūti's Mālatīmādhava, and the story of King Sumanas and the learned parrot (59, 22 ff), on which is based Bāna's "Kādambarī," cf Mańkowski, WZKM 15, 1901, 213 ff, 16, 1902, 147 ff

2. 5, 14 ff Cf F Liebrecht in the Orient und Occident I, 341 ff; Pentamerone 36, Straparola IV, 1

3 64, 43 ff already compared by H H Wilson with the tale of Rhampsinit narrated by Herodotus From the Indian version the story was translated into Chinese as early as 516 A D, see E Huber in BEFEO 4, 1904, 698 ff A variant in the Tibetan Kanjūr too Cf Forke, Die Indischen Marchen, p 66 ff. J. C Fraser, Pausanias, Vol V, p 176 ff (on Paus IX, 37, 3) has given a review of the story of the treasure of Rhampsinit and its parallels in the world-literature; see also R Kohler, Kleinere Schriften I, 198 ff, Chavannes Cinq cents contes 3, 146 ff, Gaston Paris in RHR t 55, 1907, 151 ff, 267 ff.

4 30, 92 ff Cf Grimm, Kinder-und Hausmarchen, No. 98; Benfey, Orient und Occident I, 374 ff, Th Zachariae, ZVV 15, 1905, 373 ff

witchcraft, like that of the poet, corresponding to the "magic-table" that fills by itself, the magic stick and the wonderful shoe "seven miles deep"[1], or the often repeated motif of men who are swallowed by a big fish and again come out alive[2] or the motif of the wife of Potiphar[3], etc[4].

Lastly we must not forget to mention the extent to which our knowledge of Indian culture is based on the Kathā-saritsāgara of Somadeva. We have already seen that we learn from this work much about Indian religions and know about the position of women in ancient India. But we get from Somadeva's work abundant amount of information also about the caste-system, about ethnographical conditions, about art, artists and artisans, about court-life, about gambling, about drinking booths and other things about the actual life of the Indian people.

The Kashmirian edition of the Bṛhatkathā contains the whole of the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā, "the Twenty-five (stories) of Vetāla", an Indian story-book that like the Pañcatantra has got wide currency in world-literature. This work too had to share the fate of other Indian works that became popular and its old text is entirely lost to us and it has come down to us in different recensions made in later ages. The versifications of Kṣemendra and Somadeva are

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1 3, 47 ff Cf. J J. Meyer, Daśakumāracarita-Übersetzung, Einleitung, p 67 ff, Forke, Die indischen Märchen, p 55 ff; Hertel, Jinakīrtis "Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla, p 60, 67, 76, 110.

2 25, 47 ff, 74, 192 ff, 123, 105 ff; cf Rājatarangiṇī IV, 504; Weber in AKM I, 4, p 32 (Śatruñjayamāhātmya X), Hertel; ZDMG 65, 440 In the story of Jona H Gunkel (Kultur der Gegenwart I, VII, p 56) has assumed a Phonecian tale of a boatmen

3 49, 4 ff, like 33, 36 ff Also in the book Sindbad. Cf Tawney, I, 464 n, Hertel, Jinakīrtis "Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla", p 14 f, 48 f, Temple, Legends of the Panjāb, I, XIV, 11-13; II, XV, 396 ff On a similar story in Firdusi's Shāhnāmeh, see Javanji Jamshedji Modi, JBRAS 18, 206 ff; on the Greek story see U. v Wilamowitz-Moellendroff, Griechische Tragodien I, 108f.; on the Biblical story see H Gunkel, Internat Monatsschrift 12, 1918, p 442 f

4 Tawney has collected together a large number of parallels to the stories and motifs in the Kathās. in the notes to his translation and a few also in the Journal of Philology 12, 1883, 122 ff, See also above p. 359 notes, and p 364 notes

in respect of chronology older[1] than the two different recensions by Śivadāsa[2] and Jambhaladatta[3]. But it is Śivadāsa who has passed on to us the story in its original form—an admixture of prose and verse[4].

"The Twenty-five Stories of Vetāla" derive their title from the frame in which they are set :

A yogin brings to King Vikramasena[5] a fruit every-day about which he says that it contains a diamond. He pursues this course just to move the king agree to assist him in a corpse-witchcraft, by which he is sure to obtain the help of a vetāla[6] for success in his witchcraft.

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1 Brhatkathāmañjarī IX, 2, 19-1221, Kathāsaritsāgara 75-99 Approximately about half of the vetāla-stories from the Kathās have been translated into German by F von der Leyen (Indische Marchen, Halle a S 1898) who has, in the appendix, traced the course of these stories in world-literature On the vetāla-stories, see also S Lévi in JA 1886, s 8 t VII, 190 ff Ksemendra deviates little from Somadeva, but he had used also some recensions of the Brhatkathā, other than the Kashmirian (see Speyer, Studies about the Kathās 37 f) On Somadeva's version see Brockhaus in BSGW 1853, p 181 ff

2 Die Vetālapañcavimśatikā in den Recensionen des Śivadāsa und eines Ungenannten mit kritischen Kommentar, edited by H Uhle (AKM VIII, 1), Leipzig 1884 The prose text of the recension of the anonymous author is an abridged rendering of the verses of Ksemendra In many manuscripts of Śivadāsa too verses from Ksemendra have been inserted. H Uhle has edited the text with a critical apparatus along with a table of contents in BSGW, Bd 66, Leipzig 1914 on the basis of a manuscript Cf Hertel, DLZ 1918, 257 ff Śivadāsa's Recension has been translated into Italian by V Bettei in GSAI, 7, 1893, pp 83-157 , 8, 1894, p 187 ff and SIFI I, 1897, The first five stories have been translated into German by A Luber, Gorz 1875

3 Published in Calcutta in 1873 This recension does not have metrical epigrams, and in respect of contents it stands closer to the Kashmirian recension The language (according to Aufrecht, Bodl Cat I, 152 f) is more elegent than that of Śivadāsa On an abridged version of the Vetālap by Vallabhadāsa see Eggeling, Ind off Cat VII, p 1564 f Even in case Jambhaladatta himself was a younger author, his recension too goes back to a very old source and he knew the stories in their original form - a thing that has been shown as probable by Bosch, ibid, 62 ff

4 Bosch, ibid p 22 ff, tries to prove that the recension of Śivadāsa, as also that of the "anonymous author ', goes back to a metrical version But this statement, as also the hypotheses of Charpentier, Paccakabuddhageschichten, p 142 ff hangs in the air so long as we do not know whether or not Buddhasvāmin's Ślokasamgraha and Gunādhya's Brhatkathā do not contain also the Vetālapañcavimsati-stories

5 In Somadeva, he is called Trivikramasena First of all the new Indian translations have carried the story to the famous king Vikramāditya The yogin is mentioned as a Digambara in Śivadāsa, as against a Bhiksu in Somadeva and a Śramana in Ksemendra

6 The vetālas are the ghosts, who carry their evil designs in corpse-burning places and make in the corpses their abode Like all other

The king agrees. One dark night he starts for the place of burning corpse, where the yogin is waiting for him. The latter asks him to go to a distant lonely place, where a corpse is hanging from a tree. He will have to take it down and carry it back. The king goes to the tree, brings down the corpse and carries it forth back. In the corpse there is a vetāla, and he proposes to tell the king a story in order to while away his time along the path. At the end of the story, the vetāla asks the king a question, that he must answer. Hardly the king has replied and the corpse disappears and hangs itself on the tree again. The king returns, cuts off the corpse and begins to carry it back again, but the vetāla again begins to tell a story, asks a question, and this he does twenty-four times. When the vetāla has narrated the twenty-fourth story and put the question, the king is not able to answer, at which he wavers. But the vetāla, is very much pleased at the king on account of his courage and tells him that the yogin bears an evil design towards him and puts into his hand a trick with which he will be able to overpower the wicked wizard and he will himself possess the power of witchcraft.

This frame, in which the stories are set, already shows that the "Twenty-five Stories" originated on the soil of Tantrism, so much so that they can be associated with religion. Most of the narratives, however, are tales, novels, comic and tragic stories, in which witchcraft plays a powerful rôle, and there is no theme construed from any religious point of view. The seed of the work lies neither in Buddhism nor in Jainism[1].

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spirits they are capable of assuming all possible forms They are mischievous, but he who has the courage can through corpse-witchcraft make vetālas even serve him In the Mahābhārata the vetālas do not appear before the Harivaṃśa One of the mothers of Skanda is called "vetālamātā" (see E W. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p 46 note, 220 note) Benfey (Kleinere Schriften II, 13 A) has tried to assign the vetāla-cult to Buddhism, but it certainly belongs to the Śaiva-Tantrism, whence in any case it might have been taken over to Tantric Buddhism A description of the vetāla-magic is given in the Tantrasāra (see Aufrecht, Bodl Cat p 94 f)

1 The fourth and the sixth stories belong to the religion of the Durgā-cult In the 14th story Śiva brings about the miracle in Somadeva and Devī in Śivadāsa The story No 19 of the son of the thief, who is born of a Brāhmaṇa and is adopted by a king and outspreads his three hands

Even the epigrams, that occupy in the Vetālapañcavimśatikā as much space as in the Pañcatantra, are relatively just in a few cases Buddhistic or Jainistic, and most of them belong to common ascetic poetry. The rest of the epigrams partly contain rules of life and partly belong to the didactic stuff of dharmaśāstra, of nītiśāstra and also of kāmaśāstra[1]. In addition to the epigrams, we find in Śivadāsa's recension also a number of narrative and descriptive verses that give to the work the character rather of a campū.

The stories of the Vetālapañcavimśatikā have equal importance for the history of Indian narrative literature and for the history of world-literature. Some of the stories have found their way into different other narrative books of India and also in literatures of other countries of the East and the West.

> Well-known in world literature is the story of Madanasenā, who is betrothed and has promised her ardent lover that she will meet him on the night of her marriage, before she is given over to her husband. She keeps her promise with the consent of her husband. On her nocturnal journey to meet her lover she is overtaken by a thief to whom she narrates her story and

for receiving from him his offerings to the manes, can be understood only from the standpoint of Brāhmanical death-cult. The stories Nos 16, 17 and 20 might have been Buddhistic. In Śivadāsa, the story No 11 has as its introduction an apparently Jaina missionary story, but that is not at all associated with the story itself The vetāla-stories, have found entry into the Jaina literature too, see Charpentier, Paccekabuddhageschichten, p. 135ff.

1. Most of these verses are probably to be taken as quotations and not as composed by Śivadāsa himself Many of the verses are found also in other books of stories and in anthologies of epigrams 23 verses are in Prākrit Hertel (BSGW 1902, p. 123) has given an index of the epigrams that the Vetālap has in common with the Jaina version of the Pañcatantra But that is not certain The epigrams here, so also there, might have had the same source as the mass of epigrams of unknown authorship and age that have been current as unowned commodity among learned men and authors and partly also among the common people Since the manuscripts differ from one another in respect of language, and even the occurrence of a stanza in Rudraṭa is no sure proof of Śivādāsa being younger than him (see Pischel, Rudraṭas Śṛngāratilaka, p 26). On other grounds it is apparent that in all events Śivadāsa did not write it before the 12th century (cf Weber, Indische Streifen III, 514 ff). On some stanzas in the kāvya-style see Aufrecht, ZDMG 36, 1882, 375 ff. Hertel wrote to Winternitz "The dependence on the Jaina Pañcatantra is certain, because the question is not of an individual stanza, but of a group of borrowed verses, that were for the first time collected in the Pañcatantra itself".

he leaves her to go free. She comes to the lover and when the latter hears about the consent of the husband, he returns home unnoticed. Now the question is which of the three persons is the nicest[1] ?

To the world-literature belongs also the fifth story of the girl with three suitors. The daughter of the minister Harisvāmin takes the vow that she will marry that man only who will surpass others either in heroism or in knowledge or in witchcraft. The father goes on a journey and offers her to the Brāhmaṇa, who is a great wizard and overpowers through his craft an air-vessel. In the meantime the elder brother of the girl promises her to a highly learned Brāhmana, and the mother to an excellent shooter, without any one of them having knowledge of the promise made by the other two. The marriage is fixed on one and the same day. That very day a demon robs away the girl. The scholar finds out the place where the girl is staying, the magician takes the air-vessel close by and the shooter chases the demon, kills him and brings back the girl. Now the vetāla puts the question as to who of the three should have the girl as his wife, to which the king replies that she should be married to the shooter, since the other two have been merely his assistants in getting her[2].

We may make here a mention of the sixth story too. A dyer's eye catches sight of the daughter of the royal dyer; he is enamoured of her so much so that he promises to the goddess Bhaṭṭārikā to offer her his head in case the beautiful girl will become his wife. He gets the girl as his wife. One day he starts with his young wife and

1 The story (translated also by J J Meyer, Daśakumāracarita-Übersetzung Einleitung p 73 ff) is found also in the Turkish Tutinameh, in the "Forty Viziers" (in Thousand and one Nights), in Dschami, in Gaelic tales and Boccaccio's Dekamerone Cf Oesterley, Baitāl Pachīsī, p 198 f and F von der Leyen, Indische Marchen, p 153 ff Chinese in Chavannes, No 117 A jainistic version in Leumann, ZDMG 46, 606.

2 Taken into world-literature by Benfey, Kleinere Schriften II, 96 ff. Shown among the Gypsies and Romanies in Siebenbürgen by Wlislocki, ZDMG 41, 448 ff

friend for his father-in-law's house. They arrive at the temple of the goddess. The dyer asks his young wife and friend to wait outside, enters into the temple and cuts his head off to appease the goddess. The friend goes to search for him, finds him dead and fears that he will be held guilty for the murder and cuts his own head. The wife goes there, and finding the two persons dead, she is about to commit suicide. But the goddess is pleased; she prevents her from committing suicide and offers to grant her a boon that she will ask for. She asks for getting both of them come to life again. The goddess asks her to put together the heads and the bodies. In haste the young wife changes the heads of the two. Now vetāla asks the question as to who will be her husband. The king replies, he who has the head of her husband, since

"Of all remedies food is the best,
Of all drinks, water is the best,
Of all friends of man, wife is the best,
Of all members of the body, head is the best"[1].

The "Twenty-five stories of Vetāla" has been very often translated into popular Indian languages[2] and is found also in a strongly changed form in the Mongolian Ssiddi-Kür[3].

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1. The motif of error about heads is found also in a South Indian legend, that has been taken over into Sonnerat's "Reise nach Ostindien und China". This is the source of Goethe's Paria legend; see Th Zachariae, Kleine Schriften (1920) 118 ff.

2 During the period of reign of Muhammad Shāh III (1720-1747) the work was rendered into Braja-Bhākhā, whence it was retranslated into Hindī in 1805 The Hindi translation, that differs little from Śivadāsa's version, is best known through European translations. Winternitz knew the Baitāl Pachchīsī, or the twentyfive tales of a Sprite, translated from the Hindi by John Platts, London 1871 The German rendering made according to the English translation of Barker by H. Oesterly, Baitāla Pachīsī oder die fünfundzwanzig Erzahlungen eines Damons, Leipzig 1873

3. Ssiddi-Kür is formed with Sanskrit siddhi combined with Mongolian kur and means "the dead endowed with supernatural powers". See die Marchen des Siddhi-kür, kalmukischer Text mit deutscher Übersetzung, edited by B Jülg, Leipzig 1866 Wholly wrong is Benfey's statement (Pantschatantra I, 410 ff. and Kleinere Schriften II, 10 ff.) based on a superficial knowledge of the work He knew in addition to the English translations of the Braj-Bhākhā recension and the Tamil version only the Mongolian tales of Ssiddi-kür according to Benjamin Bergmann's "Nomadische Streifereien im Lande der Kalmüken I, 247 ff.). He expressed the opinion that the Mongolian version contained

A younger work, but likewise containing similarly enlarged and popular stories of a similar character, is the Simhāsanadvātrimśatikā (or Simhāsanadvātrimśatikathā, "the Thirty-two Throne Stories"), also called Vikramacarita, "Life and Deeds of Vikrama"[1]. The popularity of this work is proved by the large number of its manuscripts that differ from one another greatly and represent the text in different recensions. There are recensions that are in prose or in prose and verses mixed up together or in verses only. Apparently the South Indian recension stands closest to the original text. Beside it there is one versified South Indian recension that on one hand appears to be in some places very much abridged and on the other very much enlarged in others. There exists a third North Indian recension, in which only the skeleton of some stories is preserved, whilst the moral is greatly enlarged. In the Jaina recension that is very much enlarged and best preserved and is full of moral lessons, the stories are strongly influenced by Jainistic tendencies, and the proper stories have not only been abridged, but here very often they appear in a very much worsened form. The special characteristic of this recension consists in the fact that either in the beginning or at the end of each story there occurs a verse that summarizes the essential points of the story[2]. This recension was probably compiled by Muni Ksemaṁkara, who appears to have done this on the basis of the text contained in the Māhārāstrī-dialect. The Bengali-recension[3], attributed to Vararuci is just a Brāhmaṇical adaptation of the Jaina version.

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the original form of the work Ssiddi-kur, however, has only 13 stories, which have little correspondences with the Indian stories excepting the frame-story Cf Forke, Die indischen Marchen, p 17 ff and E Cosquin, Les Mongols, Niort 1913 On a Tibetan form of the Vetālapañcavimśatikā see A H Francke, ZDMG 75, 72 ff

1 Cf A Weber, Ind Stud XV, 185-453, F Edgerton, American Journal of Philology, 33, 1912, 249-284 The manuscripts have also the titles Simhāsanadvātrimśatputtalikāvarttā or -putrikāvārtā, "Story of the 32 Statues of the Throne", see Aufrecht, Bodl Cat 152; Eggeling, Ind Off Cat VII, p 1566f.

2 Perhaps they are imitated Kathāsamgraha-stanzas of the Pañcatantra But unlike the latter, they do not form the connecting link between the frame-story and intercalated stories Besides they do not contain the moral of the story as in the Pañcatantra

3 Weber, Ind Stud 15, 188 ff; Eggeling, Ind Off Cat VII, p. 1566 f, Edgerton, ibid 252, 270 A recension of the work is attributed also to Kālidāsa, see Weber, ibid 196, 233, 294

The apparently voluminous introduction begins (according to the fashion of the purāṇas) with the request of Pārvatı to her husband Śiva to tell her some interesting story; the god grants her request and narrates the story of the "Deeds of Vikrama"[1]. In the city of Ujjayinī—so he begins—there lived a king Bhartṛhari. Once a Brāhmaṇa brought to him a wonderful fruit that lent eternal youth and immortality. The king loved his wife so sincerely that he did not like to survive her and passed on the fruit to her. The queen gave this to her lover, the stable-superintendent, who sent it as a gift to a harlot. From her it reached the hands of the king. So the king had in this way come to know of the wickedness of his wife, he renounced the world and left his kingdom to his brother Vikramāditya[2]. This mighty king distinguished himself through his heroism and generosity. (The different recensions differ from one another although they narrate episodes about Vikramāditya in greater or smaller details). Once the king paid a visit to the heaven of Indra, and the god presented to him as gift a wonderful throne fitted with 32 female satues, that he carried to his capital. When king Vıkramāditya is killed in the fight against Śālivāhana, the throne is dug into earth under the command of the god, since there is none to be found who may be worthy to sit upon it. Many many years later it is found by King Bhoja of Dhārā in a field near his capital, that was established at the site of Ujjayinī and the throne that is dug there is carried to the city and is installed in a majestic hall decorated with a thousand pillars. But when he is to sit on the throne one of the statues utters forth in human voice:—King Bhoja

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1. This introduction is lacking in the Jaina version. It begins with the story of King Bhoja, in which the stories of Bhartṛhari and Vikramāditya an inserted.

2. The story of the wonderful fruit is found also in many of the versions of the Vetālapañcavimśatikā and has been carried into different western literatures and also in "Tausend und eine Nacht"; see Oestrley, Baital Pachisi, p 13 ff and Weber ibid, p 212 ff The stanzas that partly occur in Vairāgyaśataka of the poet Bhartṛhari have been put here into the mouth of Bhartṛhari. See also above p 139 on Bhartṛhari.

If you are, in not ideas, heroism, generosity and other noble qualities, like Vikramāditya, you will not be able to sit on this throne. At the request of the king the statue narrates a story that will describe the nobility of thought of Vikramāditya and concludes it by saying :

etat sahajamaudāryam śrīvikramanṛpasya tavāgre kathitam ।
evaṁvidham audāryam yadi tvayi syāt tadāsmin siṁhāsane tiṣṭha ॥

"I have described this natural magnimity of heart of King Vikrama. In case you have in you such a nobility of heart you may sit on this throne". The king then tries to sit on the throne, but he is addressed by the second statue in the same way as by the first, and this second statue tells another story, and so on At the end we came to know that the statues are wives of gods that are transformed into stone-statues on account of a curse. By meeting King Bhoja they are freed from the effect of the curse and return back to the heaven.

The 32 stories in themselves are indeed very fantastical, and by far are not so lively as those of the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā. And in fact they are outright partly childish, and very often they possibly are the contribution of the Jaina redactor. Originally, this was in no way a manual of morals and in the least a manual of Jaina morals. The original character of the stories significantly appears to have become different under the Jaina guise or distortion[2]. The stories, that are meant to describe the nobility of the heart of the king are now outright altered, so much so that they make him appear as

1. Edgerton, ibid, tries to show that like the Pañcatantra this work too was intended to be a nītiśāstra (so it is indicated in one of the manuscripts), although, not in the sense of a "manual of politics, but rather of a "manual of (ethical) conduct of life". Winternitz believes that this idea was far away from that of the original writer In all cases the stories were meant to represent Vikramāditya as a model king, inasmuch as the work is as instructive as the Rājatarangiṇī of Kalhana But the character of the work is essentially different from that of the Pañcatantra. First of all those who prepared the later recensions tried particularly by inserting epigrams to make it appear to like the Pañcatantra See Hertel, in BSGW 1902 p 127 f

2. This expression is modified when for example we take into consideration the inappropriate manner in which the legends of the Jaina Saint Siddhasena are mentioned in connection with the stories of Vikramāditya, the crude manner in which the Jaina religion is glorified here (see Weber ibid 282 ff. 285 ff,) and the manner in which the saintly redactor has removed some of the stories (for example III, V, VI) wholly from his own point of view.

a Jaina saint, who cannot refuse a request of any beggar and is always ready to sacrifice himself for others. In a directly stereotyped manner, however, first of all it is narrated how the king shows his courage, through his courage he obtains a boon from some divine being and he presents this with great courage to the first beggar. This conclusion, the giving away of the boon, creates the impression of an interpolation, since stories are so planned as to show Vikramāditya as a fearless hero, who is always ready to leave his life to chance. The episode is frequently repeated that Vikramāditya, for fulfilment of his some desire and for worshipping a goddess for it, tries to cut off his own head, but is prevented by the goddess from doing this, and his desire is fulfilled. This head-cutting for worshipping a goddess, however, is never Jainistic and belongs to Tantra and to the cult in which Durgā is offered a human being[1]. That the original plan of these stories was to depict heroism and not the generosity as the best quality is proved best by the story No. XXXII which probably is the wittiest of all. It is reproduced here in a few words:—

In the city of Avantī, when Vikramāditya was ruling, the citizens were very good people. Whatever they ever brought for sale to the market, was purchased by the king, in case anything remained unsold till the evening, so that nobody could complain against the metropolis that no buyer was to be found for anything that was brought for sale. Then a rogue got built an iron-statue of Poverty, brought it to Avantī and asked as its price one thousand dināras. Naturally nobody wanted to purchase it. So in the evening the people of the king purchased it for the high price and put it into the treasury-hall. Now when Lakṣmī, "Fortune", saw Poverty there, she went to the king and complained: "King, I will go away; since in your treasury-hall, Poverty has come." The king requests her to stay, but she says: "Where there is Poverty, I can in no case stay". But the king is unable to recede back from the promise that he has once made and permits Lakṣmī

1. Similarly in the Kathāsaritsāgara, see above p 362. In case Aufrecht (Bodl. Cat. p. 152) speaks of a "recension tantrica", that is wholly unauthorised (notwithstanding Weber 207 f.).

to go away. Soon Discrimination (V i v e k a) comes in and says : "O king, we cannot stay in the place where there is Poverty. Fortune has gone away and I too must depart" The king allows him too to go away. After a short while C o u r a g e (Sattva) appears and says: "Lord, we cannot stay at the place where there is Poverty. Fortune and Discrimination have already left before me. I have come here just to bid you farewell, since I have enjoyed your long association I will go". At this the king shudders and thinks: "Ah, when Courage has left man, what remains then"[1].

prayātu lakṣmīś capalasvabhāvā
guṇāḥ vivekapramukhāh prayāntu ।
prāṇāśca gacchantu kṛtaprayāṇā
mā yātu sattvam tu nṛṇāṁ kadācit ॥

"Let L a k s m ī, that is fickle by nature, go;
Let the virtues, with D i s c r i m i n a t i o n as chief, leave:
Even L i f e itself may forsake him,
But C o u r a g e, may it never desert man".

Then he says : "O C o u r a g e, let all others go away. You at least do not go !" Then Courage says : "Sir, where there is P o v e r t y, I can in no case stay". But the king says : "So now she deprives me of my Head ! Without you what will be life to me ?" Now he wants to cut his head off. Courage prevents him from doing this. At this Courage remains with him and his Fortune and Discrimination that have left him come back again.

Since in all the recensions the frame-story makes reference to King Bhoja and Dhārā, the work could not be of an age earlier than the 11th century A. D. Probably it was written in honour of Bhoja, during the period his reign[1]. In about 1574 A. D. this work was translated into Persian under an order of Akbar the Great.[2] It has been

1. Cf W e b e r ibid 202, E d g e r t o n, ibid 251. Since there is a reference to the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā in the introduction it must be of a later age No definite conclusion with regard to its antiquity can be drawn from quotations found in it (from the Bhāgavatapurāna, the Mahānāṭaka, the Prabodhacandrodaya and Himādri's Dānakānda), since it is not known whether these citations were in the original work or if they had been included in some of its later recensions

2 This translation had been rendered into French by Baron

rendered into many new Indian and Siamese languages[1] and has been taken also into Mongolian literature under the title "Story of Ardshi Bordshi Chan"[2].

King Vikramāditya is the hero of many other narrative works too. One such work is, the Mādhavānala-Kāmakandalā-kathā[3] of Ānanda, a disciple of Bhaṭṭa Vidyādhara It belongs to the most popular stories of India and is still current in popular literature. It is an interesting story of love of a Brāhmana Mādhavānala with a dancing girl Kāmakandalā, who, after a long period of separation, are at last united through the efforts of King Vikramāditya. The story is narrated in simple and unartificial prose, in which numerous Sanskrit and Prākrit stanzas are inserted[4], many of which occur also in the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā. The concluding stanza shows that Vikramāditya is honoured here :

"There is no king who takes pleasure in doing good (to others), gives charity and is so fearless as Vikramāditya; nor has there been any".

Vikramodaya, a collection of stories written in verses, with King Vikramāditya as the hero, is preserved in a single manuscript. It has been translated into popular Indian and English languages. In this book Vikramāditya appears in the form of parrot as a wise talker. In the fifteenth story is found the 'Salomonic decision' by the side of other narratives on

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D Lescallier (New York 1817), see S d'Oldenburg, JRAS 1888 p. 147; and Th. Zachariae, Kleine Schriften, 1920, p. 162 f

1. The Bengali version of the work has been prepared by Mrtyuñjaya and the same has been translated into French by L Feer, Contes indiens, les trente-deux recits du trône (Batris Sinhasan) ou les merveilleux exploits de Vikramāditya traduits du Bengal, Paris 1883. It is found in Siamese under the title Sib-songlieng; see Bastian in "Orient und Occident III, 171, ff

2 Ardshi Bordshi is Rājā Bhoja Cf A Schiefner in the Bulletin hist -phill de l'Academie de St. Pétersbourg XV, 1858, p 63 ff.; Benfey, Pantshatantra I, 22 f and Kleinere Schriften II, 84 ff and B Jülg, Die neun Nachtragserzahlungen des Siddhi-kur und die Geschichte des Ardschi Bordschi Chan, aus dem Mongolischen ubersetzt, Innsbruck 1868.

3 The Mādhavānala-Kathā, published from three London and three Florentive MSS with a Translation of the Prākrit Passages by P E Pavolini in OC IX, London I, 430-453. Edited and translated by Pia Guerrinha, Pisa 1908 (that was not made available to W.; see Pavolini, GSAI 22 313 ff.) There are several manuscripts and two recensions, a smaller one and a bigger one

4 Cf H Schöhl, Die Strophen der Mādhavānalakathā (Diss Münster), Halle a. S 1914.

wise sayings[1]. Pañcadaṇḍachattra-prabandha, "The Story of the (Vikramāditya's) Umbre'las, having five Sticks", is a later work prepared by a Jaina compiler who did not live before the 15th century[2]. It is a book containing stories of magic and witchcraft, full of wonderful adventures, in which Vikramāditya plays the rôle of a powerful magician. With one stanza in the beginning and one stanza at the end the compiler has inserted Jaina moral that passes before our vision like Faust. The language is not pure Sanskrit, but Sanskrit mixed up with the popular Mārwārī-dialect spoken in Mārwār.

A work, that in form is indeed an epic, but in respect of its contents stands close to the book described here, is the Vīracaritra[3] of Ananta. It describes in 30 adhyāyas the struggle of Śālivāhana against Vikramāditya as a kind of introduction, in which the adventures of Śūdraka, an associate sovereign of Śalivāhana and later of his son Śaktikumāra are spoken about mainly. Later, however, he enters into conflict with him and unites with the successors of Vikramāditya and other heroes and defeats his enemy. Notwithstanding these apparently historical names, the epic is full of mythological legendry passages and numerous stories have been inserted into the main story. A similar work is Śālivāhanakathā, a poetical biography of Śālivāhana, by Śivadāsa. Although it is an epic (in 18 cantos), it is partly written in prose[4].

To the most famous and popular narrative work of India belongs the Śukasaptati, "The Seventy-two Stories of a Parrot". This book is not better than other works of narrative literature and has received a great many interpolations. Of this work we have before us many manuscripts of many recensions that differ widely from one another, trans-

1. Cf Eggeling, Ind Off Cat VII, p 1501 ff and Th Zachariae in ZVV 1906, 135 ff, Kleine Schriften 152 ff, 166 ff A cycle of stories, in which Vikramāditya appears in the from of a parrot, is found also in the Jainistic Pārśvanāthacaritra and has been translated by M Bloomfield, An art of Entering Another's Body A Hindu Fiction Motif, in Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol 56, 1917, p 21 ff

2 Edited and translated by A Weber, ABA 1877

3 H Jacobi, Uber das Viracaritram, Ind Stud 14, 97-160 mit einer Textprobe.

4 Cf Eggeling, Ind Off Cat VII, p. 1567 ff.

lations in popular Indian languages and redactions in several foreign languages· but the original must be taken to be irrecoverably lost. The Sanskrit text that we possess is of a very late age, and we are in a position to prove that the original work must have been older by many centuries. Through the edition and translation of Richard Schmidt[1] the two recensions have come to be known to us, one of which contains a textus simplicior and the other a textus ornatior. Both of these texts are in no case related as earlier and later revisions; but the textus simplicior is just an extract from a more complete text, that is lost to us. This lost text must have been closer to the textus ornatior. Although the latter, in course of time, has removed far from the primary work and contains numerous decorations and interpolations, still in it, the stories are throughout narrated in a better manner than in the textus simplicior, that in many cases has become obscure on account of brevity and tastes as partly devoid of humour. Such is likewise the frame-story, where the textus ornatior, in spite of all alterations and additions, has in essence remained faithful to the original version. Below is given in short the frame-story :—

> The merchant Haradatta has a son Madanasena, who has wholly yielded to sensuousness and always indulges in pleasures of love, to which he with wife Prabhāvatī surrenders, and both of them completely neglect the other aims of life concerning both the worldly affairs and their religious obligations. Haradatta is very much perturbed on account of the activities of his son. Then Brāhmana Trivikrama, his friend, comes to his help. The latter procures a wise parrot and a wise crow (the two are really a Gandharva-pair, who are changed into birds on account of wrath of Śiva for some omission), which the father keeps in a cage and puts inside the chamber of Madanasena. Now the parrot gives him wise advice, by telling all sorts of stories full of instruc-

[1] Vier Erzählungen aus der Śukasaptati, Sanskrit und Deutsch, Kiel 1890; Anmerkungen zum textus simplicior der Śukasaptati, ZDMG 48, 1894, 580ff Textus simplicior, edited in AKM X, 1, Leipzig 1897 and translated into German, Kiel, 1894, Textus ornatior, edited in ABayA XXI, 2, 1901 and translated into German, Stuttgart 1899; a smaller recension of the textus simplicior edited in ZDMG 54, 1900, 515ff and 55, 1901, 1ff.

tions, one of which is that of the holy hunter (dharma-vyādha[1]). Through these instructions the young man becomes aware of his duties to his elders. But when he starts on a business-tour, he entrusts his two birds to the care of his wife, before he takes leave from her. Prabhāvatī spends a few days in agony caused by the separation from her husband, but she is very soon persuaded by her friends to send for a lover. When she is decorating herself to meet him, the wise crow reproaches her. But before the woman is to able to strangle its neck it manages to fly away in the right time. The wise parrot, however, approves apparently of the evil intention of Prabhāvatī. He says that she is perfectly justified to make her life happy provided she is also as smart as Guṇaśālinī. Then the woman becomes further curious, and as desired by her, the parrot narrates the story of a woman who was caught while committing adultry, but succeeded in extricating herself from the snare. At the climax of the story the narrator stops and says · "what will she do now ?" Prabhāvatī ponders over it for a long time forgetfully so that in the meantime a greater portion of the night has passed away. Then the parrot concludes his first story[3]. In this manner for 69 continuous nights he continues to begin each evening a story, in which some clever person enters, who with some trick or through some clever word or through some crafty turning knows to overcome the difficulty.

Whilst the introduction is preserved better in the textus

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1. According to the Mahābhārata III, 207-219; see above I, 358, transl. p 581.

2. The parrot-pair, that wants to arouse the feeling of virtue in a woman, is met with also in the jātaka No 198, (cf also 145), see above II, 102, trans p 127. Cf. Benfey, Pantschatantra I, 271 ff, Gray in WZKM 18, 1904, p 42 and M. Bloomfield, On Taking Birds in Hindu Fiction, in Festschrift Windisch, p 349 ff In Bāna's Kādambarī too there appears a clever parrot as a story-teller

3 So unconditionally in the textus ornatior It is ingenuous in respect of framing that the parrot that wants to prevent the woman from adultry apparently approves of her intention and advises her to go to her lover, but actually prevents her from carrying out her design by narrating stories In the textus simplicior the parrot fails in his part, when he by mistake speaks to the woman that he will continue the story on condition that she will not go to her lover that night

ornatior, the original conclusion appears to be missing in it, though probably it exists in the textus simplicior. On the whole both the texts present mixed recensions. Notwithstanding this we are in a position to draw a picture of the original work on their basis. So far as the form of the work is concerned, it was probably not different from that of our text : a plain and simple prose[1], that alternates with verses, of which the most are epigrams. Narrative verses are found in the beginning and at the end of the stories. The epigrams are partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prākrit. Many of aphoristic stanzas recur in other narrative works as well, particularly in the Pañcatantra[2]. Some of the stories, especially fictions, have been taken from one or the other version of the Pañcatantra, apparently from its Jaina recensions[3]. On the other hand many of the stories on adultry have entered into younger recensions of the Pañcatantra from an older version of the Śukasaptati[4].

Since 52 of the stories are common to the two recensions, we may perhaps assume that they constitute the primary stuff to the greatest extent. Half of these stories are on adultry, and most of them are of the type in which a beautiful clever woman cheats her husband who takes her unawares while she is with her paramour, but she is able to free herself from the difficulty through one or other trick. Others of these stories are of the type in which a woman who has not preserved chastity receives either an injury or disgrace, whilst the man, who commits adultry with her is cunning. The second-half of the stories are pornographical narratives of

1 It is also possible that many of the stories (for example 14, 23, 41, 57) may be going back to their original metrical version. Winternitz does not believe that the whole of the textus simplicior has sprung up from a metrical source, as assumed by Hertel (Festschrift Windisch, p 141). Likewise it is also possible that many of the stories may have been taken from popular language But we are not in a position to deduce from the Prākrit-stanzas occurring here that the work was originally written in Prākrit.

2. Cf Hertel in BSGW 1902, p 125 ff

3 Cf Hertel, WZKM 17, 1903, 343ff and Pañcatantra, p 234 ff. 245 ff; Benfey, Pantschatantra I, 246 ff; 275 ff; 283 f.

4 So perhaps the story of the deceived husband who carries over his head the cot on which his wife is rejoicing the company of her paramour (Śukas. simpl 24, ornat. 38), or the story mentioned above in note 3 p 327; cf. Benfey, Pantschatantra I, 372 f, 163 ff

all sorts of tricks and pranks of women (adultry excepted), thief's stories, stories of clever judgments or of solutions of riddles[1], and lastly some stories of other sorts of cleverness. The stories on adultry and on harlots often verge to pornographical stories and some of them are outright obscene. However, it will be simply wrong to brand the whole book as a work on pornography. The work must not be measured with the standard of the West, but first of all we ought to make a comparison between it and the corresponding works of European literature of earlier centuries. Frequently striking in these stories is the misuse of religion for the purpose of cheating. So (in the third story) the goddess Ambikā lends the form of Vimala to the cheat Kutila with the intention of helping him in committing adultry. In other narratives the woman who has violated her chastity makes cash-payment towards performance of some religious ceremony for the purpose of happiness of her husband, or in which she persuades her husband that her lovers expelled from the house are the people of the landlord, etc. It is not seldom that the meeting takes place in a temple and there is a verse in which wedding feasts, procession, temples, places of visit and opera-feasts are enumerated among the places and occasions for beginning of love-affairs.

It is not possible to decide with certainty as to who was the author of the orig nal Śukasaptati or when was it written[2]. The work has been often translated into modern popular languages[3]. The famous Pers on translation T u t i n a m e h

1 For example the stories, in which a magistrate has to decide as to whom does a woman belong, when her real husband and an imposter lay claim on her (3, 4), or those of Mūladeva, who has to decide in a quarrel between two devils as to who of the two has a more beautiful wife of the two similarly appearing women (30, in the text ornat 42)

2 The author of the textus simplicior was perhaps a Śvetāmbara Jaina, whose name is not known, and that of the textus ornatior, a Brāhmana, C i n t ā m a n i b h a ṭ ṭ a by name Cf H e r t e l, Pañcatantra, p 240 ff According to Hertel the textus ornatior was fashioned out of the Pañcatantra and, therefore, must have been written after 1199 A D On the other hand the Yogaśāstra of Hemacandra, written after 1160 A D, mentions the "70 stories of a parrot" (H e r t e l, ibid 234 ff)

3. H e r t e l (Festschrift Windisch, 138 ff) has studied into an interesting translation in an Eastern Rājasthānī dialect, the Suvābahuttarī-kathā. This translation has been made from a Sanskrit rendering, that has

has become of the greatest importance for world-literature. Already in the beginning of the 14th century A.D. there was a Persian translation of the Śukasaptati, but that was crude and clumsy. This imperfect translation induced N a c h s c h a b i , a contemporary of Hāfiz and of Sādi to prepare an ornate work[1]. On Nachshabi's "Parrot-book" is based the Persian rendering by K a d i r i made in the 18th or in beginning the 19th century[2], and one hundred years after Nachshabi was prepared the T u r k i s h version[3]. Nachshabi has, as he himself states, omitted many of the inappropriate stories and has substituted for them other Indian stories particularly from the Vetālapañcavimsati. Through the Tutinam h many Indian stories have gained currency in West Asia and in Europe[4]. No story has become so famous in world-literature as the 15th one of the Śukasaptati (text simpl.[5]) of the falsified divine judgment, that has attained great fame in the "Tristan and Isolde"[6] by Gottfried von Strassburg.

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as its outhor a poet Devadatta, son of Purusottamadāsa It contains a fine version of the "Salomonic judgment", in which the decision is pronounced by a wise girl (see B e n f e y, Kleine Schriften II, 156 ff and above II, 112; transl p. 138) The stories of this version have been translated by H e r t e l, Ind Marchen, p. 320 ff Of little interest is the Marāṭhī-translation that has been rendered into German and published by R. S c h m i d t (Leipzig 1897, AKM X, 4),

1. In the year 1330 A D, according to P. H o r n, Geschichte der persischen Litteratur, Leipzig 1901, p 212 f

2 See H e r t e l, Das Panñcatantra p 244

3. On Nachshabi's Tutinameh, see P e r t s c h in ZDMG 21, 1867, 505-551 The version of Kadiri, that contains only 35 stories, had been translated into German by C J.L I k e n in 1822 A D G o e t h e was full of admiration for this translation and commended it as a tasteful composition in respect of the translation of the Śukasaptati promised by K o s e g a r t e n (samtliche Werke, edited by G o e d e k e, Bd 8, 364 f.). A new impression of Iken's translation of the "Persischen Papageienbuchs" with an introduction by R. Schmidt has appeared as vol. 21 of the "Kulturhistorischen Liebhaberbibliothek" The Turkish version of the Tutinameh (with 73 stories) has been translated into German also as vol 17 in the "Bibliothek der Romane" in the Inselverlag by George R o s e n (Leipzig 1858) Cf. also H e r t e l, Pañcatantra 239 ff

4. There are also two Malayan versions of the Parrot-book; see P e r t s c h, ZDMG 22, 568 Many of them have been taken into the Mongolian collection "Ardshi Bordshi" too

5 In the textus simplicior the same story occurs as No 24, but without the judgment of the god

6. The oldest datable form of this story, that takes us back at least to the 5th century A D, is the one in which a paramour is mad and takes hold of his beloved within his arms, so that she can swear that she had not the occasion of having any person other than this fool in between her arms,

Like other famous works of Indian literature the Śukasaptati too has repeatedly been imitated by later-day writers and indeed both in Sanskrit and in popular languages[1]. One such imitation, composed in ślokas in the fashion of the purāṇas, is the Dinālāpanikāśukasaptati, "the seventy stories of a parrot in daily conversation[2]". A remarkable version of the Śakuntalā-legend is narrated as the story of the 16th day.

A famous book of world-literature that with a high degree of probability can be considered to be going back to an original Indian work, that is not available and stands in close relation to the Śukasaptati in respect of its subject-matter, is the Book of Sindbād. The Arabic writer Masūdi, who died in 956 A.D., says about the Kitāb el Sindbād that it had come from India. In essence this work is the same as the Persian Sindibād-nāmeh, a version included in Nachshabi's Tutinameh, the Syrian book, Sindban, the Arabic version, that is found under the title "The Seven Wazirs" in many manuscripts of "Thousand and One Nights", the Hebrew version, under the title Sindabar, the Greek book Syntipas and lastly the "Seven Wise Masters" of the region of European literature, that depend on them[3]. The introduction, that is very like that of the Pañcatantra, is Indian. In the Sindbad too a king makes over his son to the care of a wise man, who promises to make him in six months so wise "that on the whole of the earth no wiser man will be found". Indian is also the idea that stories are to be told for the purpose of saving some person's life, here that of a prince, who is condemned to death Most of the stories are retold in one or the other Indian narrative

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it has been translated by Chavannes, Cinq Cents Contes I, No 116 from the Chinese Tripiṭaka The motif has been inapropriately used in the Jātaka No 62 On a Mongolian version see Bjülg, Mongolische Marchen, Erzahlung aus der Tristan und Isolde, monogolisch und deutsch, Innsbruck 1867 Cf A Pfungst, Aus der indischen Kulturwelt, Stuttgart 1904, 115 ff, Zachariae, Kleine Schriften 282 f, and particularly J J Meyer, Isoldes Gottesurteil, Berlin 1914, p 74 ff

1 A list of such imitations has been is given by R Schmidt, Vier Erzahlungen aus der Śukasaptati, p 6 ff

2 Specimens with German translation by R Schmidt, ZDMG 45, 1891, 629 ff, 46, 1892, 664 ff

3 On the whole of this literature see V Chauvin, Bibliographies des ouvrages Arabes, t VIII

work, so the story of killing of the innocent mongoose in the Pañcatantra, but especially the stories of adultery and over all the stories of wickedness of women. It almost seems that in this respect the work was meant to be a supplement to the Pañcatantra, a book of lessons, with which young men could be appraised of the trickeries of women and be warned against them[1].

Less certain is the Indian origin of "Thousand and One Nights", although this work in its framing shows great similarity with works like the Vetālapañcavimśati, the Vikramacarita and Śukasaptati and the contains other stories that are doubtlessly Indian[2]. J. Charpentier[3] has, in a Jaina commentary of the 11th century A.D., found as frame of a series of narratives, the story of queen Kanayamañjarī, who will like to have the king devoted to her exclusively and therefore, every night before going to sleep she asks her maidservant to begin a story that she should continue the next evening. By this curiosity is aroused in the king so that for six months he discards all other women and always sleeps with Kanayamañjarī alone. Charpentier sees in this the model of Sheherzade and presumes that the Pahlavi original of the Arabic collection may have been translated from an Indian popular language. About the frame of the "Thousand and One

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1 Comparetti (Ricerche intorne al Libro di Sindbad, Milano 1869) and Th Benfey (Pantschatantra I, 12 f., 23, 38 ff, 503 ff and Kleinere Schriften II, 27 ff) have already pointed to the Indian origin of the book of Sindbad This evidence has been made complete by S. Warren (Het indische origineel van den Griekschen Syntipas. Verslagen en Medev. der kon. Akad van Wetensch, s IV, t 5, p 41 ff), who has shown that many distarted and unintelligible passages in Greek syntipas are not different from the unfortunate translations of famous Indian epigrammatic stanzas "In case a conclusion can at all be allowed to be deduced from analogies, it will appear that the original Arabic text is a faithful reproduction of the Pahlavi text and this one goes back to the Indian original", Noldeke, ZDMG 33, 524. Cf also Hertel, ZDMG 55, 1901, 488. On the Indian origin of the book of Sindbad, cf Hertel, ZDMG 74, 1920, 458 ff., who has traced the story of the "cheated cheat" in a Jaina Sanskrit text of a poem of 548 stanzas, Ratnacūḍakathā of Jñānasāgara (middle of the 15th century A D) and in a poem in old Gujarātī.

2 We have a great number of stories and motives in the "Thousand and One Nights" that are doubtlessly of Indian origin and the whole layout of the work like Schachtelgeschichte, is not of minor Indian origin August Müller, Bezz Beitr. 13, 1888, 225 ff, 239 ff. Ind. Stud. 15, 212 ff.; Gray, WZKM 18, 1904, 39 ff and ERE VI, p. 3.

3 Paccekabuddhageschichten 134, 146 ff. see above II 321, Trans. p 433.

Nights" E. Cosquin[1] has shown that all the chief constituents rest on Indian motives. But the facts do not warrant the statement that the Pahlavi basic work was wholly translated from some Indian language. It will be prudent to assume that a Persian poet had planned the frame and the series of stories in imitation of some Indian original[2]".

Many Sanskrit works of narrative literature have been probably taken recently from popular languages into Sanskrit. Apparently of this type is the Bharaṭakadvātriṁśikā[3], "Thirty two stories of the Bharaṭakas" (a class of beggar-monks). They are stories of foolish and wicked people meant exclusively for ridiculing the priests.

> For example here we find the story of the mendicants, who build a chain for the purpose of reaching the heaven, and the first of them firmly fastens the chain to the tail of the heavenly wish-cow (Kāmadhenu), and when he wants to show to his companion the dimensions of pancakes that they will be offered in the heaven to eat, he loses hold of the tail of the Kāmadhenu and all the mendicants fall on the earth. Another famous story is of a simpleton, who cuts the branch of a tree on which he is sitting and takes the man, who tells him that he will fall down, to be a great prophet, and gives so much credence to his-talk that he lets himself die[4].

1. La Prologue Cadre des milles et une nuits etc. (Extr. de la Revue biblique), Paris 1909

2 However, it is noteworthy that even the stories of Sindbad and Ahiqār (see above II, 111; trans p 137) taken into the "Thousand and One Nights" have so many parallels in Indian narrative literature.

3. Individual stories from this work communicated by Aufrecht, ZDMG 14, 1860, 569 ff.; and Festgruss Roth 129 ff.; Weber, Indische Streifen I, 245 ff; P. E Pavolini, SIFI 1, 1897, 51 ff; Hertel, Indische Märchen, p 148 ff According to Hertel, (ibid 376 f) the book conceals "under the harmless form of popular fools' stories opposition of the Jainas against the Śaiva monks, whom they hated most on account of the bloody sacrifices practised by them". In the stories neither about Jainism nor about a "polemic writing" much is to be found. Probably they were collected together by a Jaina for ridiculing the Bharaṭakas J Hertel has edited the Bharaṭakadvātriṁśikā (Sächsische Forschungsinstitute in Leipzig, Ind Abt No 2, 1921) and in vol. 5 of the "Indischen Erzähler" (Leipzig 1922), and he has translated it with Somadeva's fools' stories into German. Supplement to the edition, ibid p 194 ff Probably the author is Munisundara, (1359-1446 A.D.).

4. This story has a large number of parallels in world literature; see R. Köhler in Orient und "Occident" I, 431 ff; 765 ff.

A similar work is Kathārṇava, "Sea of Stories" of Śivadāsa, with 35 stories, in which occur also the stories of fools and thieves[1]. The legends of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa have been caricatured in Haribhadra's Dhūrtākhyāna, that is written in Prākrit stanzas[2]. Purusaparīksā[3], ("Test of Man" by the poet Vidyāpati[4], a collection of stories written in the second half of the 14th century, too betrays its popular origin. There are 44 instructive stories (in prose with intercalated epigrams) that are meant for the purpose of teaching and are set in a frame-story. The apparently sober frame is as follows :—

A king has a wonderfully beautiful daughter, whom he wants to give in marriage. He asks a Brāhmaṇa as to how he will be able to find a worthy husband for her. The latter describes to him the different types of noble and ignoble persons (the "hero of generosity", the "hero of kindness", the "hero of battle" the "hero of truthfulness", the thief, the coward, the greedy, the worthless, etc.), and for each type an example is added in the form of a story. Most of these stories are not particularly interesting. But a beautiful story is the example of the man who has distinguished himself in wit (hāsavidya). IV. 13 :

Four burglars are caught while committing theft and they are ordered to be put to death. After three thieves have been impaled, the fourth one escapes by speaking to the hanger that he wants to communicate to the king the formula a powerful magic. The king becomes

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1 Cf. Aufrecht, Bodl Cat p. 153 f; Weber, Indische streifen I, 251 f; Pavolini, GSAI 9, 189 ff

2 Cf E LEUMANN in the deliberations of the 46th convention of German philologists and teachers in Strassburg, 1891, p 193

3. Cf. Brockhaus in BSGW 1857, p 22 ff.; Aufrecht, Leipzig, No 406 Editions with Gujarātī translation, published Bombay 1892. An English translation of Kalee Krishun Bahadoor, Calcutta 1830. The work has been translated also into popular languages, so in Bengali. [The best edition with Maithili translation is by Shri Ramnatha Jha Patna 1960]

4. The poet had received the grant of a village from King Śivasimha of Mithilā in 1399 A D (when the latter was still a crown-prince). The copper-plate grant is not existent. Vidyāpati is the author of the Durgābhakti-tarangini, a hand-book of the Devi-cult, too. He is more famous as a writer of religious hymns in the Maithili language of Bihar. Cf. Grierson, Ind. Ant. 14, 1885, 182 ff

curious and allows the thief to be brought to him. He reports that he knows to grow trees of gold : gold seeds are sown on the earth. After a month a shrub grows up, of which the leaves are of pure gold. The king provides him with facilities to grow gold. The thief is given a lump of gold that is cut into smallest pieces. He ploughs a piece of land and says: "Since now the field and seeds are ready, kindly let a man be brought to sow the seeds". The king enquires from him as to why he himself does not sow. He replies · a thief cannot sow gold ; this can be done only by a person who has never stolen anything. Now it so happens that neither the king nor his minister nor the chief judge is able to assert that he has never stolen. At this the burglar says : "why then of all persons, am I alone to die ?" At this the king is so much pleased that he not only grants him his life but also makes him the gate-keeper of his court[1].

Lastly we must include under narrative literature some works that contain stories on historical personalities, but cannot be considered to form historical literature in any sense, since they contain all sorts of anecdotes, without any consideration for historical truth and without any scruple with regard to anachronisms. The works of this type are the Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṅga and Prabandhakośa of Rājaśekhara[2]. The Bhojaprabandha[3] of Ballāla too belongs to the same class of work (end of the 16th century A. D.). In these works the life and activities of courts of Indian princes, particularly literary parasitoriums, are described very nicely in a simple style in prose and verses (of which most are epigrams). But the contents are only stories that are associated with the names of the famous king Bhoja and of the poets and scholars, who are presumed to have

1 Text and translation in Brockhaus, ibid 34 ff, German also by J J Meyer, Daśakumāracarita, p 69 ff A similar story in the Kathārnava, see Weber, Ind Streifen 1, 251 f

2 See above II, 332 f, Transl p 520

3 Edited by Th Pavie in JA 1854-55, s 5 t III, 185 ff, t IV 385 ff, t V, 76 ff with extracts translated into French by K P. Parab, Bombay NSP 1896, by Vāsudevaśarman, Bombay NSP 1913. The great popularity of the Bhojaprabandha is proved by its large number of manuscripts and different recensions, see L. Oster, Die Rezensionen des Bhojaprabandha, Diss Darmstadt, 1911.

lived in his court. So for example Kālidāsa is made a contemporary of Bhoja[1]. This work can in no case be considered as historical. It is unhistorical to the highest degree and has misled many of the researchers of former times[2].

ORNATE FICTION

It has already been mentioned above, that according to Indian rhetoricians metre does not constitute an essential component of poetry, rather a "kāvya" can be composed equally well in either verse or in prose or in admixture of prose and poetry[3]. "Kāvyas" in prose are the Sanskrit fictions. Of the ornate court poetry, they possess all the characteristics excepting the metre : descriptions overrun with ornate pictures and similes, unending long compounds, puns and other embellishments. However, the plot of the fiction is not taken as in the epics, or from the legends of gods and heroes, but mostly from fable-literature.

In this manner the D a ś a k u m ā r a c a r i t a, "the Adventures of Ten Princes"[4] differs from works like Guṇādhya's Bṛhatkathā more on account of perfection in the style of ornate court poetry than in the matter of the subject-matter. Dandin's work too is a cycle of tales and stories that are set in a common frame. The frame-story, in brief, is as follows :—

The king of Magadha is defeated in a battle by

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1. Cf. the beautiful translation of the story by H e r t e l, Tantrākhyāyika-Übersetzung I, 13 f. See also R P i s c h e l, Furst und Dichter im alten Indien (Deutsche Revue 29, 2, 1904, p. 51 ff and Q u a c k e n b o s, The Sanskrit poems of Mayūra, p. 42 ff

2 L a s s e n, Ind Altertumskude III, 836 ff, has treated the story of king Bhoja of Dhārā with the use of Bhojaprabandha and of similar Bhojacaritra This work too has a tale-like character, but many historical conclusions are deducible from it.

3. See above p. 13 f.

4. Edited by G. B ü h l e r and P P e t e r s o n, Bombay 1887 and 1891 (BSS Nos 10 and 42); an earlier edition by H H. W i l s o n, London 1846. German translations by J J M e y e r, Leipzig, Lotus-Verlag o. J. (1902) with a valuable introduction, and by H. H a b e r l a n d t (with abridgements) ,Munchen 1903 Cf. H H. W i l s o n, Works III, 342 ff; W e b e r, Ind. Streifen I, 308 ff, T a l u b-u l-Ilm. Ind. Ant 4, 1875, 157. ff. W i n t e r n i t z states that the edition of N. B G o d a b o l e and K. P. P a r a b, Bombay, NSP. 1883 and that of M. R. K a l e, Bombay 1917 were not available to him A new German translation of the Daśakumāracarita had been just published by J H e r t e l (Die Zehn Prinzen, ein indischer Roman von Daṇḍin, Vollständig verdeutscht, 3 vols., Indische Erzähler Bd. 1-3, Leipzig 1922).

the king of Mālava and flees away into the forest, where his wife gives birth to a son, Prince Rājavāhana. At the same time a son is born to each of the four minister of the king, and shortly after him five different princes are brought in a wholly wonderful manner to take shelter under the former king. These ten boys, princes and ministers' sons, grow up together and are trained in all crafts and sciences in a similar manner. When they grow up, the prince with his companions starts for "victory of the world" (*digvijaya*). One day, in the Vindhya-mountains he meets a Brāhmaṇa Mātanga, whom he renders some help in achieving certain magical power for acquisition of mastery over the nether-world. After different adventures the prince resumes his own journey. In the meantime his companions, searching for him, go out into the world. Since the prince does not find them, he too begins to stroll about and at last comes to a park, where he meets some of his companions. One by one all the ten princes are reunited, and each of them narrates the story of his adventure, that he has experienced during the intervening period.

The stories that are narrated within this frame have very colourful contents. J. J. Meyer[1] has called the Daśakumāracarita a "Schelmenroman (knaves' fiction)" and Pischel[2] a "Sittenroman (moral fiction)" and likewise one may call it also a "tale-fiction". Some of the stories of are knave's fictions, so the stories of Apahāravarman, Upahāravarman and Arthapāla, that are full of intrigues, knaveries and scoundrel's activities. Hertel calls it a "political fiction", and in his opinion it is a narrative work meant for instruction, like the Tantrākhyāyika. But this does not appear to be correct. Although the poet has occasionally shown his knowledge of arthaśāstra, still he has planned his work as a light literature.

Prince Apahāravarman is a master-thief and scientifically schooled burglar. He speaks about larceny as a wholly honourable profession. Therein he is not a person devoid of moral grounding. He plunders a

1. In the title to his translation
2. DIZ 1903, Sp 3002

city for the purpose of helping a man ruined by a harlot, so that he may regain his fortune, since he has heard that the city is full of rich miserly fellows : for this he is resolved to follow "the instruction prescribed by Karnīsuta[1] in order to make them realise the perishability of wealth and to bring them to senses thereby". Even Upahāravarman, the hero of the second story, in his turn, who has no scruple either in respect of falsehood, or cheating or killing in his activities directed for getting possession of a queen, is declared "moralist" by Rājavāhana, who says :

paśyata pāratalpikamupādhiyuktamapi gurujanabandhavyasanamuktihetutayā dustāmitrapramāpaṇābhyupāyatayā rājyopalabdhimūlatayā ca puskalāvarthadharmāvapyarīradhat ।

"See , even by sinful mounting the nupti l bed of another person he has earned abundant profit (*artha*) and merit (*dharma*) inasmuch as the main purpose has been to secure release from arrest his venerable elders and it has been the means of killing a wicked enemy and that of the root of attainment of a kingdom."

All the stories are full of tale-like branches and rare adventures. The complication of treatment sometimes reaches to such a degree that the reader often gets tired in loosening the thread of the story. In all the stories miracle plays such a great rôle that it significantly interferes with suspense. Everything , for example, is ordained from before. All happens as it must happen. But this takes place, not on the ground of some internal necessity, but as a sequence to some curse, a predestination, a dream, a prophesy, etc. The arbitrary nature of tales prevails everywhere. When there is something bad with the hero, the reader has no fear about him, since it is known from before that he will somehow be relieved of it. Everywhere strong eroticism prevails. With predilection the poet tarries when he describes the beauty of women and when he paints love-scenes. Many of these places do not only prove Daṇḍin's thorough knowledge of the kāmaśāstra, but also of real poetry. Full of thoughtful colour-splendour is, for example, the description from the beginning of the fifth chapter, where Pramati narrates, how he falls asleep in

3. Author of a work on theft

the forest and suddenly wakes up in the company of beautiful women and finds himself close to the most wonderful princes Navamālikā, the most beautiful of all of them.

That our poet does not lack in humour is demonstrated by the story of Ṛṣi Marīci and the harlot Kāmamañjarī:—

One day the harlot rushes forth into the hermitage of Ṛsi Marīcī after declaring that she is determined to lead a forest-life. The mother of the harlot follows her and protests against her adopting this course. The sage decides that she may live in the hermitage for a day, know the forest-life, return back to her mother and then again follow her profession. But the harlot serves the sage with great love and attention, and she does not take a long time to make the sage begin to love her fully. To a harlot's talk on virtues he retorts with a talk about the love-god. Lastly she invites him to the town on the occasion of the love-feast where she appears with the age, who is entirely captivated by her, in a royal park, where it is promptly declared that the harlot had made a bet that she would allure Rsi Marīcī with her charms. After she has won the bet, she bids the sage farewell, who returns back to his hermitage ashamed and full of remorse. Through this lesson he finds again the path to attainment of peace[1].

In respect of language Daṇdin shows himself as a master of the kāvya-style overburdened with embellishments that of course alternate with the simple language of the plain narrator. Here is an example of the poet's metaphorical language :—

After this the above-mentioned sage Marīci to whom Apahārvaman has narrated his story, *tanmanaś cyutatamaḥspraśabhiyevāstaṁ raviragāt ṛṣimuktaśca rāgaḥ sandhyātvenāsphurat tatkathādattavairāgyāṇīva kama'avānāni samakucan.*

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[1]. That this story of Marīci is a transformation of the legend of Ṛṣyaśṛnga, as meant by Luders, NGGW 1897, 109, is not believed by W. Cf also J J Meyer, Das Weib im altindischen Epos, p 407 f The story may be compared also with the legend of Saint Martinianus, but Garbe (Indien und das Christentum, p. 116 f A) rightly considers the similarity as accidental In both the stories, there is a harlot who bets that she will allure a sage, but the rest is wholly different. But the stories of alluring holy men are so frequent in Indian as well as in Christian literature that we can hardly think of dependence of the one on the other

"The sun set as if out of fear of touching the dark that had leaked out of his mind. And the lustre of love discarded by the sage shone forth as the evening-glow. The lotus-forests folded themselves as if they had been given freedom from passion"[1].

The entire chapter VII is a stylish ornate work, in which there occurs not a single labial sound[2], since the lips of the narrator Mantragupta have been wounded by his struggling beloved in their amorous sport. It is no wonder that there the language has become very bombastic, so when Mantragupta narrates: *nakṣatrasantānahārayastyagragrathitaratnaṁ kṣaṇadāndhakāragandhahastidāranaikakesariṇam kanakaśailaśṛṅgaraṅgalāsyalīlānaṭam gaganasāgaraghanāntaraṅgarājilaṅghanaikacakraṁ kāryākāryasāksiṇaṁ sahasrārciṣaṁ sahasrākṣadigaṅganāṅgarāgarāgāyitakiranajālaṁ raktanīrañjalimārādhya nijaniketatanaṁ nyaśiśriyam*; "I returned home having worshipped the sun, the jewel strung at the top of the garland of the line of the stars, the lion, who alone tears asunder the elephant in rut of darkness, the dancer who dances at the peak of the mountain of gold, the o n l y crocodile who traverses the surface of the thick waves of the ocean of the sky, who is a witness of noble and ignoble activities, who has thousand rays, whose net of rays is painted with the sandal of the body of the lady of the direction of the thousand-eyed god "with offerings of red lotuses[4]".

As regards the height of the creative talents of Daṇḍin it is hardly difficult for us to arrive at a decision as to how far the stories have been composed by his own-self or have been worked upon some older sources. Probably the writer took the motif of the frame-story from the Bṛhatkathā of

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1. Translation from the German rendering of M e y e r, p. 212 (text ed. G o d a b o l e, p. 89).

2. In the Kāvyādarśa 3, 83 Daṇḍin himself states that this ornate piece is particularly difficult. "In fact, when somebody hears the seventh chapter read aloud he has actually the impression as if somebody is reciting it with wounded lips (J a c o b i, ZDMG 40, 1886, 99 f.).

3. So also Ratnāvalī, Act III, V, 49. J. J M e y e r (p. 324), following W., appears to have read *ekanakram* for H-*cakram*. P e t e r s o n (text II, p 46) does not give a variant reading for *nakram*.

4 That is Indra, the defender of the East. The quarters are of the female sex.

Guṇāḍhya, since in the Kathāsaritsāgara (chapters 69-103) we find the story of a prince, who had ten ministers' sons as his companions, who were separated from each other as a sequel to a curse and after their reunion each of them narrated his own experience. In other stories as well we find many parallels and harmonies between the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Daśakumāracarita. They make it apparent that the poet knew the Brhatkathā and had utilized it. Since many of the stories occur also in the jātaka-books, in any case, it is certain that Dandin had not composed all the stories himself[1].

The Daśakumāracarita is of great interest for cultural history. In particular we get an insight into the life and activities of unworthy people, rogues, buffoons, thieves, gamblers, and harlots. We see here amongst others a presentation of buffoons, over whose head stands a Brāhmaṇa. Here we are able to know about the life in a gambling den and we can see the practices of a poison-doctor being ridiculed. We find here described the fight of cocks and a detailed picture of the ball-dance of a princess. We obtain a thorough knowledge about the condition of life of harlots. The profession of harlots is as ordained by the creator and is under the protection of the king. The story of Nimbavatī in chapter VI throws remarkable sidelight on sexual relationships and on the position of women in society. The story of Vīrabhadra in chapter VIII is important (also for the history of nītiśāstra), where the daily course of king's life is described more minutely and in apparent agreement with the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra.

Unfortunately the Daśakumāracarita has not come down to us in an intact form. The original work must have been developed from an introduction and the stories of ten princes. But the beginning and the end got lost early, so that

1. The vetāla-stories are included in the story of the sixth minister in the Kathāsaritsāgara Similarly in the Daśakum in Mitragupta's story of the sixth "*kumāra*" are included four stories, of which the 4th one, that is of Nitambavatī, that has the common tendency with one of the vetāla-stories, in which the hero attains his goal through the crude trick that he practises on his wife under the suspicion of her being a witch Cf Charpentier, Paccekabuddhageschichten, p 143 ff, Lacôte, Essai sur Guṇāḍhya 289 Here we find also the story of the ungrateful wife (also in the Kathāsaritsāgara 65, 2 ff and the jātaka No 193, see above II, 104, transl p 130) and of the ideal wife who can prepare a dainty dish out of paddy-straws (in the jātaka No 546 narrated with much wit and humour).

the genuine text contains only seven stories and the beginning of the eighth one. But our text begins with a section (*pūrvapīṭhikā*) that contains not only, as might be expected, the introduction (on the birth and early youth of the ten young men), but also the stories of two princes and also the beginning of the story of Rājavāhana. This *pūrvapīṭhikā* is the composition of a later writer, who has attempted to imitate the style of Dandin. The last story has remained incomplete[1].

As a master of "crooked speech" (vakrokti), Subandhu, the author of the fiction Vāsavadattā[2], enjoys high reputation in India. Bāna says that before the 'Vāsavadattā" pride of poets sank down[3]. A century later Vākpati (Gaüḍavaha, verse 800) says about himself that he enjoyed the poetry of Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Subandhu and Haricandra. And

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1. In many manuscripts the *pūrvapīṭhikā* is wanting, a thing that is a strong proof for its not being genuine. Another attempt made to complete the work of Daṇḍin is one Daśakumārcaritapūrvapīṭhikā in verses of Vināyaka and yet another is the Daśakumāra kathāsāra, likewise in verses, of Appayya Mantrin (or Appayāmātya). Moreover, the Daśakumārakathāśesa, in 5 ucchvāsas, of Dīksita Cakrapāni is a continuation of the work of Daṇḍin. Lastly Mahārājādhirāja Gopīnātha in his Daśakumārakathā claims to have improved upon Daṇḍin's work, but in fact he has, under insignificant alterations and additions, merely added his own introduction and his own conclusion, see Eggeling, Ind Off Cat. VII, p. 1551 ff Meyer, Introduction to his translation, p. 134 ff. has tried to defend the authenticity of the pūrvapiṭhikā R Schmidt (ZDMG 64, 1910, 476) is satisfied with one "non liquet". But most of the researchers are unanimous in declaring it as spurious Cf A Gawronski, Sprachliche untersuchungen über das Mṛcchakaṭika und das Daśakumāracarita, Diss. Leipzig 1907, p. 45 ff; Charpentier, Paccekabuddhageschichten, p. 144 f.; Lacôte in Mélanges Lévi, p. 267. Hertel (Die zehn Prinzen, Bd. 3) has now with the help of documents proved that the pūrvapīṭhikā is spurious. He believes (vol. 3, p. 46) that Daṇḍin never completed either its beginning or the end. As regard the beginning W. says that he does not think this opinion as probable It is, however, possible, that the work was never completed.

2. Standard edition of Fitzedward Hall with the commentary of Śivarāma Tripāṭhin in the Bibl. Ind. Calcutta 1859, translated into English by L H Gray (with reprint of the transcription of the Telugu edition, Madras 1862) New York CUIS, Vol. 8, 1913. Cf. Weber, Indische Streifen I, 369 ff

3. Bāna (Harṣacarita v. 12) does not mention Subandhu as the author of the "Vāsavadattā". It is not probable that he means Bhāsa's "Vāsavadattā", because Bhāsa has been mentioned in v. 16. However, there was a much older *ākhyāyikā* with the title "Vāsavadattā" that has been referred to by Patañjali (on Pān. 4, 3, 87), and materially it cannot be concluded that this is meant by Bāna But the researches of W. Cartellieri (WZKM 1, 1887, 155, ff.), Thomas, (ib 12, 1898, 21 ff) and Mankowski (ibid 15, 1901, 246 f.) have shown that Bāna had imitated Subandhu and had tried to surpass him, and it can hardly be doubted that in this verse he means the "Vāsavadattā" of Subandhu.

still in later centuries Subandhu is mentioned among the earliest poets[1]. We know nothing about the life of this writer and we do not find his any other work mentioned anywhere Subandhu has nothing in common with the drama of Bhāsa except the name of the heroine. It is not known what was the source whence Subandhu took the plot for this fiction. He has hardly created it himself. But even if he himself has composed the story he has in any case utilized a long series of current tale-motives: love in dream, talking bird, magic horse, transformation into a stone-slab etc. But it is clear that it did not occur to the poet to invent adventures and to narrate them, but rather he wanted to show his mastery in respect of the kāvya-style. His style is *Gaudī rīti*, that is the kāvya-style over burdened with long compound words, accumulated puns, antitheses, hyperboles, ornate similes and all other possible figures of speech. A brief survey of the contents and a few probes of the style can hardly be of any use, since the style is garbed in such a different language that is totally untranslatable, a fuller representation from this little delightful work is given below :—

> Kandarpaketu, the son of King Cintāmani, sees in a morning-dream a young girl of wonderful beauty and begins to love desperately this dream-picture. With his friend Makaranda, he goes out in search of his beloved. They pitch their night-tent under a tree in a forest. At midnight the prince is aroused from slumber by a conversation. He watches and listens to the talk of a parrot-couple and thence learns as follows:—The king of Kusumapura has only one daughter Vāsavadattā who refuses all suitors, although she now is of marriageable age and her father has already arranged for selection of a husband by her ownself. But in a dream she sees a young man who possesses all the beauty and perfection that she likes and learns that his name is Kandarpaketu. She is overtaken with burning love for this youth. A preacher-crow is sent in search of the beloved The latter eventually sits on a tree and immediately hands

1. Vāmana quotes the "Vāsavadattā" in his poetics The author of an inscription of the year 808 A D tries to imitate the style of the Vāsavadattā, see Kielhorn, Ep Ind. 6, 239 ff

over to Kandarpaketu a love-letter written to him in verse by Vāsavadattā. Under the guidance of the love-messenger they immediately start for Kusumapura. The two lovers meet in a pleasure house in a garden and each of them begins to love the other at the very first sight: they fall into swoon, and recover fully at once. The friend, of Vāsavadattā describes to Kandarpaketu the torture of love that her mistress has undergone and in the meanwhile she says :—*tvatkṛte yānayā vedanānubhūtā sā yadi nabhaḥ patrāyate sāgaromelandāyate brahmā lipikarāyate bhujangapatirvā kathakāyate tadā kathamapyanekairyuga-sahasrairabhilikhyate kathyate vā* : "The agonies of this young girl on your account can be described only if the sky becomes a leaf, the ocean, an inkpot, Brahman himself becomes the scribe, Śesa, the world-snake, the narrator; and still the time that will be taken to do this will be many thousands times of the age of the world"[1].

But Vāsavadattā is to be given in marriage the same day to the king of Vidyādharas according to the decision of her father. So Kandarpaketu runs away with her on his wonderful horse and returns back in a moment into the Vindhya forests. They pass the night in a hiding grove. In the morning they are tired and fall fast asleep. When Kandarpaketu wakes up he finds that Vāsavadattā has already disappeared. He searches for her in vain, and is so much perplexed that he wants to commit suicide. But a heavenly voice, that promises to unite him with her, prevents him from doing this. For many months he lives in the forest. There one day, while strolling about, he sees a stone-bust, that looks like his beloved, embraces it—and Vāsavadattā

1. As Zachariae (Gurupūjākaumudī, p. 39) has shown that this passage (ed. Hall, p. 238 ff.) goes back to an old verse. The same idea recurs also in the Talmud and in the Koran, in the German folk-song ("Und wenn der Himmel Papiere wär" etc.) and in songs of many other nations, as shown by R. Köhler (Kleinere Schriften III, 293 ff.) and A. Herrmann (Ethnologische Mitteilungen aus Ungarn I, 1887, p. 12 ff., 211 ff., 319 ff.; supplement by R. Köhler, ibid p. 312 ff.). Zachariae (ZVV II, 1901, 331) shows a passage in Ph. Baldaeus in his book on India (1672) where the deeds of Kṛṣṇa are described with the same hyperbole

lovingly stands before him. She has gone away to collect fruits for her beloved and is knocked down by two mutually fighting heroes, who in the fight not only strike one-another but also destroy the hermitage of a sage. The sage mistakes Vāsavadattā to be the cause of the mischief and curses her to be transformed into a slab of stone, but he tones down the curse by saying that she will regain her real form, as soon as she is touched by her lover.

Much more important than this tale for Subandhu is the description of persons with unendingly lengthy high epithets, descriptions of the night, of the moon, of the sunrise, of the sunset, of the spring, of the rains etc. He possesses mastery in the use of words and expressions having two meanings. For example Kandarpaketu is described as one "who like the spring has distributed pleasures to many thickets", that may be rendered also as: "who like the spring has offered much pleasure to different beautiful women. The beauty of Vāsavadattā, as seen in dream by the prince, is sketched in ornate pictures in which the poet manifests his accurate knowledge of kāmaśāstra and does not omit a single physical charm of the beautiful woman[1]. The swelling breasts, the slender body and the heavy hips are especially described with bold similes. for example, "she is ornamented with a look that has become quite small with anxiety that she (the look) can not see her moon-like face that has become curved under the weight of her high breasts, or likewise on account of the fatigue caused by the pressure of the tough round hips and the pitcher-like breasts..... she is sparkling with her golden breasts that resemble coffers filled with diamonds of love, that are visible seal-like nipples, or that they are fixed in the spike-like nipples for fear of tumbling down on account of their extraordinary growth, . . and they are like little houses in which the god of love, tired in course of his conquest of the three worlds, has taken his abode, etc."

The beauty of Vāsavadattā, as it is actually seen for the first time by Kandarpaketu, is described in a multi-

1. He occasionally mentions also one Kāmasūtra of Mallanāga.

tude of puns, that may appear to the people of the West so tasteless, but probably they charm the Indian paṇḍitas the most, since they prove the poet's knowledge of all sciences. For example, it is said: "she has painted her feet red (*raktapāda*) like grammar", (since *raktapāda* may also mean "underlined in red for analysis"), "she has beautiful joints (*suparvans*) like the Mahābhārata" (the sections of the Mahābhārata too are called *parvans*); "she is like logic because of her shining beauty (*uddyotakarasvarūpā*), since it is said in respect of logic that it attained its final form through Uddyotakara, the famous author" etc.

In the description of nature Subandhu has an inexhaustible source of similies: so the stars are like the froth of the foam, emitted by the sun's panting horses tired on account of their journey in the sky; they raise the doubt, whether they are not white lotus-blossoms in the great lake of the sky; they look like zeroes that the creator has written on the ink-black antelope - hide, namely the dark for the purpose of expressing the absolute voidness of the *samsāra* at the time of calculation of creations .. and they are comparable to the tear-drops of the residents of the heaven who are weeping on account of disappearance of the sun." The rising sun is red "as if with the blood of the elephant of darkness killed by the lion of the morning crimson with his paws ..like a vessel of melted iron.... .like the red the ante-curtain of the great actor time", etc.

The descriptions in unendingly long passages with endlessly long compound words are often intercepted by very small expressions that are meant to describe some sentiment. So for example in a description of the night the dialogue ..wholly small passages, full of expressions having two meanings reproduce the nocturnal activities of the lovers.

The large number of extant commentaries on the Vāsavadattā[1] on one hand prove great popularity of the work, especially in scholarly circles, and on the other they show how difficult it is.

1. They have been enumerated by Hall, Preface p 43. On Śivarāma's commentary see Gray, JAOS 24, 1903, 57 ff

The author of the second famous fiction is Bāna (Bāṇabhaṭṭa), the first poet, about whose life and age we know more surely. He lived in the court of king Harsavardhana of Thānesar (606-648 A.D.), and as his court-poet wrote his main work the Harsacarita (Life and Deeds of Harsa)[1]. It is a historical novel in prose with only a few verses scattered here and there[2]. In the introductory stanzas, that form a kind of foreword, he praises Vyāsa, the poet of the Mahābhārata, as the highest of all among his predecessors, the prose-writers Subandhu and Haricandra, the poem-writer Sātavāhana (Hāla), the epic writer Pravarasena, the dramatists Bhāsa and Kālidāsa and the story-teller Gunādhya, the author of the Brhatkathā. Then he generally speaks about poery. He requires in poetry a new subject, fine judicious expressions, unusual play of words, a clearly expressed sentiment and an elegant language". These requirements are actually fulfilled in his work. In the matter of style he competes with Subandhu[3], whom he hardly reaches in respect of play of words and artifices, but still stands far above him in real poetical genius. His plays of words in fact often are witty, his pictures and similes are not artificial, but indeed poetically fashioned. Fortunately the admixture of poetry and truth occurs both in the narrative and descriptive parts[4], in which we cannot easily distinguish between poetry and truth. Above

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1 Edited with Śankara's commentary by A A Führer, Bombay 1909 (BSS) Translated into English by E B Cowell and F W. Thomas, London 1897. Cf Bhāu Dāji in JBRAS X, 1871, 38 ff, Fuhrer in OC VI Leiden III, 2, 199 ff, R W Fraser, Literary History of India, p 255 ff The English translation is based on the edition published in NSP, 1892 On the two recent editions of the Harsacarita (by P. V Kane, Bombay 1918, and by S D and A B Gajendragadkar Poona 1919) see F W. Thomas, JRAS 1920, p 384 ff

2 In the main colophon the work is mentioned as a *mahākāvya*, but in the introductory verses (20 f) Bāna himself calls it an *ākhyāyikā* So all the manuals of poetics Cf Lacôte in Mélanges Lévi 268 f

3 See above p 394, note 3

4 As a work of history the Harsacarita is of limited value It is significant that Bāna tells us that his hero was born "in the month of Jyaiṣṭha, on the 12th day of the dark fortnight, at the moment when the tulā (libra) was in ascension, immediately after the time of the dusk, when the baby night had just begun to rise up", but the year of his birth is not given Yet many of the statements of Hiuen-Tsiang and of the inscriptions are supplemented and corrected by the valuable information given by Bāna, see Buhler, Vikramānkadevacarita, Introd p 4 f, Ep Ind 1, 67 ff, 4, 208 ff, and Rapson, JRAS 1898, 448 ff

all true are the numerous descriptions of the life in the court, the usages, customs and religious conditions of the age. For the latter in particular the Harsacarita is of unestimable value. Bāna comes of a Brāhmana family, in which religious ceremonies are strictly observed. Hence he is perhaps thoroughly conversant with all the religious practices and he never misses an opportunity to describe the religious ceremonies, that are observed on the birth of a child, at the time of a marriage, after death, at the start on a sujourn, on homecoming, while marching into the battle and on all other possible occasions. On each such occasion the presents that are made to Brāhmanas are mentioned. In respect of cults, however, the offerings and ceremonies in honour of Śiva, Durgā and the Mother prevail. Often the topic is about the Śaiva sect and ascetics. Astrology and favourable and unfavourable omens as well as the means of protection against the latter do not play an insignificant rôle. But numerous other cults and sects are mentioned. Harṣa's father was a sun-worshipper. Harsa himself appears in chapter VIII as a distinguished friend of Buddhists and direct adherent of Buddhism. Interesting is, however, the enumeration of the followers of different sects and mendicants who crowd a forest-hermitage described here[1]. The poet speaks about all the religious sects with equal veneration. However, he is still sufficiently worldly and does not miss the opportunity to hurl unkind criticisms at the mendicants of the different sects; so for example in the beautiful enumeration of the beings that are difficult to be found in the world[2]:

yadyapi ca vibhuranabhimāno dvijātiraneṣano munıraroṣaṇaḥ kapiracapalaḥ kaviramatsaro vaṇigataskarah priyajānirakuhanıḥ sādhuradaridro dravinavānakhalah kināśonaksıgatah mrgayurahiṁsraḥ pārāśarī brāhmanyah sevakaḥ sukhī kitavaḥ kṛtajñıḥ gopyah priyasāgamātyaḥ satyavādi rājasūnuradurvinītaśca. .....'

"A prince having no pride, a Brāhmaṇa, not seeking any gain, a sage, who does not get angry, a monkey, that is not unsteady, a poet who has no jealousy, a

1. Ed. Führer, p 316, English translation, p 236. —*vītarāgairārhatairmaskarībhiḥ jvitajaṭāḥ pāṇḍuracīkuṭubhirbhāgavatairvarṇibhiḥ... .....anyaiśca ... ... śiśirāmṛtā kṛtsnā harabhiyuktaiścintyadbhiḥ .. ..*

2 Ed. Führer, p 249, English translation p. 171 f.

trader, who is not a thief, a husband who is not vindictive, a noble man, who is not poor, a wealthy person, who is not wicked, a niggard, who is not a thorn in the side, a hunter, who is not ferocious, a Pārāśarya monk, who may be a pious Brāhmaṇa, a servant, who is happy, a gambler, who is grateful, a mendicant, who is not a ravenous[1], a slave, who gives friendly advice, a minister, who speaks the truth, a king's son, who is not discourteous."..... ."

In the first two chapters Bāṇa tells his biography that contains extraordinarily valuable statements about his life.

The poet begins with the statement that he narrates a legendry history of his family of the Vātsyāyanas[2], wholly in the style of the purāṇas -- But after this he reports in a wholly historical fashion about his birth, his early education and lastly his vocation in the court of King Harsa. He was a son of a Brāhmaṇa Citrabhānu and of the Brāhmaṇī Rājadevī. When still a boy he lost his mother, and in the 14th year after his birth also his father, who had become his second mother and whom he loved cordially. In the beginning he bemoans on account of the bereavement, but soon he finds himself in a bad company and commits many heinous crimes, due to which he attains notoriety. In fact it was a remarkable Bohemian, about whom young Bāṇa, according to his own story, used to move about : there were poets, amongst whom there were also such ones as composed in popular languages, musicians of all types, begging mendicants of different sects and all classes of nuns, a snake-charmer, a young doctor, a reader, a goldsmith, a scribe, two singers, a painter, an actor, an actress, a chamber-maid, a magician, a buffoon, etc. His parents had left to him a handsome heritage, but his lust for adventure carried him to foreign regions, where he made great travels for

1 This is wanting in Führer's edition

2. We are obliged to leave the question of deciding whether we have here a tradition current in the family or if it is purely a fabrication of the poet in imitation of the purāna-legends Winternitz considers the latter as probable.

the purpose of seeing foreign countries. After he had whiled away his youth in such an unrestrained manner, by and by he learnt about the life in court and in society of clever and wise people and got trained in traditional and spiritual practices prevalent in the family of the Vātsyāyanas. And when in course of years he returned back to his native land he was greeted by members of his family "as if on some feast." After he lived at home with his relations for a long time, there came one day a message from his friend Kṛṣṇa, king's brother, that the latter asked him to come to the court of the king, since it was not right that he passed his life away from the court, "like a fruitless tree far away from the rays of the sun". After some deliberation he resolved to follow the vocation. He quits his native place and joins the court of King Harṣa, whose love and confidence of the highest degree he wins very soon After he has spent some time in the court[1], he goes to meet one of his relations in his native land. He is received, honoured and greeted. A reader is ready to read from the Vāyupurāṇa. On this occasion a singer compares the deeds described in the purānas with those of Harsa, that induces a cousin of the poet to request him to narrate the story of Harsa. After some modest hesitation Bāṇa agrees to abide by this request.

In many places the narrative itself is as interesting as the description of persons. So the descriptions of localities and situations as well as the descriptions of nature occupy much space, in which bold pictures and similes are as little wanting as puns. Only a few probes from Bāna's style can be given here[2].

The panegyric description of Harṣa, when Bāṇa sees

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1. With this begins the third chapter and the transition to the life of Harsa. This introduction corresponds to the usual introductions found in the purāṇas, that usually begin with the statement that a ṛṣi appears in the assembly of curious people and after a short or prolonged request he begins the story. Bāna has developed in an original manner, this purāna-type of introduction into a piece of autobiography.

2. It is in any case impossible to present an accurate account of the style of this ornate prose, since the compact Sanskrit construction (participles, compounds, locative absolute) is as unimitable as the numberless puns and alliterations are

him for the first time, occupies not less than ten printed pages[1], that make a single sentence. "He saw Harsa" (all that follows is expressed in participles). .

kāvyakathāsvapītamapyamṛtamudvamantam . aruṇapādapallavena sugatamantharorunā vajrāyudhaniṣthuraprakosthaprsthena vṛṣaskandhena bhāsvadvimbādhareṇa prasannāvalokitena candramukhena krsnakeśena vapusā sarvadevatāvatāramivaikatra darśayantam vikacamukhakamalakarṇikākośena anavaratamāpīyamānaśvāsasaurabhamivādhomukhena nāsāvamśena . harṣamadrāksīt-

"who was vomitting fort the nectar, that he had not drunk even in the discourses on poetry" (that is, he was reciting the poem, that he had not heard from anybody else, but had composed himself),. .who was appearing, with his body with his reddish shoot-like delicate reddish foot (with the sprout of feet of Aruna)[2], with his beautifully slowly moving thighs (with slow thighs of Buddha), with his forearm, that was as hard as the weapon of thunderbolt (with strong arm of the holder of the thunderbolt i.e. Indra), with his shoulder of a bull (with the shoulder of the god Dharma[3]), with his brilliant lower lip (with the lower-lip of the sun-god), with his pleasant look (with the pleasant look of Avalokita) with his moon-like face (with the face of the moon-god), with his black hair (with the hair of Krsna), like the incarnation of all gods in one body. who with his nose, that resembled the bud of a fully blossomed lotus, extending out of his face, was inhaling the fragrance of its smell etc "

About Prabhākaravardhana, the father of Harsa, it is said that he was a quarrelsome man so much so that even the sight of his own reflection in a mirror in the sheathe of his sword that he had in his hand was painful to him[4]. "For him hostility was a present, fight, a

1. Ed. Führer, pp 110-120, (English translation, pp 56-64) 3 Ed Fuhrer, p 175 (English translation, p 101 f)

2 Aruna was born without legs He is the chariot-driver of the sun-god The second meaning of each of the double-sensed compounds is given within the brackets

3 So according to the commentary · Vrsan may be an epithet of Agni, Visnu or Śiva

4 *karadhrtadhautāsipratibimbitenātmanāpyadūyata.*

favour, beginning of a battle, a festivity; the enemy, sight of treasure; excess of foes, a good luck; call to fight, a boon; an accidental fall, a great favour done by fate and striking with sword, shower of wealth[1].

The early bringing up of Harsa is beautifully described. His lotus-like face shining with little teeth looked like sprouts of pleasant smile pushing up as a consequence of wetness caused by the sprinkles with the pitchers of his mother's breasts[2].

In chapter V the scene of death of King Prabhākaravardhana is described in an attractive manner. Among the king's physicians there is one who is only 18 years old, but he is particularly clever, who loves the king sincerely and when he sees that the condition of the latter has become hopeless, burns his ownself. Whilst at this Harsa is wholly perplexed, a maidservant of the queen comes and reports to him that his mother has made up her mind to die by burning herself in fire. Harṣa rushes forth into the female apartment. Then he is struck with the cries of the queens, who are resolved to die with their husband. They touchingly take leave of even the trees of the garden and of the birds in the cages and of maidservants. As he enters, he sees his mother, who is ready to die. In her hand "she is holding a picture of her husband so firmly, as if she is determined to die." She is decorated by her servant and by her devotion to her husband; she is firmly supported by a swoon and an old woman, both of whom are well-trusted by her, she is embraced by a friend and agony who are united with her in her trouble; she is surrounded by an attendant and pain, that have taken possession of all of her limbs; the sons of the high royal family and strong breathing are by his side and behind her are

standing the very old chamberlains and agonies[1]". Harsa falls at the feet of the queen and implores her not to forsake him and to abstain from the decision. But she replies that she, as daughter, wife and mother of heroes, does not mind anything else so much as not to live as a widow. For her it is life, not death th t is the greater evil Harsa is obliged to accept her argument as correct, so unfortunately it is with him too. Yaśovatī burns herself on the bank of the river Sarasvatī, and a little after this the king dies. The corpse is burnt and death ceremonies are performed. The servants and ministers of the deceased partly die and partly become ascetics or monks of different sects.

Bāna is a master in the description of personalities. So the military events of Field-Commander Simhanāda (in chapter VI) are described with greater prudence and with much more ornate puns. Splendid is the description of the commanding officers of the elephant-troups, "whereof the bridge of the nose (*nāsāvaṁśa*) is as the family-tree of his own king (*nijanṛpavaṁśa*)".

With the description of the crimson red setting sun and of the rising moon—the sunset indicates the bloody battle and the fall of Harsa's enemies, the white moon the brilliant fame of Harsa—ends the chapter VIII, and for us the whole work. It is not probable that this is the actual end of the work or that the poet left the work incomplete. Rather we are to assume that the end is lost to us

The K ā d a m b a r ī[2], a novel, is the second work of the poet. It remained incomplete on account of death of Bāna while he was working on it. It was continued and completed by the his sons B h ū s a ṇ a b h a t ṭ a or B h a t t a

1. *dhātryā bhartṛbhaktyā ca nijayā prasādhitām mūrcchayā jaratyā ca nijasamstutayā dhāryamānām sakhyā pīdayā ca vyasanasangatayā somālingitām parijanena santāpeva ca gṛhītasarvāvayavena parītām kulaputtrocchavasitaiśca mahattaravadhūsthitām kañcukibhirduhkhaiścātivrddhairanugatāṁ mātaram dadarśa* (Ed F u h r e r, p. 229)

2 Edited by P. P e t e r s o n, Bombay 1883 BSS; translated with occasional omissions by C M R i d d i n g, London 1896 Index of the contents by P e t e r s o n in the introduction to the edition of W e b e r, Indische Streifen I, 352 ff. and L a c ô t e in Mélanges Lévi 259 ff

Pulina[1] in the style of his father. This novel rests on a tale, that we find in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara (59, 22-178) and in Ksemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī (16, 183 ff.), and from this we have to assume that Bāna knew the Bṛhatkathā of Gunādhya[2]. The work consists of a series of intercalated stories in the style of narrative poetry. The story itself is of little interest The style is similar to that of the Harsacarita, only with this difference that corresponding to the context pain on account of love and yearning for love are the basic motif of the poem—the sentiment is a different one In the Harsacarita the pathos prevails and in the Kādambarī, quietism and love. Here too we find big descriptions, far-fetched similes and puns, unendingly long compounds and endless sentences. "The story", as Weber says[3], "proceeds in high-flown bombasts, under which (or at least the patience of the reader) often gets disturbed..... This prose is a real Indian forest, where progress is impossible through the under-growth until the traveller cuts out a path for himself, and where even then he is confronted by malicious wild beasts in the shape of uncommon words to terrify him." However, it is remarkable that the monstrous words and atrocious sentences are capable of being cut into small sentences in simple and natural prose. However tiring the reading of the novel may be for the people of the West, we must keep in mind that for an Indian reader it presupposes that he has a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit and for him the work has its own charm. But when we find in a modern Bengali novel published in 1871 that the heroine in her boudoir reads the "Kādambarī", it certainly does not reflect the actual condition of life, but it merely shows that the Bengali author wants to prove his knowledge of Sanskrit literature. The "reading of this book" has never been easy, nay even for the learned Indians, so a novel that ladies read

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1 So he is called in a manuscript of the year 1647 in M. A. Stein Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS at Jammu, Bombay 1894, p 299.

2 Ksemendra knew the work of Bāna Bāna has probably changed the names of persons and places and has introduced into the story more of complications. The concluding portion, particularly the one completed by Bhatta Pulina, contains many deviations Hence he must have known the plan of his father Cf. Mankowski in WZKM 15, 1901, 213 ff

3 Hist 253. Against this Lacôte (ibid p 259) praises as "le charme de cette œuvre tout imprégnée de tendresse, de mélancholie et d'une [illegible] vie".

in their boudoir for diversion could not be this. A few probes about the style and character of the work may be sufficient

The love between Kādambarī, the heroine, and Candrāpīda originated at the first sight as follows :—

"śesendriyānyapi me vedhasā kimiti locanamayānyeva na krtāni | kimvānena krtamavadātam karma caksusā yadanivāritamenām paśyati | aho citrametadutpāditaṁ vedhasā sarvaramanīyānāmekam dhāma | kutaḥ ete rūpātiśayaparamānavah samāsāditāh | tannūnamenāmupādayato vidheh karatalaparāmarśakleśena ye vigalitā locanayugalādaśrujalabindavastebhya etāni jagati kumudakamalakuvalayasaugandhikavanānyutpannāni" ityevam cintayata evāsya tasyā nayanayugale nipapāta caksuh | tadā tasyā api cintayantyā rūpātiśayavilokanavismayasmeram niścalanibaddhalaksam caksustasmin suciraṁ papāta | locanaprabhādhavalitastu kādambarīdarśanavihvalocala iva tatksanamarājata candrāpīdah | drstvā ca prathamam romodgamaḥ | tato bhūsanaravah tadanu kādambarī samuttasthau | atha tasyāh kusumāyaudha eva svedamajanayat | sasaṁbhramotthānaśramo vyapadeśobhavat | urukampa eva gatim rurodha | nūpuraravākrstahamsamandalamapayaśo lebhe | niśvāsapravrttir evāmśukam calam cakāra | cāmarānilo mimittatām yayau | antahpravistacandrāpīḍasparśalobhenaiva nipapāta hrdaye hastah | sa eva karah stanāvaranavyājo babhūva | ānanda evāśrujalamapātayat calitakarnāvatamśakusumarajovyājamāsīt | lajjaiva vaktum na dadau | mukhakamalaparimalagatālivrndam dvāramagāt | madanaśarapratthamavedanaiva sītkārmakarot | kusumaprakaraketakīkantakaksatih sādhāranatāmavāpa | vepathureva karatalamakampayat | nivedanodyatapratihārīnivāranam kapatamabhūt | tadā ca kādambarīm viśato manmathasyāpi manmatha ivābhūddvitīyah tayā saha yo viveśa candrāpīḍahrdayam ||

"When the prince saw the beauty of the moon-like face of Kādambarī, his heart began to throb violently with pleasure like the nectar of the ocean (when in the whirl the moon and Laksmī see each other). And he thought within his own self - "Why did the creator not convert all my other limbs into eyes ? Or what noble action was performed by my eye (in an earlier birth) that it has found the oportunity of seeing her uninterruptedly ? Ah ! what a wonder that the

creator has made her an abode of all lovely objects ! Where did he find the atoms for making this exquisite beauty ? Certainly all these fragrant lusters, clotuses and water-lilies, that are in the world, originated from the drops of tears from her two eyes on account of the fatigue caused by the touch of the hands of the creator while making her". —While he was thus thinking his eye fell on her two eyes. Then even her eyes, that were smiling with astonishment caused at the sight of excessive beauty, remained motionless gazing at him. But Candrāpīda, shining under the rays of her eyes, bewildered at the sight of Kādambarī, was at that instant looking like a mountain. After she saw him, her hairs got erect; then there ensued the sound of her ornaments and then there stood Kādambarī. Then the god with flower arrow (i.e. god of love) himself caused sweat (on her body)—exertion caused by sudden rising was the pretension. Trembling of the thighs prevented her movement, but the swarm of bees attracted at the tinkling of her anklets were held guilty for this Her garment was set into motion due to heavy breathing, but the wind of the deer's tail passed for the cause. Her hand fell on her heart on account of desire for touching Candrāpīda, who had entered within it, but that very hand became the object with which she covered her breasts Pleasure caused tears to drop from her eyes, but the pollens of flowers of the ear-ring passed for its cause. Bashfulness prevented her from speaking, but the swarm of bees that had arrived on account of fragrance of the lotus of the face was taken to be the instrument. The pain caused by the wound of the first arrow of love-god caused sigh, but pricking of the thorn of the *kalā* in the heaps of its flowers passed for the cause Tremor caused shaking of the palm of the hand, under the pretext of the stopping the messenger, who was ready to deliver a message. And when the god of love entered into Kādambarī, there was born a second Cupid, and with her he entered into the heart of Candrāpīḍa".

Very characteristic of Bāna's (as in Subandhu's) style are the dialogues inserted in the middle of a descrip-

tion or a narrative in quite small sentences for the purpose of giving lively expression to some sentiment So Kādambarī sends the following love-message to her lover .

kim vā sandiśāmi . atipriyosīti paunaruktyam | tavāham priyātmeti jadapraśnah | tvayi garīyānanurāga iti ve'jālāpah | tvayā vinā na jīvāmītyanubhavavirodhah | paribhavati māmananga ityātmadoṣopalambhah | manobhavenāham bhavate dattetyupasarpanopāyah | balāddhrteti bandhakīdhārṣtyam | avaśyamāgantavyamiti saubhāgyagarvah | svayamāgacchamīti strīcāpalam | ananyānuraktoyam parijana iti svabhaktinivedanalāghavam | pratyākhyānaśankayā na sandiśāmītyaprabuddhabodhanam | anapeksitānujīvitaduhkhadārunā syāmītyatipranayitā | jñāsyasi maranena prītimityasambhāvyam ||

"What message can I send to you ? 'You are very dear to me'—will be tautological 'I am yours'—will be a silly proposition. 'I have deep affection for you'—will be the talk of a prostitute. 'Without you I cannot live'—will be a contradiction to actuality. 'I am overtaken by Cupid'—this will be impertinent. 'I have been forcibly abducted'—this will be impudence of a captive girl 'You must come'—this will be expressive of pride on account of good luck 'I come of my own accord'—this will be fickleness of a woman 'This slave is not devoted to anybody else'—this will be my meanness to report my own devotion 'I do not send message for fear of refusal'—this will be bringing to sense a senseless person —'I shall suffer terrible pains in case I lead an undesired life'—this will be excessive familiarity. 'You will come to know of my love through (my) death'—this will be an impossibility"[1].

Though not to the extent as the Harsacarita, the "Kādambarī" too is of much value through many-fold allusions to the manner and customs of the time, in particular to religious life in the Śaiva circles.

1. Here (ed NSP. p 414) comes to end the story composed of Bāna himself It is followed by the second part (Uttarabhāga) with its introductory verses, in which the son of Bāna states that he wants to complete the work of his father, not on account of his pride for composing poetry, but because the incomplete work of his father will be painful to the noble

Thus for example all rites and sacred ceremonies that childless Vilāsavatī performs and gets at last a son, are narrated in detail. She sleeps fasting and wearing white dress in the temple of Durgā on a bed of reeds covered with grass; she bathes in the cow-shed, offers rich presents to Brāhmanas, on every fourteenth day of the dark-half of the month she performs religious baths, visits the temple of the Mother, worships holy trees, etc. In another place the Śaiva ascetics are described in a very lucid manner: with fore-heads marked with white ashes and rosary in hands, in red garments and hold, a staff; they have matted hairs or according to their vow; they wear either the animal hyde or the bark of a tree[1]. A very interesting passage is the one in which the poet avails of the opportunity to firmly decry the custom of burning of widows[2].

Elsewhere we have already spoken about the Jaina novels that were written on the model of "Kādambarī[3]".

Indian and Greek Novels

Apart from the question of relationship existing between Indian and Greek Fables in verses, treated above, we should discuss here the problem as to whether or not the Indian and Greek fictions have influenced each other. Relatively fiction appears in Greek literature in a later period, but in all events earlier than the times when Dandin, Subandhu and Bāna wrote their fictions. Hence the presumption that Indian novels originated under the Greek influence. Peterson[4]

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1 Ed. Peterson, pp 64, 208,

2. Ed Peterson, p 173 f Cf Winternitz, Die Frau in den indischen Religionen (Archiv für Frauenkunde 1917, Sond 1920) p 64 f

3 Above II, p. 336, transl 334

4. Kādambarī, Introduction p 98 ff, Weber, Ind Stud. 81, 456 agrees with Peterson. So also Horovitz, Spuren griechischer Mimen im Orient, Berlin 1905 p 96 and with him H Reich, DLZ 1915, 553 ff derive Indian fiction from Greek Reich (ibid 594 ff) will like to prove that the story No 834 of the "Thousand and One Nights" is a Greek story in an "Arabic garb"; but all the parallels referred to by him—dream-life, ship-wreck, frequent Change of fortune, accurate descriptions of love at first sight, heroines of wonderful beauty—hold good even for Indian fiction; and in case Reich is correct in respect of the Arabic novels, his opinion will be so also for the Indian novels H Lucas (in the Philologus, N F. 20, 1907, p. 29 ff) "in der Verteidigung der Originalität der griechischen Volksgeistes und der Abwehr unberechtiger Ansprüche der Indologie" has shown his over enthusiasm on little pertinent

had first of all given expression to this hypothesis and on its basis he believed to have discovered in the "Love-story of Kleitophon and Leukippe" of Achilles Tatius all sorts of echoes of and parallels to the Indian fiction. But the single really striking parallel is a lengthy explanation on the life and marriage of plants[1]. In case here is an actual continuity of marriage of trees with creepers, that is more often mentioed by Indian poets, we shall be obliged to accept with L a c ô t e[2] that this idea in India is original and that it has been borrowed by Greek writers and developed by them L a c ô t e points also to other characteristics that are found in Greek fictions and go back to well-known Indian presentations. So in the "Ethopian Stories" of Heliodor is mentioned a mysterious herb, that like the Indian plant Vranasamrohanī cures a wound in three days, and at another place in the same novel it is said that gods are to be recognised by the staring eyes and by the feet not resting on the earth[3], a current Indian representation

E. R o h d e[4] has already pointed out that the motif of love in d eam and following it the selection of husband by

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arguments F L a c ô t e, Essai sur Gunādhya (1908), p 284 f, refutes the hypothesis that Indian novles, especially the Brhatkathā, originated under the Greek influence, but he repeats the same hypothesis in 1911 (in Mélanges Lévi 250 note 2) and (p 272ff) and supports the contrary view. On the relationship between Indian and Greek fictions, see G N B a n a r j e e Hellenism in Ancient India, p 218 ff He comes to the conclusion that the difference is far greater than agreement and that we are not in a position to assume the dependence of the one on the other See also K e i t h, JRAS, 1915, 784 ff (against L a c ô t e)

1 Here it is said that in the opinion of philosophers, a plant loves another. In particular there are male and female palm-trees 'The male loves the female", and when they are widely separated, the former withers A farmer goes to a raised up place and notes there a tree bending itself As soon as he knows it, he is cured of his illness · he takes a branch from the female palm-tree, grafts it into the heart of the male one and thereby they rejoice The decaying stem comes to life again and enjoys the company of his beloved" Liebesgeschichte des Klitophon und de Leucippe, aus dem Griechischen des Achilles Tatius ubersetzt, Lemgo 1772, (towards the end of the book I) That is however, different from the marriage of the mango-tree and the jasmine-creeper, for example in act IV of Kālidāsa's "Śakuntalā" or of the small mango with the Mādhavī creeper in the ' Kādambarī" (p 567 NSP Ed)

2 Mélanges Lévi, p 302 ff

3. But even in the artistic representation one concentrated on the sovereignty of the swinging stride of the supernatural being see K S i t t l in the Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft VI, 812

4 Der Griechische Roman, 2 Aufl, Leipzig 1900, p 47 ff

self, through which the lovers are united first of all in a dream, has been repeated in the story of Zariadres und Odatis too, that Athenaeus (XIII, 35) narrates according to the report of Chares of Mytilene, a courtier of Alexander the Great as in Subandhu's Vāsavadattā. In Firdūsī's Shāhnāmeh, the daughter of the king of Rūm, Katūyūn, meets her lover Gustav, first of all in a dream, and then she selects him as her husband. It is apparantly sufficient to prove that the stories are associated together and that Subandhu has borrowed his motif from a very old story, that was taken to Persia already earlier, where it was heard by the Greek[1]. It is much less probable that here one should assume the influence of the Indian novel through Greek, especially when even the Greek narrate the story as oriental, glittering on the Persian soil[2].

But characteristics of this type can only prove that a number of Indian tendencies found way into Greek novels, but this cannot prove that the whole Greek family was borrowed from India. The characteristic form of the Indian novel is the insertion of stories in a frame story. L a c ô t e [3] now points to the fiction "Die Wunder Jenseits Thule" of Antonius Diogenes, where the entire story of the hero is told in the first person in the form of his biography. But the essence of an Indian narrative work is that its frame is an independent story in which other stories are inserted in an ornate manner. But when a person narrates his own experiences, it is obvious that probably a Greek writer could have planned it in the same way as an Indian. Besides the fact that in Indian as well as Greek fictions travel-adventures and love-stories are interlaced in one-another can hardly be the ground for making the hypothesis of their mutual dependence probable. It is remarkable that in the wonderful adventures in the whole

1 The self-selection of husband (*svayamvara*) is prevalent also among other nations (see R o h d e ibid, p 52 note 3), but it is above all usual in Indian poetry

2. Certainly it is going too far, when W e b e r (Ind Stud 18, 458) writes: The story of Vāsavadattā is in substance already found in Athenaeus The destruction by one another of the two parties of thiefs in Subandhu's novel reminds W e b e r of the Greek novel and of the animation of the statue through the embracing in the Pygmalion

3. Ibid 263 ff.

of the fiction of Antonius Diogenes[1], we do not find a single parallel to Indian stories. It is most improbable that the Greek could have ever known that work of the type of the "Vāsavadattā" or of the "Kādambarī" or that they were able to understand it. The Indian fiction is so ornate a composition, a work of court poetry, suiting so much the Indian taste and its origin from the popular Indian literature with the use of particular style of ornate prose is so fully clear, that the hypothesis about its origin on some Greek model does not at all come into consideration[2]. It can in no case be proved that any Greek fiction whatsoever had come into India or an Indian fiction had reached Greece. Only this much is probable that some individual stories, tales, swāngs, witty anecdotes and above all individual motives had been taken from one country to another. Even in that case this occurrence took place rather through oral transmission than through any literary influence

The Campūs

The campūs form a particular type of kāvya. They are poetical compositions, in which verses in ornate metres and ornate prose are mixed up together without letting either metrical or the prosaic form prevail. Since even in prose fictions we find interspersed verses, and especially when even narrative works like the Pañcatantra etc. contain a large number of stanzas, they too can be designated prose works, in which verses are brought in always with some particular objective · they are either epigrams or brief synopsis of a story, or they serve to bring an important moment of a story into prominence. On the other hand the campū is a particular type of literature, in which verses do not serve any purpose other than what is served by prose. Hence they

1 Cf the Table of Contents in Rohde, ibid p 277 ff. In the "Babylonian Stories" of Jamblichus (Rohde, ibid, p 393 ff) too no Indian tendency is found in the enormous number of adventures

2 Cf also L H Gray, Vāsavadattā Introd p 35 ff.

3. Cf Colebrooke, Misc Essays II, 135 f; Krishnamacharya, p 146ff, Eggeling, Ind Off Cat p 1537 ff The word *campū* is not explained,

can neither be called epic nor prose fictions. The Buddhist Jātakamālā[1] proves that the campū is quite an old type of ornate poetry. But even Harisena's panegyric (praśasti) on King Samudragupta, contained in an inscription of about 315 A. D. can be referred to as an old example of campū.[2] Nevertheless the campūs, that we possess, are mostly recent works of little poetical value.

Probably the most famous work of this type is the Nalacampū or the Damayantī kathā[3] of the poet Trivikramabhaṭṭa, from whom we have an inscription dated 915 A.D.[4]. Here the Nala-story has has once more been narrated in an ornate style. The two great epics have been reproduced in the campūs. There is one Rāmāyana campū (or Campūrāmāyana[5]) of king Bhoja and Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa and one Bharatacampū[6] (in 12 *stabakas*) of the poet Ananta. In the 16th century (under Akbar the Great) a poet Krsna or Śesa Śrīkrsṇa wrote one Pārijātaharaṇacampū and one Mandāramarandacampū[7]. A "swift poetry" is also the Svāhāsudhākaracampū, written in the 16th century, in which the poet Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa tells the love-story of the

Moon with Svāhā, the wife of Agni[1]. Further in the 18th century in the Śaṅkaracetovilāsacampū of a poet Śaṅkara, the deeds of king Cetasimha have been described[2].

1 Edited in Km, Part IV, pp 52-58 Pischel, HL, p 29, compares Homer's description of the love of Ares and Aphrodite (Od. p 266 ff) The same Nārāyana is also the author of Nārāyaṇīya, see above p 140 On "Quick Poetry" i e the poetry in which events take place very quickly, is written in a harriedly short time See Pischel, HL p 26 f Many poeticians say that they have composed their manuals "as best" as "quick poetry"

2 According to Aufrecht, Bodl Cat 121 f the poem may have been written in between 1771 and 1778 A D One Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campū of Karnapūra has been edited in the Pandit, Vols 9 and 10 and N S Vols 1-3, One Śrīnivāsa campū of Venkaṭeśa (with a commentary) has been edited in the Km 33, 1893 On the Jaina campū Yaśastilaka of Somadeva and Jivandhara-campū of Hemacandra, see above II, 336 f, trans p 534

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*1 The words have been arranged in Roman alphabetical order

2 The diacritical marks have been ignored

3 The present-day names of places and persons have been retained in the form generally used by authors.

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PART II

Section V.

THE SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE.

In India science[1] originated from theology and was at first cultivated in Brāhmanical schools. The recitation of the Vedic hymns, the necessity to pronounce correctly words and expressions of the holy scriptures and that for their wider circulation and the effort to understand them as far as possible led people early to realise the importance of grammatical studies and to the beginning of a lexicography. On account of the great mystic significance that was already attributed to metres in the Brāhmanas,[2] it is no wonder that man passionately worked in the field of prosody. Philosophy,[3] that in the Upanisads—although in a half-poetical form—had already attained a high degree of development, could not completely be separated from theology The preparation of the Vedic calendar for the ceremonies necessitated study of heaveny bodies and of their movements, and this led to the beginning of the astronomical science. The construction of sacrificial altars required measurement, and this led to geometry In the magical formulae of the Atharvaveda and in the related exegetical works we find the first beginning of a medical science. At the peak of the six Vedāngas, in which we find the

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1 The Sanskrit word for a scientific work is śāstra The same word is used to denote also any branch of knowledge Hence sāstra probably means both "text-book" as also "science", [sāstra may be either a scientific work or a theological treatise]

2 See above 1, 157 f, trans p 179

3 On the beginning of philosophy and science, particularly in the Brāhmanas, see H Oldenberg, Vorwissentschaftliche Wissenschaft, die Weltanschauung der Brāhmana, Texte-Goettingen 1919; [Zimmer, Philosophies in India, London 1951, Belvalkar and Ranade, History of Indian Philosophy, Vol 2, Poona 1927, Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy Vol 1 London 1922]

earliest traces of a scientific literature[1], stands the Kalpa, the science of rituals. Naturally this has always remained a section of theology. But inseparably connected with it is the science of dharma, dealing with the worldly usages and duties, that gradually abandoned the sphere of theology and developed into the extensive law-literature.

All these sciences were cultivated in the Vedic schools the purpose of which was to make the students conversant with certain holy texts—with some of the Saṁhitās, with the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads related with it as well as with the Vedāṅgas. When individual sciences became more and more developed, it became impossible to master all of them in these Vedic schools. Then there came into existence some technical schools,[1] that were devoted to study of some special branch of knowledge, by the side of the Vedic schools. And in course of time the old Vedic schools were completely thrown into background by these technical schools. Wholly independent of theology there developed only the science of Poetics, that we were obliged to treat above in connection with Ornate Poetry, and those sciences that are comprehended under the name Arthaśāstra, i.e. the sciences of practical things of life—politics, economics and engineering. A purely secular science is also the Kāmaśāstra, the science of sexual love.[2]

We have already seen[3] the sūtra-style of the aphoristic prose, the oldest form, in which all the sciences were taught in the schools of the Brāhmaṇas Characteristic of this style

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1. Already at the time of Yāska there existed some special technical schools, at least for several branches of knowledge, since in the Nirukta he mentions the *yājñikas* (experts in the science of sacrifice) the *vaiyākaraṇas* (grammarians) and the *nairuktas* (etymologicists) Cf Buehler, SBE, vol 25, p 4 f

2. A short comprehensive review of all the sciences from the standpoint of an orthodox Vedānta-believing Hindu has been provided by Madhusûdana Sarasvatī in his Prasthānabheda ("Introduction to the System), edited and translated into German by A Weber, Ind Studien I, p 1 ff; edited also in ĀnSS No 51, translated into German by P Deussen, Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie, I, 1, p 44; Max Mueller, The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy, New Ed, London 1903, p. 75 ff, has reproduced it extractwise, The Vāyu-Purāṇa 61, 78 says that there are 14 sciences (namely the 4 Vedas, 6 Vedāṅgas, Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya, Dharmaśāstra and Purāṇa) or 18 sciences in which are included also Medicine, War-craft, Music and Arthaśāstra, Cf also Fleet, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum III, 114 f

3. See above I, 129, ff, transl p. 148.

and further of that of the scientific literature in particular is the use of nouns with almost wholesale suppression of verbs. Abstract nouns and compounds are used with predilection[1]. The sūtra-style was also retained in the technical schools, especially in the works of earlier ages: but frequently in the manner that either the author himself or one of his disciples appended a commentary, bhāsya, based on it: thus developed the bhāsya-style, a highly developed form of learned prose, in scientific literature, probably first of all in grammar and in philosophy. In India this originated in the form of a disputation, naturally from a type of scientific pursuit. In particular, in sabhās, the assemblies of learned men held in courts of princes or at houses of rich and prominent people, this played an important part. Every new theory had to be defended here in these learned discussions, in case it was meant to be established. Hence it follows that scientific literature in India is almost wholly scholastic and dialectical[2]. The dull style of scientific discussion is very often agreeably interrupted by insertion of obviously intelligible similes or by references to events of daily life. In oral discussions of scholars and hence also in scientific works, the so called nyāyas or "maxims" are particularly quoted that have not insignificantly contributed towards making the style more lively. For example one speaks about the "rule of the lamp and threshold" (*dīpadehalīnyāya*), that illuminates both inside and outside, when an argument serving two purposes is employed: or a man speaks to an opponent "this is not the fault of the stump that a blind person does not see it (*nāyam sthāṇoraparādhaḥ yadenamandho na paśyati*)", or "he who depends upon the blind falls after him (*andhena nīyamānā yathārdhāḥ*)": or "of what use is the mirror to the blind (*netrābhyām vihīnasya darpaṇaḥ kiṃ kariṣyati*)". An inconsistently arguing person is told: "you cannot have half of a hen for the purpose of roasting and another half for laying eggs", (*ardhajaratīkukkuṭanyāya*)[3].

1. H Jacobi, Über den nominalen Stil des wissenschaftlichen Sanskrits in Indogerman Forschungen 14 1903, p. 236 ff

2. Cf Jacobi, Int Wochenschrift 29, Oct 1910

3 Collections of such nyāyas have been published by G A Jacob, Laukikanyāyāñjali, A Handful (a second ... a third Handful) of Popular Maxims, Bombay 1900—1904, Supplement to this JRAS 1909, 460 ff. Vanamāli Chakravartti, Ind Ant 41, 1912, 33 ff, besides Jacob l c 213 f), V S Ghate, Ind Ant 42, 1913, 250 f]

Scientific theories were propounded exclusively in pure sūtras, but were compiled also in stanzas (kārikās, "memorial verses"), that in greater or smaller number are intercalated in most of the sūtra-texts. In later times, however, scientific works were composed more frequently wholly in verses (ślokas) particularly if they were meant for a wider circle.

Generally only the names of the authors of the most ancient scientific works are known to us. These authors are cited and frequently mentioned with respect, but their works were replaced by some later manuals that entered into the field. Consequently older treatises ceased to be copied and, therefore, they are lost to the present generations. On this account the history of scientific literature is in essence only a history of some older (but not of the oldest) main works and of a great mass of commentaries and compendia of later ages.

GRAMMAR[1].

Grammar, called Vyākarana in India, is probably the science in which several technical schools have developed out of the old Brāhmanical schools in the earliest times. For the people of India grammar is the first and most important of all the sciences. When one has first studied grammar, he can go in for learning any other science[2]. According to Ānandavardhana,[3] the ..grammarians are the foremost scholars, "because

1 Cf. J Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik I, Göttingen 1896, Introduction p. LIX ff, Aufrecht, Bodl Cat. 161 ff, Eggeling, Ind Off Cat II, Pischel, KG 182 f, Krishnamacharya 170 ff, particularly, however, B Liebich, Zur Einfuhrung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft, I-IV (Sitzungsber der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil -hist Kl 1919-1920) I-tsing has given an interesting account regarding the grammatical studies in the seventh century; see Takakusu, I-tsing 167 ff Some of the grammatical treatises are available also in Tibetan translation in the Tanjūr, see Schiefner in the Bull hist phil St. Petersburg, t IV, Nos 18 and 19, and Satis Chandra Vidyābhūsana in JASB N S 4, 1908, 593 ff [Cf Belvalkar, S K, Systems of Sanskrit Grammar Poona 1919) and Yudhisthjra Mīmāmsaka- Sanskrit Vyākarana Śāstra Kā Itihāsa, 2 parts, Ajmīr, Samvat 2007, 2019]

2. Patañjali (in his introduction to the Mahābhāsya) says that grammar is the most important of the Vedāngas Before a man can think of beginning the study of any other science he must first study grammar for 12 years (according to the introduction to the Tantrākhyāyika) So also Kathāsaritsāgara I, 6 (Bhāsa are in his commentary on the Gitā, does not agree that only such words as are approved by Pānini are correct, but also those that are approved in other grammars are also correct (I, 19), proving multiplicity of grammars]

3 Dhvanyāloka I, 16 (Jacobi's translation, Separ. p. 34). Ānandavardhana admits that his theories on the philosophy of language are based on the teachings of grammarians (ibid III, 33, Jacobi ibid 122)

grammar constitutes the foundation of all sciences Moreover, grammar is the science in which Indian scholars have attained the highest prominence and have all through made distinguished contributions towards development of the philosophy of language. They first of all analysed the word-forms of Sanskrit[1], recognised the distinction between roots and suffixes, determined the functions of the suffixes, and on the whole they have built a grammatical system, of which a parallel, in respect of accuracy and of gradually attained perfection, is wanting in the world[2]. They have made accurate observations about the linguistic usages, about linguistic changes that take place in course of time and in different localities, and while doing this they had in view not only the language of literature but also the spoken Sanskrit (bhāsā).

In India the study of grammar began after a student had finished his course on the Vedic texts The compilation of the padapāṭha of the Rgveda by Śākalya in which not only the sentences but also the compound and certain classes of nominal words as well are separated into their constituent elements presupposes a grammatical analysis [As a matter of fact, as early as the days of the Rgveda, the Indians were interested in division of words into syllables, they were particular about the number of syllables in a strophe. Above all in the hymns themselves we find speculations regarding linguistic problems—origin of language and its importance The Brāhmanas that possess a nucleus of grammatical terminology are devoted to the discussion of certain problems of pronunciation The Śatapatha Brāhmana raises up the question of gender[3]] The Prātiśākhyas and the Śiksās are by nature such that they can straightway be designated as grammatical works[4] Moreover, the etymologies of the Brāhmanas, in spite of their being wrong

1 Vyākarana means analysis, separation of one from another Other meanings in Wackernagel, ibid p LXVIII, note 1

2 E Windisch, Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie, (Grundriss I, 1B), p 55

3 Cf Renou and Filliozat, L'Inde Classique 1519

4 See above I, 240 ff, transl p 282 According to Liebich (Zur Einfuehrung in die einheimische Sprachwissenschaft II, 30 ff), only the Rgveda-Prātisākhya and the Vājasaneyi—Prātisākhya are older than Pānini, and the other Prātiśākhyas are of a later age About the Pāniniyasiksā (see Weber, Ind. Stud 4, 345 ff) Liebich (ibid II, 20) says that "it is younger in form but older in respect of subject-matter"

to the highest extent, manifest a taste for linguistic analysis[1]. The Śāṅkhyāyana Brāhmana speaks about the language of the North as being of greater purity where the people tried to attain an authority in the sphere of language[2]. Besides we find technical grammatical terms in the Brāhmanas, Āranyakas and Upanisads. Yaska, the author of the Nirukta, distinguishes between the parts of speech, and his explanations of a number of Vedic words and stanzas presuppose his knowledge of grammar[3]. The author of the Brhaddevatā too is a grammarian, since he speaks about the parts of speech, gives definitions of noun and verb and treats also the particles, prepositions, genders and syntax[4]. A real grammatical work going back to the Vedic period has not come down to us[5]. In addition philosophical treatises, particularly those of Nyāya and Mīmāmsā, contain a large number of observations regarding sounds as a physical entity and language as a means of communication and regarding semantics.

The oldest of the grammatical treatises that have come down to us is the famous grammar Śabdānuśāsana of Pānini, the Astādhyāyī, that is to say, "the eight chapters" (of grammatical rules)[6]. [The work may be divided into an analytical part, consisting of chapters 1-5 and a synthetical part, chapters 6-8, where phonetics and morphology have been mixed

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1. See above I, 176, trans p 202 f Cf. Oldenberg, Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft, p 79 ff, 238 f, 242

2 Weber, LG. 49, Ind Stud II, 309, LZB 1892, p 911.

3 See above I, 62, trans p 69, Wackernagel, ibid, I, p LXII, and Lakshman Sarup, The Nighantu and the Nirukta, Introduction, Oxford 1920, pp 54 ff 66

4. Brhadd I, 39 ff; 42 ff; II 92 ff, 97 ff

5 A work that does not belong to the Veda and in reality treats Vedic grammar (and Vedic accent, particularly of the Vājasaneyisamhitā and of the Śatapathabrāhmana) is the Bhāsikasūtra of Kātyāyana with Bhāsikavrtti of Mahāsvāmin, see F Kielhorn and A Weber in Ind Stud 10, 397 ff

6. Śabdānusāsana, "Teaching of Words" is the common title of the manual of grammar Pāninis Grammatik herausgegeben, ubersetzt, erlautert und mit verschiedenen Indices versehen by Otto Bohtlingk, Leipzig 1887 The first chapter of the Astādhyāyī, with com, was brought by Bohtlingk at Bonn in 1839-1840. [Translation into English by V D Basu, Allahabad and by William Goonetilleke. Pānini's eight books of grammatical sūtras, Bombay Education Soc Press, 1882, into French by Louis Renou, Paris 1948, 1951. There are several Indian editions of this work. The most beautiful is of that Chandrasekhara Śāstri, Madras, and the edition of Harisankara Pāndeya, Patna 1937, is provided with fine indices].

up together. In addition to these there are rules for conjunctions of sounds and accents (*svara*) The grammar of Pānini is really the termination of a long course of development of grammatical discipline. It is not a Vedānga, but teaches Vedic grammar rather in the form of exceptions to grammatical rules for Classical Sanskrit. But the foundation for the rules of Pānini is laid on an idiom that agrees more with the languages of the Brāhmanas, Upanisads and Sūtras than with Classical Sanskrit[1]. Pānini himself mentions many (about a dozen) of his predecessors who had treated grammar from the same historical view-point as he himself. His Aṣṭādhyāyī presupposes, thence, a large number of lost works Although we are inclined to fix the age of Pāṇini in about 350 B.C [2], there is no certainty about this date Since he has given the names of Yāska and Śaunaka he must have been younger than these authors of the Vedāṅga-texts. He could hardly have lived before the 6th century B.C.[3], and he can with some probability be placed in

1. According to R G Bhandarkar (JBRAS 16, 274) the grammar of Pānini deals with "Middle Sanskrit", whilst his successor Kātyāyana teaches the grammar of Classical Sanskrit See also Kielhorn, NGGW 1885, 185 ff, Liebich, Pānini, p 38 ff. and O Wecker, Der Gebrauch der Kasus in der älteren Upanisad-Literatur, verglichen mit der Kasuslehre der indischen Grammatiker, Bez Beitr 30, 1906, 1 ff, 177 ff [The translator is unable to accept that the grammar of Pānini is not a Vedānga as Vyākarana is the second in list Śiksā, Vyākarana Kalpa Jyautisa, Nirukta and Candah, and even today orthodox Brāhmanas commit to memory the Aṣṭadhyayī as a Vedānga]

2 The date is based on a story that is outright fabulous and historically worthless and occurs in the Kathāsaritsāgara 4, 20 ff The statement of Tārānātha (trans by Schiefner, p 83 f) about Vararuci and Pānini is in any case without a historical basis as such On the age of Pānini, cf Th Goldstücker, Pānini, his Place in Sanskrit Literature, London 1861, A Weber, Ind. Stud 1, 141 ff., 5, 1 ff, B Liebich, Pānini, Leipzig 1891, R O Franke, GGA 1891, 951 ff and Keith, HOS vol 18, p CLXVIII f [In the opinion of S K Belvalkar, Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, p 18, there is nothing in Pānini's Aṣṭādhyāyī that is inconsistent with his having flourished in the 7th century B C In case we are convinced with the arguments based on his study of the Purānas etc of Yudhisthira Mīmāmsaka Pānini lived a century or two after the great Mahābhārata war—an occurrence that is not of a known age· cf Vyākaranaśastra kā Itihāsa, Part I, p 140)

3. It is evident from the fact that Pānini 4, 1, 49 teaches formation of the word *yavanānī* Whether this word means "Greek woman" or the "Greek alphabet," in any case it could not have originated before the time when the Greek were called "Jonier" (Yavanas), and came to India in course of campaigns of Darius and Xerxes Cf A Ludwig, Yavanānī (Sitzungber der k bohm Gesellschaft der Wiss 1893, IX), G Buhler On the origin of the Indian Brahma Alphabet, 2nd Ed, p 21, A B Keith, Aitareya-Āranyaka, Introd p. 21 ff, Ganapati Śāstrī, Pratimā-Nātaka, TSS, No. 42, Introd p XXVI f. and Lüders SBA 1919, p 744

the 5th century B.C., in an age when Buddhism had not attained any importance[1].

Pāṇini was born at a place called Śalātura (in the vicinity of modern Atak) [identified by Cunningham at modern Lahaur in the Yusuf Zai Valley[2]] in North-West India [now in Pakistan]. There existed a statue raised in his memory upto the time of Hiuen-Tsiang, who narrates a legend about the "Ṛṣi" Pāṇini that he had heard at Śalātura[3]. In case we further add that the name of his mother was Dāksī, since many a time he is referred to as a "son of Dāksī," we have said all that we know about the life of this great grammarian. According to a verse found in the Pañcatantra[4] he is said to have been killed by a lion (*siṁho vyākaranasya karturaharata prānān*). [In addition, according to the Kathāsaritsāgara[5], his teacher was Varsa and he was a contemporary of Kātyāyana, Vyādi and Indradatta. Pāṇini is said to have secured the favour of Śiva and obtained from him the alphabet in the form of the fourteen pratyāhāra-sūtras. According the Vedārthadīpikā[6] of Sadgurusisya Pingala was the younger brother of Pāṇini. It may also appear probable that Vyādi was the son of the brother of Pāṇini's mother[7] and possibly Kautsa, according to the testimony of the Mahābhāsya, was one of the several disciples of Pāṇini[8].]

We do know the extent to which Pāṇini is indebted to his predecessors either in respect of collection of materials or in that of his methods, since their works have not come down to us[9]. But even this position that the works of his predecessors

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1 R. G. Bhandarkar (JBRAS 16, p 340 ff) with Goldstucker places Pāṇini in the 8th century B C. Liebich, Pāṇini, p 8, explains that on the whole it is probable that Pāṇini is to be placed after Buddha, but before the beginning of the Christian era. V. A. Smith (JRAS 1919, 629) believes that he could not have lived later than the 6th century B C. [Louis Renou, L'Inde Classique, Tome II, § 1520, is of the opinion that Pāṇini belonged to the 4th century B C.

2 Belvalkar, ibid p 19

3. Beal, Buddhist Records, I, 114 ff. In a copper-plate of the 7th century A D. Pāṇini has for the first time been mentioned under the name Śālāturiya.

4 Textus Simplicior, ed Bühler II, 33.

5 Tarunga 4, referred to by Belvalkar ibid, p 19.

6 p 70

7 Yudhisthira Mīmāmsaka, Vyākarna, etc. p 131.

8 Mahābhāsya on Pān. 3, 2, 108 and 1, 4, 1.

9 Pāṇini himself has referred by name to ten of his predecessors It is probable that he received from his predecessors the grammatical system, then he effected improvements in it and made the same more complete. He accep-

did not have further circulation points to the fact that he surpassed them all on account of his mastery In fact the grammar of Pānini is a work that not only in India in all ages has enjoyed high estimation but it has also been astonishingly admired by those European scholars who have taken the trouble to dive deep in their effort to understand it

Pānini's grammar tries to help the student by giving him a chance to form each word correctly. With this objective in view it attempts to formulate in the shortest possible form the rules that he should learn by heart[1]. These rules consequently are in the form of formulas of algebra. In the place of words there come in a great measure abbreviations and combinations of letters of the alphabet, of which the meaning has to be learnt from before[2] For understanding the import of each and every rule it is necessary to keep in mind the foregoing rules Moreover, it is obligatory to know a number of rules of interpretation, p a r i b h ā ṣ ā s, that have their application throughout the whole work. Since all words and word-forms are derived from verbal roots, the rules of grammar presuppose a knowledge of the D h ā t u p ā ṭ h a or index of roots, in which the roots of Sanskrit are collectively arranged Lastly for the understanding of the rules, study of the G a n a p ā ṭ h a, "a list of word-groups" that behave in like a manner in respect of certain rules and in the sūtras themselves are indicated by the first word of the group,[3] is also anticipated. [The principle of "recurrence"

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ted, in any case, the technical terms of the ancient grammarians Some of the sūtras of Pānini are found also in Kātyāyana's Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya, and L i e b i c h (Zur Einführung in die ind einh Sprachw II, 42 ff) is inclined to admit that Pānini fashioned his grammar on the basis of the Prātiśākhya. But it is possible that both Kātyāyana and Pānini took these sūtras from some earlier grammars.

1. B a l l a n t y n e, in the Pandit, vol I, 146 ff, describes the manner in which the rules of Pānini are committed to memory in India [Cf also Character of Pānini's, work in S K B e l v a l k a r ibid, p 19 ff]

2. Thus for example *ac* means "vowels", *hal*, "consonants", *ku*, "gutturals", *tin*, "personal terminations", *sup* "case-terminations" etc

3 Probably the paribhāsās, as also the Dhātupāṭha at least partly, may have been taken by Pānini from his predecessors L i e b i c h (Zur Einführung in die ind einh Sprachw II, 51 ff) considers it probable that Pānini has, "generally speaking, taken the Dhātupāṭha in an unaltered form from his predecessors" According to G o l d s t u c k e r (Pānini 106 ff) there are many paribhāsās that first go back to Patañjali The Dhātupāṭha has been edited by N. L W e s t e r g a a r d, Radices linguae Sanscritae, Bonnae ad. Rh 1841. In B o h t l i n g k's "Pānini" (1887) are included also the Dhātupāṭha and the Ganapāṭha See also L i e b i c h, Materialen

(anuvṛtti), the use of indicatory words (*anubandhas*), standing for the value, form and modality of use of each grammatical term concerned is adopted.] It was only through this intelligent and cleverly planned system of abbreviation that it could be possible for Pānini to frame such short sūtras, that often consist of one or two words or of a few letters of the alphabet, and to produce a complete grammar in the shortest imaginable compass[1]. The rules of Pānini can on good grounds be considered to form a complete grammar, since they treat not only phonetics and morphology but also formation of words and syntax as well. And this grammar is based on accurate observation of and penetration into the linguistic usage as a whole as it presented itself to the grammarian on one hand in literature and in elegant spoken Sanskrit on the other. He had in view also the local deviations, since he often refers to the teachings of the "Northerners" and "Easterners", a thing that proves the existence of other two schools of grammarians, and what points, in any case, to the distinction between the linguistic usage of the East and of the North[2].

Many of the researchers of earlier generations believed that Pānini taught "a grammar without language" (B e n f e y), or "a grammatical Sanskrit" (W h i t n e y) : others held that in the Dhātupāṭha the roots, in a great measure, were fabricated and that he taught grammatical forms that did not actually occur. Some held that Pānini's knowledge of the Veda was not perfect. All such criticisms have been discussed thread-

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zum Dhātupāṭha (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger. Akad. d. Wiss. 1921). (K ṣ i r a t a r a n g i ṇ i is a commentary on the Dhātupāṭha, edited by Bruno L i e b i c h, Breslau 1930, [the same reproduced in Devanāgarī with Hindi annotation by Y u d h i ṣ ṭ h i r a Mīmāmsaka, (Amritsar, 1957). Other editions are in Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti by Dāmodara Śāstri and Gangādhara Śāstri, Pandit 1882-1897, and another by Ananta Śāstri Phadke and Pandit Sudāśiva Śarmaśāstrī, ChSS, 1934 etc.]

1. For example it is said in Pānini 4, 1, 110 : The names of children are formed from the words *aśva* etc with the suffix-*āyana*, that is to say from the group of words that begin in the Gaṇapāṭha with *aśva*.

2 Perhaps the last sūtra of this grammar furnishes the best example of shortness of rules It reads "*a a*", and has been translated by B ö h t l i n g k : "The *a*, often treated in this grammar as open, is actually a closed *a* (that is o)

3 Yāska too mentions a Northern school and an Eastern school of grammarians Since the place of birth of Pānini lies in the extreme north of India, according to L i e b i c h, Pānini belonged to the Northern school. According to R. O. F r a n k e, GGA 1891, 957, 975 ff. Pānini was born in the North, and came to live in the East, hence he could be considered to belong to the East.

bare during all these years[1]. Although many Western scholars have written so much about the grammar of Pāṇini—and certainly no European should have written a grammar of the type written by Pāṇini—they forget that Pāṇini wrote his manual, that is "well-thought and planned, and is not only artificial, but also fully artistic, for the native people who heard Sanskrit in common communications and dealings and that he had not written his work for foreigners[2]".

Whilst the language treated by Pāṇini stands closest to that of the Brāhmanas, Upanisads and Kalpasūtras, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, the successors of Pāṇini, had essentially in view the language of classical Sanskrit literature

Patañjali is the author of the Mahābhāsya, that is of the "great commentary"[3]. But it is not a commentary on Pāṇini's sūtras, but on the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, that are incorporated in the Mahābhasya[4] [Really it will be more accurate if we say that Patañjali speaks more about Kātyāyana than about Pāṇini.] The Vārttikas too do not constitute a commentary on Pāṇini, but they are really critical, explanatory and complimentary notes on certain rules Kātyāyana is not, as many people believe, an opponent of Pāṇini, rather his admirer and follower, who examines without sparing pains the rules of the teacher and the objections raised against them, and either sets aside these objections or improves upon the

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1 We owe a nice critical edition to F Kielhorn in the BSS, 2nd revised Ed 1906 ff, [3rd Revised edition, vol 1, by K V Abhyankar, Poona 1962 Edited with the commentaries Pradīpa and Uddyota by Sankar Śāstri Marulakara, AnSS, 1938, Raghunātha Sastri and Bhārgava Śāstri Joshi, NSP, 1935-40, Vols I-V The work has been tarnslated either wholly or partly also in Marathī, Bengali and Hindi The five Āhnikas of the Mahābhāsya have been translated into German by Ludwig, Leipzig 1933]

2 Cf Kielhorn, Kātyāyana and Patañjali their relation to each other and to Pāṇini, Bombay 1876 The vārttikas are only on one-third of the sūtras of Pāṇini and they are in circulation only with the Mahābhāsya The manuscripts that contain only the vārttikas are recent compilations from the Mahābhāsya [cf also P C Lahiri—Concordance Pāṇini—Patañjali, Breslau 1935]

3 Cf W D Whitney in the American Journal of Philology, vol 5, 1884, 279 ff, vol 14, 171 ff, GSAI 7, 1893, 243 ff As against this Buhler, Ind Ant 23, 1894, 141 ff, 250 ff, WZKM 8, 1894, 17ff,, 122 ff and R O Franke, WZKM 8, 321 ff L v Schroeder (ZDMG 49, 1895, 101 ff) has shown that Pāṇini had an accurate knowledge of the Kāthaka and Maitrāyinī Samhitās

4 Speyer, ZDMG 64, 1910, 322 f Th Benfey, Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft, Munchen 1869, p 74, has made an elaborate

rules, and in only a few cases, he has rejected the sūtras of Pāṇini. Frequently the vārttikas constitute the supplements, that partly rest upon the actual shortcomings of Pāṇini's teachings and are partly based on the fact that the linguistic usage had very much changed during the interval that elapsed between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana. These vārttikas are generally short prose sentences written in the style of sūtras, but they are not so brief as the sūtras of Pānini. There are also a metrical vārttikas (śloka-vārttikas) that are based only in parts on Kātyāyana himself and in parts on other predecessors of Patañjali. In addition in the Mahābhāsya there are also collected memorial verses (kārikās) that have different authors[1].

In the first place, the Mahābhāsya is indeed a commentary on the vārttikas. But Patañjali is not satisfied only with explaining and criticising them : in his work very often he agrees with Kātyāyana and sometimes he goes against him; in addition he continues the work of Kātyāyana as well; while doing this he critically studies into the sūtras of Pānini and sometimes he supports them against the objections and sometimes improves upon them and makes them perfect. Patañjali "did not have" fascination for any special theory and he did not make his remarks regarding grammar conform to this, but planned them on the basis of linguistic usage These are things that are proved by the introductory chapter of the Mahābhāsya, in which a student inquires about the utility of learning the words that are not in actual use. To this, the reply is : either these words were in use in earlier ages or that they are current in other countries.

The Mahābhāsya is the oldest of the works that are written in the bhāsya-style mentioned above (p.419). And in fact in this work this style appears in the form of an actual conversation that takes place in direct talk and very often in charming dialogues The language is simple and clear and the sentences are short, as they have the tendency to be in actual conversation.

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evaluation of the grammar of Pānini and of his contributions to the science of linguistics

1. According to Goldstücker, Pānini, p. 96 ff. neither the vārttikas in prose nor the ślokavārttikas or the kārikās are the work of a single author. On the kārikās in the Mahābhāsya see Kielhorn, Ind Ant 15, 1886, 228 ff [According to S K Belvalkar, Kātyāyana's date falls in between 300 and 550 B.C approximately, Ibid p 29

Generally a question is put by a student An ostensible teacher (ācāryadeśīya) answers the question more or less superficially without trying to remove all the difficulties, then a real teacher (*ācārya*) enters and clearly explains the subject under discussion[1]. The conversation-style is often so charming. Idiomatic is the style of conversation and there are references to the incidents of daily life. On account of these, for us the Mahābhāsya offers a fertile source of information about the cultural and historical conditions of the country[2]. At one place the conversation-style reminds us of the edict of King Aśoka in which after short sentences is added "why," "how" or "what", and the answer is given at once Perhaps on this ground it may be possible to assume that between Aśoka and Patañjali the interval was not altogether very long[3]

On the age of Patañjali much has been written and disputed. Scholars are, however, almost unanimous that he would have lived in the second century B.C[4]. But we are not

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On the vārttikas, see Vāsudeva Gopāla Paranjape-Le Vārtika de Kātyāyana une e'tude du styl, der vocublaire et des postulats philosophiques, Heidelberg, 1922]

1. There is no doubt that this form of the Mahābhāsya finds explanation in the fact that it was written actually after the oral discussions of the grammarians, as they really took place Cf Kielhorn, Mahābhāsya, vol III, Preface p 10, and Indian Antiquary 15, 1886, 80 f; R G Bhandarkar, JBRAS 16, 1885, 266 f Danielson, ZDMG 37, 20 ff . (translation of the introduction) and B Geiger, Mahābhāsya on Pānini VI, 4, 22 and 132 (SWA 160, 1908, 8 Abh) each gives a review of the style of the Mahābhāsya

2 A Weber, on the basis of the Benares edition of 1872 of the Mahābhāsya has made a compilation from this work of the statements that are important for history of literature and culture (Ind Stud 13, 293-496)

3 In the old Buddhist suttas too we find frequently questions inserted there It is remarkable that the epithet *devānāmpriya* "(favourite of gods)" that occurs so frequently in Asoka is not used in Pānini, but taught in a vārttika (see Lévi, JA 1891, p 8, t XVIII, 549 ff), although it is not so important as meant by Lévi, since it occurs in still further later works as well, (see Keith, JRAS 1908, 172)

4 This date has been sought to be deduced from some examples in the Mahābhāsya, so first of all Goldstucker, Pānini, p 228 ff See also R G Bhandarkar, JBRAS 16, 1885, 181 ff, Weber, Ind Stud 5, 147 ff and Liebich, Pānini, p 11 ff According to one of these examples Patañjali was possibly present at a horse-sacrifice performed by Puspamitra, who in about 185 B C defeated the Mauryas and founded the S'unga dynasty The context leaves here no doubt that he who spoke the sentence *iha puṣpamitram yājayāmah*, (a variant reading is *puṣya* for *puṣpa*) "Here we offer for Puspamitra". So must have been a contemporary of Puṣpamitra But is doubtful whether Patañjali himself formulated this example or (as it is not seldom the case with grammarians)he quoted it from an earlier grammatical or some other text From this we are not in a position to conclude with scholars like Haraprasād Śāstrī (JASB 6, 1910,

in a position to c o n f i r m that this is the correct date. Only this much is certain that between Patañjali and Kātyāyana[1], the author of the vārttikas, a considerable period of interval must have elapsed, since Patañjali refers to the grammarians who had already explained the vārttikas before him[2], and we must assume a lapse of a longer interval between Kātyāyana and Pānini. During the period intervening between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, who in all events alludes to his predecessors, the linguistic usage had changed, a thing that did not happen between Kātyāyana and Patañjali. So in case we assign Pānini to the 5th, Kātyāyana to the 3rd and Patanjali to the 2nd century B C, we have here nothing but a merely "working hypothesis".

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261) and S m i t h (Early History, p 202) that Patañjali was actually present in the sacrifice performed by Puspamitra and that while living under him, he wrote the Mahābhāsya between 150 and 140 B C Pandit N. B h ā s h y a c h a r y a (The Age of Patañjali, Adyar, Madras 1889) has shown quite nicely how weekly based is this hypothesis regarding the said date of Patañjali but the same pandita, outright uncritically, tries to prove that Patañjali wrote the Mahābhāsya and the Yogasūtras in the 10th century B C On Patañjali as the author of the Yogasūtras see further below B ü h l e r (Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Kunstdichtung, p 72) thinks that the date 2nd century B C. may not be accurate, but it is not probable that he lived later, such as in about the 1st century B C In an inscription the study of the Mahābhāsya has been referred to in Kamboja in the 6th century A D; see W a c k e r n a g e l, Altind Grammatik I, p XXXVII

1. Since Kātyāyana is a frequently mentioned as a family-name, it seems to be discussing an idle question whether or not the author of the vārttikas is identical with the writer of the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya. Patañjali calls Kātyāyana a Southerner, *dākṣināṭya* (*priyataddhitā dākṣināṭyāh yathā loke vede ceti prayoktavye yathā laukikavaidikesu prayuñjate*)

[In case we are to follow scholars like Bhagavaddatta and Yudhisṭhira Mīmāmsaka, Samudragupta in his K r s n a c a r i t a has referred to Patañjali as the author of the Mahābhāsya, the Yogadarśana and one Mahānandamayakāvya in the stanzas :—

patañjalimunivaro namasyo viduṣām sadā
kṛtam yena vyākaranabhāṣyam vacanaśodhanam
mahānandamayam kāvyam yogadarśanamadbhutam
yogavijñānabhūtam tadracitam cittadoṣaham ll,

ostensibly based on Purānic evidences, Patañjali lived in about 1200 B C.—Sanskṛta Vyākaranaśāstra Kā Itihāsa, Part I p. 243. Later the same scholar promises that he will in the second edition of his work prove that Pānini lived in about 2000 B C —ibid, Part II, p 347 ff.

There have been several Kātyāyanas, and according to Yudhisṭhira Mīmāmsaka, if his guess about our grammarian Kātyāyana being the son's son of Yājñavalkya be correct, he lived about 2700 years before the commencement of the Vikrama era,—ibid p 214-15]

2 According to K i e l h o r n (NGG 1885, 189 ff we must assume passing away of generations of scholars between Patañjali and Kātyāyana K P. J a y a s w a l (Ind 47, 1918, p. 138; 48, 1918, p 120) has tried to prove on the basis of a vārttika on Pānini 2, 1, 60 that Kātyāyana wrote the vārttikas between 248 and 200 A.D.

Whilst we do not have any sort of historical information about the three great grammarians, their names, many a time, have attained the status of legends Pāṇini himself has become a dull student, to whom grammar was revealed by the grace of god Śiva as a consequence of severe penance. According to tradition, Patañjali is an incarnation of Nāga-Śesa, the world-snake, on whom god Visnu reposes during the period of the change of two world-time-cycles[1]. In tales Kātyāyana appears under the name of Vararuci.

Vararuci is one of the most famous names of Indian literature, or rather of the legends associated with literary personalities. In fact we know Vararuci as the author of an old Prākrit grammar and several unimportant works of Sanskrit grammar as well as a poet of a number of stanzas that are attributed to him in anthologies. The legend, as it is narrated in the Kashmirian Brhatkathā, and in a story narrated in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara, makes him a rival of Pāṇini and a minister of King Nanda, and several remarkable stories are told about him[2] Tibetan Tārānātha does not tell a less wonderful story about Vararuci whom he mentions as a contemporary of Nāgārjuna, the court-priest of King Udayana[3]. Further another tradition makes him one of the 'nine jewels' in the court of King Vikramāditya. But in case we raise the question as to how to explain the fame of Vararuci as a grammarian, the probable answer seems to be that the author of vārttikas, who completed the grammar of Pāṇini, was known by his full name Vararuci Kātyāyana We say this because none of the other works that are traditionally ascribed to him could have brought him such a great fame Rather we are obliged to assume that the name Vararuci first became popular as an author's name;later when he had already became famous people, as it so frequently happens in India, attributed the different works to the famous man, since this helped them in

1. According to Liebich (Zur Einfuhrung in die ind einheim. Sprachwissenschaft I, p 7), this legend would go to suggest that the same Patañjali was the author of the Yogasūtra too, in the same way as Kapila, the founder of the Sānkhya-System, has been assumed to be an incarnation of Viṣnu, so has the author of the Yoga System, that is closely connected with the Sānkhya-System, has been made the incarnation of a divine being closely associated with Visnu

2 Kathāsaritsāgara 2, 30 ff , 4, 1 ff

3. Tārānātha, translated by Schiefner, p. 73 ff.

becoming well-known.[1] Even the Vārurucasaṁgraha,[2] a collection of 25 kārikās, that briefly describes the case, compound, verb and formation of words, is probably the work of an anonymous author who decorated his own self with the old famous name Vararuci.

Particularly for scholars of the West, with Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali the history of the scientific grammar came to an end. About the grammarians who preceeded them, we know nothing excepting their names. Śākaṭāyana and Āpiśāli are quoted by Pānini as well as by Patañjali. The latter mentions also Vyādi, Vājapyâyana, Pauskarasādi, Gonikāputra and Gonardīya[3]. Later Indian grammarians have added nothing essentially new to what Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Patañjali and their predecessors had done. Some of them have taken delight in rearranging the rules of Pānini with the use of the vārttikas and of the Mahābhāsya for some practical purpose and commenting upon them: others have tried to make verbal alterations in the sūtras and have adopted new terminologies, and they appear to have pro-

1. Naturally it is also probable that there were many authors who bore the name Vararuci. So the author of the Prākritaprakāśa might have been Vararuci by name, and the same person may have been the author (see Liebich, Zur Einführung in die ind einheim Sprachwissenschaft. I, p. 11 ff) also of the book IV of the Kātantra and of the Lingānuś'āsana Vararuci is mentioned in many of the manuscripts of the Puspasūtra as its author (see R Simon, Das Puṣpasūtra, p 495), while a commentary on the Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya is attributed to him and he is mentioned to be the author of an old lexicon (see Weber, LG 123, 244; Zachariae, Wörterbücher, p 6, 26, 38), and finally he is said to be the originator of one of the recensions of Simhāsanadvātrimśikā (see above p 371), so in this case too the name Vararuci can hardly be more than a beautiful decoration.

2 Edited with the commentary of Nārāyana by Ganapati Śāstrī in TSS No. 33, 1913 Since in the Mahābhāsya is mentioned one vārarucam kāvyam, "an epical poem of Vararuci", and this name, is included in the list of the poets of the first rank by Hemacandra, who attributes to him the authorship of a work Kanṭhābharana "ornament of the neck," it is probable, that there lived actually a poet Vararuci Aśvaghosa in the Sūtrālamkāra (translated by E Huber, p 88) mentions one Vararuci as the poet of six stanzas, composed in glorification of King Nanda and as his minister, but not as a grammarian (as wrongly assumed by Liebich, Zur Einführung in die ind. einheim Sprachwissenschaft I, p 11) Cf also Pischel, Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen (Grundriss I, 8) p. 33 f and S. Lévi, JA 1908, s 10, t XII, p 85 f

3 Cf Kielhorn, Ind Ant 15, 81 ff; 16, 101 ff. Earlier it was wrongly held that Gonikāputra and Gonardīya were the epithets of Patañjali Gondardīya was the author of the kārikās. Vyādi's Samgraha is considered to be the main source of information for the Mahābhāsya. Pauṣkarasādi (Puskarasādi) is cited as an authority in the Āpastambīya Dharmasūtra and in the Hiranyākesi-Grhyasūtra.

pounded a new system, in which it did not occur to them to review those new linguistic facts that could be observed in Sanskrit literature. For them, it seems, the rules of Pāṇini were fixed once for good and they had to be accepted without questioning their authority. They did not write on the grammar of Sanskrit, but especially on the grammatical rules of Pāṇini.

The admittedly best, on account of brevity and clarity, commentary par excellence on the sūtras of Pāṇini, is the Kāśikā-Vṛtti[1], "the commentary of Kāśī" of Jayāditya and Vāmana.[2] Since I-tsing tells us that boys of 15 years began the study of this commentary and understood it after five years and that the Chinese first of all learnt this grammar when they came to India, Jayāditya died not later than 661 or 662 A.D.[3] I-tsing himself was (before the end of the seventh century A.D.) taught Sanskrit through this grammar. The authors of the Kāśikā, in addition to the old commentaries, that they very often cite without naming, had used the Mahābhāsya and the Cāndravyākaraṇa[4]. The Nyāsa, a commentary on the Kāśikā of Jinendrabuddhi, is mentioned by Māgha, the poet[5].

1 Edited in the Pandit, vols 8-10, and N S vols 1-3, also in two volumes, Vārānasī 1890, published separately B Liebich, Zwei Kapitel der Kāśikā, translated into German and provided with an introduction, Breslau 1892

2. Probably Jayāditya is the author of the books I-V and Vāmana that of the books VI-VIII Cf Bhandarkar, Report 1883-84, p 57f, Peterson, Report 1882-83, p 28 ff In Kashmirian MSS, to each of the two writers is attributed the authorship of 4 chapters only and the Kashmirian people believe that Jayāditya was another name of King Jayāpīḍa and that Vāmana was his minister That, however, (in spite of a reference in I-tsing) is not chronologically probable and hence the poetician Vāmana must be taken to be different from the grammarian of that name Cf Bühler, Report 72f. and Stein on the Rājatarangiṇī IV, 497. [An important edition of the Kāśikā is by Pt Dāmodara Śāstrī, Benares Translated into English by S C. Vasu, SBH. No 19; Reprint Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1963]

3. Cf Itsing, transl by Takakusu, pp XIIIf, LVIf, 175 ff, and Max Muller, Ind Ant. 9, 305 ff

4 Cf. Kielhorn, Ind Ant 15, 183 ff Kielhorn, Ind Ant. 16, 178 has compared the text of Pāṇini with that given in the Kāśika, that many a time differs from the former

5. Śiśupālavadha II, 112, Cf. Kielhorn, Ind. Ant 18, 85; Pathak, JBRAS 20, 303ff, D R Bhandarkar, Ep Ind 9, 187ff [It has already been published in two volumes by Srish Chandra Chakravarti, Rajashahi, 1913, 1919-24]

Jinendrabuddhi was a Buddhist, and Buddhist was also Śaraṇadeva, who in the year 1172 A.D. wrote the Durghaṭavrtti,[1] in which attempt is made to simplify the difficulties of Pānini's grammar. It was revised by Sarvaraksita, who probably was his teacher. The Kāśikā and the Nyāsa [also called Vivaranapañjikā] are often cited in the Durghaṭavṛtti, and so are quoted there also a large number of other grammatical texts and works of classical Sanskrit literature, like Kumārasambhava, Meghadūta, Raghuvamśa, etc. Three stanzas from Pāṇini's Jāmbavatīvijaya too have been quoted in it.

[A mention here be made of the Tantrapradīpa[2] of Maitreyaraksita (1100 A.D.), a critical commentary on the Nyāsa, also called Kāśikā-Vivaranapañjikā[3]. The Padamañjarī[4] of Haradatta is a brilliant and exhaustive commentary on the Kāśikā and was written in about the 13th century A.D. To the list of important works of the Pāninian school of Sanskrit grammar may still be added the Bhāṣā-Vrtti[5] of Purusottamadeva, who must have lived before 1172 A.D[6] It is a vrtti on the sūtras of Pānini, but here the sūtrās that deal exclusively with the Vedic language have not been treated].

Although the grammar of Pāṇini is based on certain basic principles[7], that are throughout interrupted, because brevity is the chief objective of Pānini and the sūtras are throughout intercalated here; for the sake of brevity they have been combined together to the extent that even the sūtras that are not in any way associated have been put beside one another. [There is the famous saying :—*mātrālāghavena putrotsavaṁ manyante vaiyākaraṇāḥ*, "to the grammarians brevity by a single syllable is as much rejoicing as the birth of a son.] On this account the study of the work has become very difficult.

1. Edited by Ganapati Śāstrī in TSS, No 6, 1909. Lévi, (JA 1910, s 10, t. XVI, 386f.) considers this work as not of less importance; edited and translated into French by Louis Renou, Paris 1940-1954 The published part extends upto chapter VII]
2. Cf. Rājendra Lal Mitra, Notices, etc Vol. VI, p. 140
3. Ed. by Srish Chandra Chakravarti, VRS, Rajashahi 1931-1915.
4. Edited Dāmodara Śāstrī, The Pandit, N S 1880-1899
5. Edited by Srish Chandra Chakravarti, Rajashahi 1918.
6. Vide Introduction to ibid, p. 5.
7. Cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Grammatik, I, p. LXII.

In order to help the reader out of this disadvantageous position several manuals have been compiled. In them the sūtras of Pāṇini appear to have been arranged in a different order. Of this type is the Prakriyā-Kaumudī[1] of Rāmacandra, son of Krsna. The author himself wrote a small commentary [Prasāda] on it. This grammar was the model followed by Bhaṭṭoji Dīksita, who in about 1625 wrote his Siddhānta-Kaumudī[2], in which the sūtras of Pāṇini appear to have been arranged according to the subject-matter (phonetics, declension etc.) and to have been briefly and clearly commented upon This easily understandable work is suited best for introducing into the study of the indigenous Indian grammar. Its great popularity in India is proved by the fact that there are available several commentaries, manuscripts and printed editions of this work Bhaṭṭoji himself wrote a detailed commentary the Praudhamanoramā on it[3]. [In addition Bhaṭṭoji wrote a great commentary on the Mahābhāsya that is entitled the Śabdakaustubha[4], a work that probably remained incomplete.] There are two abridgements of the Siddhānta-Kaumudī by Varadarāja. One is Madhya-Siddhānta-Kaumudī[5] and another is Laghu-Siddhānta-Kaumudī, the latter is better known as

1 Cf Bhandarkar, Report 1883-84, p 58 ff, 362 ff; Burnell, Tanjore, p 40; Eggeling Ind. Off Cat II, 164 ff. Rāmacandra's son Nṛsimha had copied this book in 1423 AD, see S Ch. Vidyābhūṣana, JASB 1988, 593 ff. [Ed K P. Trivedi, BSS, 1925, 1931.]

2 Cf Aufrecht, ZDMG 45, 1891, 306, and Hultzsch, Report II, p XII A beautiful edition has been published from Bombay [Published in a MS form by Bābu Rāma, Kidderpur 1811. Translated into English by S C. Vasu, Allahabad 1904-1907 reprint Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1962, and by S Ray and K Ray, Calcutta 1927]

3 Cf Aufrecht, Ind Stud 4, 171 ff Likewise the Siddhānta-Kaumudī has been printed several times in India [Praudhamanoramā with Śabdaratna with a Marāthī translation, parts 1, 2 and 3 recently published by Nā Dā Vadegaonkar, Nagpur 1244 The work has been commented upon by Haridīksita under the titles Laghu-śabdaratna and Śabdaratna The former has been printed several times and the latter has been published by the Banaras Hindu University, ed Sītārāma Śāstrī]

4 [I have seen the edition extending upto I, 1 of Pāṇini by Tīkādatta Dhītāla, Vārānasī, 1997 samvat and the edition from I, 2 of Pāṇini upto III, 2, published in the ChSS, Vārānasī, 1985 samvat and there is a MS of the work extending upto the end of the 4th Adhyāya in the Sans Univ. Lib, Varanasī]

5. [A beautiful edition brought out by the NSP, Bombay, 1950]

Laghu-Kaumudī[1]. [Of the several commentaries on the Siddhāntakaumudī, the most popular are the Tattvabodhinī[2] of Jñānendra Sarasvatī and the Bālamanoramā[3] of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita.]

[An important work is the Pāninisūtra-vyākhyā of Manalūr Rāghavācārya. It is a work prepared quite recently and follows in respect of the arrangement of the sūtras of the Siddhāntakaumudī[4]. Its objective had been to make the study of Sanskrit grammar simpler. Another recently written commentary on the grammar of Pānini is by Dharanīdhara and Kāśīnātha[5].

As a grammarian and philosopher was famous in the 7th century A.D. Bhartrhari, who according to the testimony of I-tsing, died in 651/52 A.D.[6] He wrote a commentary on the Mahābhāsya of which we possess only some fragments[7]. We have, however, his Vākyapadīya in full[8], that is rather a treatise on the philosophy of language than a work on grammar. This book is divided into three sections (hence it is also called "Trikāṇḍī"), of which the first one is devoted to grammar and speech in general, the second one deals with sentences and the third one with words. In the Kāvyaprakāśa the following sentence is quoted from the Vākyapadīya : *na hi gauh svarūpeṇa gauḥ nāpyagauh gotvābhisambandhāt gauriti* "An ox is neither an ox, nor a not-ox by himself, but he is an ox because he belongs to the class of ox."

1. Published with an English translation by J. R. Ballantyne Benares 1849, 2nd Ed 1867, Reprint Motilal Banarsi Dass, Delhi, 1963.
2 [Several Indian editions : the best one is that of NSP, Bombay]
3 Of the several Indian editions the best one are that of the Balamanorama Press, Madras and Motilal Banarsi Dass, Varanasi.]
4 Edited by T Chandra Sekharan, Madras 1954-55.
5. Published Calcutta 1809
6. Takakusu, I-tsing, p 180.
7. On these see Kielhorn, Mahābhāsya, vol. II Preface, p. 11 ff. [Part I. consisting of the first four āhnikas, edited by V. Swaminathan. B. H. U., Press. Varanasī 1964]. On grammarian Bhartṛhari see Kielhorn, Ind Ant. 12, 1883, 226ff and K. B Pathak (JBRAS 18f. 341 ff), how tries to prove that Bhartṛhari was a Buddhist. See above p. 157 ff

8. Edited with the commentary of Punyarajā in BenSS, 1887 1907 [and the 3rd kāṇḍa by K. Sāmba Śiva Śāstrī Part I, TSS 1936, and kāṇḍa I by Charudeva Śāstrī, Lahore 1939. The work has been commented upon by Raghunātha Śarma SBTS. Vārānasi 1963, and kāṇḍa III, Part I has been nicely edited by K. A. S. Subamania Iyer, Poona 1963].

The commentary of Kaiyaṭa[1] on the Mahābhāsya is merely an extract from the commentary of Bhartrhari. Nāgojibhaṭṭa is mentioned as "one of the greatest grammarians of the recent age" by Kielhorn[2] This great grammarian wrote a commentary Uddyota on the commentary Pradīpa of Kaiyata.

Associated with the grammar of Pānini there are several adaptations and commentaries that constitute accessories to the sūtras There are many treatises on the paribhāsās (see above pp. 425-26), of which the best one is the Paribhāsenduśekhara[3] of Nāgojibhatta Scholars have frequently worked upon the Dhātupātha and have commented upon it. One of the oldest adaptations is the Dhātupradīpa of Maitreyaraksita[4] (C. 1100 A.D.). This was utilized by Deva in his Daiva, written in verses, on which Krsnalīlāśuka wrote his commentary Puruṣakāra[5]. His work deals with the roots that show the same or similar forms as those in the Dhātupātha, but have different meanings and belong to different conjugations [We may mention here the Prakrīyā sarvasva[6] of Nārāyana Bhatta (1537-1620 A.D.). There are twenty sections in it and it generally follows the method

1 The Pandits of Kashmir tell all sorts of anecdotes about this scholar that have been reported in Bühler (Report 71) There are many persons who assume that he was a brother of Mammaṭa . but Buhler believes that he did not live before the 5th century A D.

2. In the Ind. Ant 5, 1876, 248 Nāgojibhaṭṭa or Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, a thoroughly successful author (see Aufrecht CC 283 f), was a disciple of Hari Dikṣita, who was an uncle of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita see Bhandarkar, Report 1883-84, p 51. [Some other commentaries on the Mahābhāsya are :— Vyākaranasudhānidhi of Viśveśvara (Ed ChSS 1924), the Mahābhāṣyaratna prakāśa (hitherto unpublished, but preserved in MSS) of Śivarāmendra Sarasvatī In addition there are notes and comments on one or the other of the commentaries. We may refer here to the notes of Vaidyanātha Pāyagunde on the Mahābhāṣya in the NSP, Bombay edition Vol I of the Mahābhāṣya]

3 Edited by F. Kielhorn, BSS Published with the commentary in the ĀnSS No 72. (Translation and notes, Bombay 1871-74) Revised Edition, Poona 1963.

4 On this and other works of the type see Westergaard, Radices p 11 f [Edited with annotations by Srish Chandra Charkravarati, Varendra Res Soc Rajshahi 1919]

[Edited Parts I & II K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri 1931-1938 and Part III by V. A Ramaswami Śāstrī, TSS 152, 1947]

5 Daiva and Puruṣakāra have been edited by Ganapati Śāstrī, TSS No 1, 1905 In the Puruṣakāra have been quoted Kṣīrasvāmin and the Jaina Śākaṭāyana and Hemacandra.

[6. Edited by K Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī, parts I and II, 1931 and 1938; by Ramaswami Śāstri, Part III, TSS, 1947]

of Siddhānta Kaumudī]. Mādhava, the brother of Sāyaṇa, has quoted from Daiva and Purusakāra in his great work Dhātuvṛtti[1]. [We may here mention also the Kṣīrataraṅginī[2] that is a commentary by Kṣīrasvāmin on Pāṇini's Dhātupāṭha.) The Ganapāṭha too has been worked upon very frequently. But the Ganaratnamahodadhi[3] of Vardhamāna [about 1140 A.D.] is written not from the standpoint of Pāṇini's grammar but from that of some other grammar. To the accessories to the sūtras of Pāṇini belong also the Unādisūtras[4]. They are rules framed for deriving certain nouns from verbal roots of Sanskrit with the help of a particular type of suffixes that are included in a list beginning with-*uṇ*, (i.e. with the suffix-*u*). Such a list existed from before the time of Pāṇini, since he twice refers to it. There is some probability that Śākaṭāyana, mentioned by Pāṇini, was the author of the Unādisūtras[5]. The best commentary on the Uṇādisūtras is the one by Ujjvaladatta (approximately about the middle of the 13th century A.D.). Lastly the Phiṭsūtras[6] too constitute an accessory to the work of Pāṇini. They are rules on the accent of the Vedic language as well as of Sanskrit. The author of these rules is Śāntanava, who certainly lived after Pāṇini. Probably Patañjali too was not aware of these rules. [An important supplement to Pāṇini's grammar is the Svarasiddhānta-Candrikā[7] of Śrīnivāsa

1. Mādhavīya-Dhātuvṛtti, edited in the Pandit, Vol. VIII; and N. S. Vols 4-8, 17-19; see Westergaard, 1. c.p. III; [also published by Tara Printing works, Varanasi, 1964]

[2. Editions by Srish Chandra Chakravarti, Rajashahi, 1919 and also by Bruno Liebich, Breslau, 1930]

3 Edited by J Eggeling, London, 1879 Cf Zachariae, GGA 1880, p. 917 ff, and Kielhorn, Ind Ant 18, 1889, p 85. See p 444.

4 Die Unādi-Affixe, edited by O. Böhtlingk in Mémoires de l'Acad des sciences de St Petersbourg 1844; Ujjvaladatta's commentary on the Unādisūtras, ed by Th Aufrecht, London 1859 (with valuable indices and a glossary.

5 Vararuci too is mentioned as the author-of the Unādisūtras; but see Aufrecht, Ujjvaladatta's commentary, p VIII f. Accordihg to Goldstucker (Pānini, p. 139 ff) the Unādi-lists, and not the Unādisūtras, were written by Pānini [There is one Unādikośa of Mahādeva Vedāntin (C 1600 A D), edited by K. Kunjunni Raja, Mad Univ. SS 21.]

6. Edited with different Indian commentaries, introduction and translation by F. Kielhorn in AKM IV, 2, Leipzig 1866.

[7 Ed by K A S Śāstrī, Annamalai Univ. SS No. 4, Madras 1936]

Yajvan. It is a commentary on the svarasūtras of the Aṣṭādhyāyī and was written on the bank of the Kāveri in the seventeenth century.]

The Kātantra of Śarvavarman, [a Buddhist scholar], is probably the oldest among the grammatical works that without being independent of Pāṇini have attempted to build a new system of grammar. [This work is called also Kalāpa] At least this elementary book of grammar, of which the aim was to place in the hands of students a book of rules that were easier than those of Pāṇini, originated in the first century A.D.[1] Apparently this work consisted originally of four books or rather four pādas, but was already enlarged by the time of the commentator Durgasimha (8th century) through additions that are found in our texts and also in the Tibetan translation. The Kātantra springs out from Pāṇini's sūtras that sometime have been reproduced ad verbatim in it The terminology in a great measure is in accord with that of Pāṇini. However, the Vedic language and accent have not been taken into consideration. This grammar has till recently been studied in Kashmir and in East Bengal, and it must have been popular throughout the centuries in these Indian regions, since it was taken also into Tibet and into Central Asia[2]. The fact that the Kātantra was used by the Pāli grammarian Kaccāyana and that it served as model for the indigeneous grammars of the

1. Edited with the commentary of Durgasimha by J Eggeling, Bibl. Ind 1874-1878, The title "The Small Manual" might have been given to it on account of its small volume. Since according to tradition this work was revealed to Śarvavarman through the grace of god Kumāra, it is called also Kaumāra or Kalāpaka (after the plume of the peacock, the conveyance of Kumāra) Cf. Kathāsaritsāgara 7, 10 ff The oldest part of the work has been translated into German by B Liebich, Zur Einführung in die ind einheim, Sprachwissenschaft I, Heidelberg 1919 Cf also Böhtlingk, ZDMG 41, 657 ff On the Kātantra see also Haraprasād Śāstrī, Notices of Sanskrit MSS, 2nd Series, vol I, Calcutta 1900, p II f

2. Winternitz says that he does not have so much of confidence in the stories of Somadeva and Tārānātha that he (with V A Smith, ZDMG 56, 660, Lacôte, Essai sur Gunāḍhya, p 28 f and Liebich, ibid, p 3 ff) could consider Śarvavarman to be a contemporary of Hāla Sātavāhana in the first century A D Since almost all the Āndhra-inscriptions are in Prākrit and since a great collection of Prākrit stanzas is attributed to Hāla, it is little probable that a minister of this king could have written a grammar of Sanskrit According to W it is probable that this work is of about the same age as that of the Tantrākhyāyika, i e. of about 300 A D.

Dravidian languages[1], proves wide circulation of this work[2].

There are several commentaries on the Kātantra and there exist many treatises accessory to it. Without the commentary of Durgasimha the text would not have been intelligible. Durgasimha wrote further a commentary (ṭīkā) on his commentary (vṛtti)[3]. The Dhātupāṭha of the Kātantra is preserved only in its Tibeten translation[4]. Ugrabhūti's Śisyahitānyāsa, a work that has been mentioned by Alberūnī, is a sort of commentary on the Kātantra. In it one single chapter has been extended in the form of two. Here sūtras, one after another, are explained in a verbose style; a sūtra is omitted here or one or other sūtra of Pāṇini is made more complete there. This Ugrabhūti wrote in about 1000 A.D., since he was the teacher of Ānandapāla of Kabul who came to the throne in 1001 A.D.[5]. The Śabdarahasya, a treatise on the philosophy of language, of Rāmakānta Vidyāvāgīśa too belongs to the Kātantra[6].

The Tibetan scholars say that the Kātantra agrees with the Aindravyākaraṇa of Indragomin. Probably this was the grammar of the Buddhists of Nepal. But it has

1 On the fragments of the Kātantra found in Central Asia see E. Sieg in SBA 1907, XXV and 1908, VIII and L Finot, Le Muséon, N S. 12, 1911, 193 ff In a South Indian inscription of the year 1161 A D a deed of gift of a piece of land is made to teachers, who in the matha (cloister) explained the "Kaumāra" Other inscriptions mention the places where not only the commentaries on the Kaumāra, but also on Pānini and Śākaṭāyana were written, see Fleet, Ep Ind 5, 22, 222, Kielhorn, Ep. Ind. 7, App. No. 279 note

2 Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, I, p. LXXIII. [Fragments of a work, named Kaumāra, that is now lost, have been recovered from Turkistan, and according to Luders it was based on the Kalāpavyākarana Although the text so recovered differs from the available recension of the latter in minor details, it proves the great popularity of the system—Renou and Filliozat, L'Inde Classique, Vol 2 § 1530 Cf Heinrich Lüders—Kātantra und Kaumāralāta, SBA 1930].

3 See Eggeling, Ind Off. Cat II, 196 ff and Peterson, Report V, 41 f on other commentaries and texts belonging to the Kātantra.

4 The work that circulates as the Dhātupāṭha of the Kātantra is in fact the Dhātupāṭha of the Cāndra grammar, see Liebich, NGG 1895, 316

5 Cf Alberūnī, trans E C Sachau, I, 135 f; Smith, Early History 382, Winternitz-Keith, Bodleian Catalogue, p. 129. The "Śisyahitā", the Tibetan translation by Monk Sthiramati appears to be different from the Śisyahitānyāsa; see Liebich, NGGW 1895, p. 278, note 1.

6 Eggeling, Ind Off Cat II, p. 207 ff.

not come down to us[1].

The Cāndravyākaraṇa[2] is the Sanskrit grammar that has its circulation in the Buddhist countries extending from Kashmir, Nepal and Tibet down upto Ceylon. It was written by Candragomin. He has extracted his materials not only from the sūtras of Pāṇini, but also from the Mahābhāsya. Bhartrhari and Kalhana tell us that Candragomin had taken upon himself the task of making the long uninterrupted study of the Mahābhāsya further popular[3]. As against this the Tibetan sources tell us that when Candragomin was studying the Bhāsya of Patañjali in the house of Vararuci in South India it came to his notice that "it contained too many words and little thought", and at this he himself wrote a commentary on Pāṇini, namely his Cāndravyākaraṇa[4]. In addition to Pāṇini and Patañjali, Candragomin had utilized several other sources that are not available to us, and purposely incorporated them into his own work. A series of technical terms were particularly coined by him. To the Cāndra grammar belong not only the text and the commentary, but also quite a number of accessory works, particularly Dhātupāṭha, Ganapāṭha, Unādisūtras, Paribhāsāsūtras that are different from the corresponding texts of Pāṇini[5].

1. Earlier some scholars spoke about an "Aindra School" of Indian grammar and believed that this "grammar of Indra" was older than that of Pāṇini, see A C Burnell, On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians, Mangalore 1875, and on it Weber, Ind Streifen 3, 402 ff This was an error. But there was a grammarian Indragomin Cf Kielhorn, Ind. Ant 15, 181 ff, Liebich, Zur Einführung in die ind einheim Sprachwissenschaft I, p 11, II, p 10

2 Cīndra-Vyākarana, the grammar of Candragomin, edited by Bruno Liebich, Leipzig 1902, AKM XIV, 4 Candravrtti, the original commentary of Candragomin on his grammatical sūtras, ed by B Liebich, Leipzig, 1918, AKM XI, 4 Liebich has shown that Chandragomin was the author of the sūtras as well as of the vṛtti [Edited also by Kshitish Chandra Chatterji Śāstrī, Deccan College, Poona, 1953 and 1961]

3 On the passage in Bhartrhari's Vākyapadīya, see Goldstücker, Pāṇini 273 f, Kielhorn, NGGW 1885, 188, Weber and Stenzler, Ind Stud 5, 158 ff; 447 f According to Rājatarangini 1, 176, through Ācārya Candra and others, under King Abhimanyu I (circa 300 A D), the study of the Mahābhāsya was revived But Rājatar 4, 488 f, Kalhana reports about a revival of the Mahābhāṣya-study during the period of reign of King Jayāpīda (end of the 8th century A D) through the grammarian (Kṣīrasvāmin)

4 Cf S Ch Vidyābhūṣana, Mediaeval School of India Logic, p 122, and Tārānāthas Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, translated into German by A Schiefner, p 151 f

5 Liebich NGGW, 1895, 272 ff, gives a bibliography of the

Although according to Liebich[1], Candragomin might have lived in the 5th-6th centuries, it is difficult to state with certainty his age. According to the Chinese sources referred to by Péri[2], Candragomin has to be placed either in the beginning or in the first-half of the seventh century A.D. According to the Tibetan sources, he should have been living under Śīla, the son of Harṣadeva, sometime in about 700 A.D.[3] In case this be correct, it becomes understandable that I-tsing in his report on the study of grammar in India does not say a word about the grammar of Candragomin. But against this Tibetan evidence stands the fact that in the first half of the 7th century A.D. the authors of the Kāśikā had utilised the Cāndravyākaraṇa and Candragomin is mentioned by Bhartṛhari as the reviver of the Mahābhāsya-study. Therefore, it may be that Candragomin lived in about 600 A.D.[4] [The Cāndravyākaraṇa consists of sūtras and a vrtti thereupon. According to Gurupada Haldar, the author of the Vṛtti was one Dharmadāsa, because in one of the MSS there is the inscription *dharmadāsasya kṛtiriyam*[5]. But the evidence not sufficient.

An interesting work is the Ākhyāta candṛikā[6] of Bhaṭṭamalla. Since Mallinātha has referred to him as an authority he must have lived before 1400 A.D. It is a short treatise on verbs written in verses in the style of the Amarakośa. In several cases the meaning given to verbs differs from that given in the Dhātupāṭha of Pānini.]

The Bālāvabodhana is based on the Cāndravyākaraṇa. It was written by Monk Kāśyapa in about 1200 A.D. It is an elementary book of grammar that is used

texts belonging to the Cāndravyākaraṇa and of those that are preserved only in Tibetan translations.

[1. Renou and Filliozat, L'Inde Classique. part 2, § 1531.].

2 See above II, 251 note, 379; transl p 365, 279 note. Péri. A propos de la date de Vasubandhu, Extrait p 50 note 2, places Candragomin between Hiuen-Tsiang and I-tsing

3 Cf S Ch Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Mediaeval School of Indian Logic, Calcutta 1909, p 122 f

4 In the face of a reference to a campaign against the Hūnas in the vrtti (see B Liebich, Das Datum Candragomins U Kālidāsas, Breslau 1903), he could not have lived before 470 A D He would, therefore, fall between 470 and 600 A D See, however, also Thomas, JRAS, 1903, 397.

[5. Prākkathana, p. 81 to part I of the Vyākaraṇa-Darśanera Itihāsa

[6 Ed. by Venkaṭarangānāthasvāmī, in the ChSS Benares 1904.]

in Ceylon[1].

Like the Buddhists, the Jainas too wrote their own books of grammar that too deviate rather little from Pānini. The oldest of these manuals that stands close to Pānini is the Jainendravyākrana[2], *i.e.* the grammar attributed to Jinendra, and of which the author was Pūjyapāda Devanandin[3]. Later than this grammar is the Śākaṭāyanavyākarana[4], the grammar of Śākaṭāyana[5], who wrote it during the period of reign of King Amoghavarṣa I (814-877). Śākaṭāyana had utilised not only Pānini's sūtras, the Vārttikas and the Mahābhāsya, but also the Cāndravyākarana. The technical terms are partly those of Pānini, partly those of Candragomin, and there are abbreviations that are the same as those found in the Jainendravyākarana. In addition to the text, to this grammar belong also a copious commentary[6], some Paribhāsāsūtras, Ganapāṭha, Dhātupāṭha, Unādisūtras and a Liṅgānuśāsana.

The grammar of Hemacandra [12th century A.D.], the Siddhahemacandra or Haimavyākaraṇa[7]

1. Cf W. Gooneṭillake, Ind. Ant. 9, 1880, 80 ff; Liebich, NGGW 1895, 272 f

2 Edited and published with the commentary of Abhayanandi Muni in the Pandit, N. S vols 31-34. In the year 1205, Somadeva wrote a commentary Śabdārnava candrikā. See also Zachariae, Bezz. Beitr 5, 1880, 296 ff, K B. Pathak, Ind. Ant. 12, 1883, 19 ff. Peterson, Report II, 67 ff

3 According to Bhandarkar, Early History of the Dekkan, 2nd Ed p 59, Pūjyapāda lived in about 678 A D, according to B Lewis Rice (JRAS 1890, 245 ff), in about the middle of the 5th century A D. Since Pūjyapāda may also be a title it is difficult to determine difinitely his age.

4 Edited by G Oppert, Madras 1893; new edition with the commentary of Abhayacandrasūri, London 1913 [The latest edition with the commentary Jainendramahāvṛtti of Abhayanandi has been brought out by Śambhunātha Tripāṭhī and Mahādeva Caturvedi, Varānasī 1956] The Sūtras with Laghuvṛtti also in the Pandit, N S vols 34 and 35 Kielhorn, Ind Ant. 16, 1887, 24 ff and NGGW 1894, speaks about this grammar : it is mentioned in a Canarese inscription, see Fleet, Ep. Ind. 5,222, Kielhorn, Ep Ind. 7, App No 279 note

5 He is called also Abhinava-Śākaṭāyana, "the new Śākaṭāyana" for the purpose of differentiating him from Śākaṭāyana, who was a predecessor of Pānini (see above p 432) On his age see K. B Pathak, Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute 1918-19, I, 1, p 7 ff, where reference is made to Ind. Ant 1914, 205 ff, 1915, 275 ff and 1916, 25 ff

6. Of this Yaksavarman's Cintāmani is merely an abridgement, as V. S Sukthankar, Die Grammatik Śākaṭāyanas (Adhyāya 1, Pāda 1) nebst Yakṣavarmans Kommentar (Cintāmani), Berlin 1921 (Diss), has proved.

7 [It is called also Siddha-Hema-Śabdānuśāsana An edition published by Yaśovijaya, Benares 1905. A beautiful

is not different from an improved edition of the grammar of Śākaṭāyana, but still Kielhorn[1] has called it to be "the best grammar of the Middle Age of India." It is arranged in a convenient form as the author has used practical technical terms, that in other respects, in a great measure, have been taken from the Kātantra, in addition to from the grammars of Pānini, Candragomin and Śākatāyana. Since this grammar is written for the Jainas, naturally the language of the Vedas and the accent-system have not come into view. Hemacandra wrote this grammar at the command of King Siddharāja[2], who got him provided with eight old grammatical works from the library of the temple of Sarasvatī in Kashmir. The author himself wrote two commentaries on his grammar, a long one and a short one. Likewise he wrote his own Uṇādisūtras and a Dhātupāṭha.[3]

[The Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, attributed to Varddhamāna is a commentary on a Gaṇapāṭha of a school that was close to that of Hemacandra[4].]

[The Kāśakṛtsna-Śabdakalāpa-Dhātupāṭha[5] of Canna Vīrakavī written in the 15th century is a work that may be mentioned here. Another small but modern and important grammatical work is the Nipātāvyayopasarga vṛtti[6] of Tilaka. It was copied in the Telugu script in 1911 A.D. It is written in the form of sūtras and vrtti and has one chapter devoted to each of the three topics mentioned in its title.

Several other grammars have rather local importance They are studied and cultured in particular regions of India. So the Samksiptasāra of Kramadīśvara[7] is

editor has been brought out by Śrī Vijayalāvanya Sūri, Botad, Saurastra, Vikram Sam 2013]

1. WZKM 2, 1888, p 24, Kielhorn gives here (p. 18 ff) a review of this grammar.

2 Hence the title Siddhahemacandra, i.e. "grammar dedicated to King Siddharāja and written by Hemacandra".

3 Edited with a commentary by J. Kirste, Wien 1895 and 1899 (Quellenwerke der indischen Lexikographie II and IV) See also Kirste, Epilegomena zur Ausgabe des Unādiganasūtra in SWA 1895 and on the Dhātupāṭha in OC X, Genf 1894, I, p. 109 ff.

[4 See above, p 438]

[5. Edited with a commentary in Kannad by A. N. Narasimhia, Sources of Indian Lexicography No. 5, p. 11 Introduction, Poona 1952]

[6. Edited by Appalla Someśvara Sarma, Sri Venkateswara Oriental Series, No —28 Tirupati 1951.]

7. Cf Zachariae in Bezz. Beitr. 5, 1880, p. 22 ff. and Egge-

chiefly studied in West Bengal[1]. In this grammar, the only thing that is new is the arrangement of the subject-matter. The author considers even the Bhaṭṭikāvya to be an authority on grammar[2]. Kramadīśvara devotes the first seven chapters of his book to Sanskrit and the eighth to Prākrit. The author himself wrote a short commentary on his grammar. This commentary was revised by Jūmaranandin, whence this grammar is sometimes designated also as "Jaumara". This treatise too has some accessory works like Paribhāsāsūtra Gaṇaprakāśa, etc. We are not in a position to determine accurately the age in which this work was written; but in any case it was prepared after the 11th century A.D., since here we have a quotation from the poems of Murāri. The Mugdhabodha[3] of Bopadeva has enjoyed the widest circulation in Bengal (Gauda-land). This grammar deviates from Pānini in respect of the arrangement of the subject-matter as also in that of the technical terms. The author was a court-poet of King Mahādeva Devagiri, who was reigning in the second half of 13th century A D. It is a Sanskrit grammar with a short commentary. Bopadeva himself wrote one Kavikalpadruma ("Poet's Tree of Desire"), *i.e.* a Dhātupāṭha in verses, in addition to a commentary on it[4]. In East Bengal [now in East Pakistan] the Supadmavyākaraṇa[5], written in 1375 A.D. by Padmanābhadatta [has been] in circulation. There is one Unādivrtti and as well as a Dhātupāṭha belonging to this grammar. In Bihar and at Vārānasī is found also the Sārasvatīprakriyā or the Sārasvatavyākaraṇasūtra with a commentary by Anubhūti[6] [rather Anubhūti-

ling, Ind Off Cat II, p 218 ff]

1 Edited by O Böhtlingk, St Petersburg 1847 The large number of commentaries (see Eggeling, Ind Off Cat II, p 230 ff) [and editions] prove popularity of this work

[2 See above pp 78-79]

3 Cf Eggeling, ibid II, 242ff, Haraprasāda Śāstrī, Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts N S I, p VII [It has had many editions]

[4 A fine edition by Gajānan Balkrishna Palasule, Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography, Poona 1954]

[5 Published with a commentary Dhātudīpikā by Durgādāsa Vidyāvāgīśa, Calcutta 1904]

6 This grammar has been printed in India many a time and is preserved also in its Tibetan translation Cf Eggeling, ibid II, p 210 ff., and S. Ch Vidyābhūṣana in JASB, N S. 4, 1908, 593 ff.

svarūpācārya. It is said that when this learned grammarian committed a linguistic blunder, he tried to justify it too in his grammar. Now it has almost no circulation. The Prakriyāsarvasva[1] of Nārāyanabhaṭṭa (C. 1586 A.D.) is a scholarly work that is still read in Kerala.]

Intermediate between lexicography and grammar are the Liṅgānuśāsanas[2], manuals on grammatical gender, that are found partly as accessory to grammars and partly as appendices to several dictionaries. The Liṅgānuśāsana[3] attributed to Pāṇini could not have been written by the famous grammarian himself. One of the oldest works of this type is the Lingaviśeṣavidhi of Vararuci, written in the Āryā-metre. This has been quoted in the Liṅgānuśāsana of Harsadeva (7th century) and of Vāmana[4] (8th century), who might have been identical with the poetician of the same name. The Liṅgānuśāsanas of Śākaṭāyana and of Hemacandra[5] are of later dates. [The Liṅgānuśāsana of Harṣavardhana[6], consisting of 95 kārikās, is an important work. The identity of its author with Śrīharṣa is not certain.]

[The Liṅgānuśāsana[7] of Durgasiṁha is an important work of the type, as will be evident from the fact that it is quoted by important later-day writers. According to the editor of the work the author lived in between 850 and 1140 A.D.[8] The manual contains also a vṛtti probably written by a Durga who was different from the author. Although the MSS present divergences of readings, we have no reason to think of its having more than one recension.]

[1. Edited in the TSS 1931 and onwards.]

2. R. O Franke, Die indischen Genusregeln mit dem Text der Liṅgānuśāsana des Śākaṭāyana, Harṣavardhana, Vararuci nebst Auszugen aus der Kommantaren usw., Kiel 1890.

3. It was printed in 1872 in Calcutta and put together with the Siddhāntakaumudi.

4. Reproduced in Peterson, 3 Reports, pp 110-114 from a manuscript that contains also a sūtrapāṭha and an Unādisūtra of Vāmana.

5. Hemacandras Liṅgānuśāsana mit Kommentar und Übersetzung published by R Otto Franke, Göttingen 1886.

[6. Edited with the commentary Sarvalakṣanā of Pṛthivīśvara NSS 4, 1931.]

[7. Edited by Dattatreya Gangādhara Koparkar, Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography, No. 10, Poona, 1952.]

[8. Introduction p. XI.]

The method and the system of Pāṇini have been taken over also to the Prākrit grammar by Indian grammarians[1]. [Actually the Prākrit grammars appear to constitute imitations of and appendices to one or the other Sanskrit grammar.] They consider Prākrit only as a literary language derived from Sanskrit. [As a matter of fact the Prākrit grammarians try mainly to note the aspects and cases in which Prākrit deviates from Sanskrit that they sometimes call *siddha*, correct.] Hence Prākrit grammar was a kind of continuation of Sanskrit grammar in which rules for derivation of Prākrit words from Sanskrit were given. [In it Māhārāṣṭrī is treated as the principal dialect and others are considered to be subsidiary ones; Paiśācī andApabhraṁśa too are tugged with them. These grammars are all written in Sanskrit.] Hence [modern scholars, particularly of Europe, have been led to] entertain doubt as to whether Prākrit grammar is younger or older than Prākrit literature[2]. Since literary Prākrit had never been a living tongue, some scholars held the view that the persons who composed verses in the dramas or in the lyrics must have learnt this language from grammar, whilst others have believed that there must at first have existed a literature before a grammar of some language could be written. Winternitz believes that there can be no "either—or", but only a "probably-as also". The position with regard to Prākrit is not different from that with regard to Sanskrit and poetics. In the same way as there existed Sanskrit works before Pāṇini wrote his grammar and as there must have existed poems written in ornate Sanskrit language before the first manual of poetics was written, although later Sanskrit poets were guided by the rules of grammar of Pāṇini and those of the rhetoricians, there must have existed literary productions in Prākrit before the first Prākrit grammar was written, although [later day] poets might have learnt Prākrit from grammar. The lays of the Sattasaī and the tales of the Bṛhatkathā must have existed before some one could have thought of writing a grammar based on them. The popular dialects, that were originally used only

1. Cf R. Pischel (Grammatik der Prākrit Sprachen (Grundriss 1, 8, Strassburg 1900, p 32 ff.). On the history of Prākrit grammar see also Bhandarkar JBRAS 17, 2 ff [Lucia Nitti-Dolci, Les Grammariens Prākrits, Paris, 1938.]

2 Cf. Th Bloch, Vararuci und Hemacandra, ein Beitrag zur Kritik und Geschichte der Prākrit-Grammatik, (Leipziger Diss), Gütersloh 1893 and Sten Konow GGA 1894, 472 ff.

in folk-songs began to be employed later also in advanced literature, in which all sorts of literary dialects, the different Prākrits developed. They are the product of evolution exactly as Sanskrit and not artificial creations of the grammarians. We now know that in the Buddhist dramas of the first century A D. an old Prākrit was used what is termed by Lüders[1] as "Alt-Prākrit" [Old Prākrit.] At that time, therefore, Prākrit could not have been fixed in grammar. Hence it follows that the improbable statement, first found in later-day writings, that Pāṇini wrote also a grammar of Prākrit, a Prākrtalakṣaṇa, cannot be taken as correct. Further it also comes that Vararuci-Kātyāyana, the author of the oldest grammar of Prākrit, could not be identical with the author of the vārttikas [on Pāṇini.[2]]

[The researches of Luigia Nitti have shown that at first the people felt the necessity of a code of rules for Māhārāṣṭrī lyrics, keeping in view the objective of describing a language, rather than that of helping the versifiers to compose stanzas. Secondly they made observations regarding dialects for the use of actors, as we find in chapter 32 of the Bhāratīya-nāṭyaśāstra. Then they tried to formulate rules about Apabhraṃśa lyrics, and last of all they provided rules for Paiśācī narratives.[3]]

In all events it is certain that of all the works on Prākrit grammar, that are available to us the Prākrtaprakāśa[4] of Vararuci is the oldest. The very fact that Bhāmaha, whom we have considered to be the author of one of the oldest manuals of poetics (see above p. 11 f.), has a written a commentary on this work also leads us to conclude that this must be relatively an old work. But the age of Bhāmaha too has not been determined accurately in the same manner as that of

1. Beobachtungen buddhistischer Dramen, p. 64; see above p. 198 ff.

2. Pischel, ibid p. 33f. considers both to be identical, but finally he remarks: "The identity of Kātyāyana and Vararuci cannot be established naturally with certainty."

[3. Renou, L'Inde Classique, §1533.]

4. Edited with the commentary of Bhāmaha and an English translation by E. B. COWELL, Hertford 1854. [Prākrtaprakāśa of Vararuci with Comm. Vṛtti of Rāmapāṇivāda, ed. C. Kunhan Raja and K. Ramachandra Sharma, Adyar 1946.], with the commentaries Sadukti of Vasantarāja and Subodhini of Sadānanda, ed. by Batukanātha Śarmā and Baladeva Upādhyāya, vols. I and II, Vāranasi., Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, No 19, 1927).

Vararuci. Vararuci deals only with four Prākrit dialects (Māhārāṣṭrī, Paiśācī, Māgadhī and Śaurasenī), whilst later grammarians have added others as well. He devotes nine chapters exclusively to Māhārāṣṭrī, while only one chapter is devoted to each of the other three dialects. At the end, however, he concludes by saying that in other respects all these other dialects are like Māhārāṣṭrī. Later grammarians too hold a similar opinion, as all of them agree that Māhārāṣṭrī is the characteristic and best Prākrit dialect, since it stands next to Sanskrit.

To the oldest works belongs also the Prākṛtalaksana[1] [what probably is a translation into Prākrit], of Caṇḍa, whose age is likewise outright indefinite, so much so that there are more than two recensions of his manual of grammar, of which the text has been come down to us in a very bad condition. It appears that Hemacandra had utilized the grammar of Caṇḍa and had in the eighth chapter of his Siddhahemacandra given a Prākrit grammar[2]. Hemacandra has been always something more than a compiler and he has, in this work too, quoted copiously from the writings of his predecessors. Nevertheless his grammar is the most important of all for us, because it is extraordinarily rich and complete in respect of information. In addition to the dialects treated by Vararuci, he deals with three others, namely Ārsa, Cūlikāpaiśācika, and Apabhramśa, and while describing Māhārāṣṭrī he takes note also of Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī (with which he as a Jaina monk was quite familiar)[3]. His work is important also on account of the many examples that he has quoted in it from his predecessors. On his rules about Māhārāṣṭrī he quotes texts from the Sattasaī and the Setubandha, for Paiśācī, passages from Gunādhya's Bṛhatkathā, for Śaurasenī and Māgadhī; he quotes examples from dramas and for the Apabhraṁśa dialect he has quoted other-

1. Ed by A F R Hoernle, Part I, Bibl Ind 1880. According to Hoernle Canda was older than Vararuci, but the latter is older than the younger revisionists Against this Pischel, ibid p 36 f.

2. Hemacandras Grammatik der Prākritsprachen (Siddhahemacandra VIII), edited by R Pischel, Part I, text and word-index; Part II: translation and annotations, Halle 1877-1880 Published also as as appendix to the Kumārapālacarita by S. P. Pandit, BSS, No. 60, 1900 [Also revised with notes by P. L Vaidya Poona 1928]

3. Cf. Jacobi, Bhavisattakaha von Dhanavāla, p 4*. Winternitz, Vol III, 29.

wise unknown strophes that are like those found in the Sattasaī. Wholly dependent upon Hemacandra is Trivikrama (or Trivikramadeva), who wrote the Prakṛtaśabdānuśāsana and a commentary on it in the 13th century A.D.[1]. He says about himself that he is in agreement with Hemacandra, and has mostly taken the sūtras with minor changes from him; but he has given them a metrical form and has changed their order. He has, after the model of Pānini, coined his own terminology of abbreviations in a proper order, although he makes use also of the abbreviations of Pāṇini. The Prākṛtasarvasva of Mārkaṇḍeya Kavīndra and the Prākṛtakalpataru of Rāmatarkavāgīśa, both written in the 17th century A.D.[2], are important for the dialects that have not been mentioned by other grammarians. A very recent work in Sanskrit is the Jaina-Siddhāntakaumudī[3] that treats the Ardhamāgadhī language. It is of little literary value and has been written in slavish imitation of the Siddhāntakaumudī of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita.

Among the recently written works on the grammar of Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa the following may be mentioned here: Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa's Apabhraṁśastabakas[4], being written in stanzas; Śaurasenī and Māgadhī stabakas of the same authory[5]; Ṣaḍbhāsācandrikā of Lakṣmīdhara[6] consisting of sūtras, ascribed to Vālmīki and a commentary. This Vālmīki is sometimes claimed to be identical with the author of the Rāmāyaṇa[7]. The work

1 Cf. Pischel, ibid, p. 42; Bhaṭṭanāthasvāmin, Ind. Ant. 40, 1911, 219 ff. and Tukaram Laddu, Prolegomena zu Trivikramas Prākrit-Grammatik : Diss Halle 1912. The sūtras of Trivikrama form amongst others the foundation for the Prākṛtarūpāvatāra of Siṁharāja, son of Samudrabandhayajvan (ed. by E Hultzsch, London 1909). The work, that probably was written in the 14th century A.D., is an elementary grammar of the type of Laghusiddhantakaumudī According to K P. Trivedi, Ind. Ant 45, 1916, 142 ff the author of the sūtras was not Trivikrama, but a grammarian Vālmīki, who lived after Hemacandra. [Of the several editions of the grammar by Trivikrama, the best is the one brought out by P.L. Vaidya, Sholapur 1954.]

2. Cf Jacobi, Bhavisattakaha, p. 72. See also Eggeling, Ind off Cat. II, p 266 ff on this and other Prākrit grammarians.

[3. Published by Meharchand Lakshmanadass, Lahore 1937.]

[4 Edited and published by G. A. Grierson, Ind Ant. 1922, 13-28.]

[5. Edited by the same, Ind. Ant. 1927, Supplement]

[6. Edited by K. P. Trivedi and published in the Bombay Sanskrit and Prākrit Series as No LXXI, Bombay 1916.]

7. Ibid., Introduction, p. 5 ff.

describes Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Prācyā, Āvantī, Bāhlikā, Māgadhī and Apabhraṃśa. This Laksmīdhara appears to have lived in the 16th century A D. and was a contemporary of the great commentator Mallinātha. The Prākrtānuśāsana of Purusottamadeva[1] (perhaps of the 11th and 12 centuries A D. The work is divided into 19 chapters and is written in the form of sūtras)

On the merit of Prākrit grammarians the scholars have expressed a very unfavourable opinion[2] They have been accused on the charge of lacking in criticial acumen and for inadequate knowledge of literature. Nevertheless these criticisms are true in part only. In particular the older works are indispensable for our knowledge of the Prākrit-dialects and for understanding the Prākrit poetry as also the Prākrit dramas.

Exactly like the grammarians of Prākrit, the grammarians of Pāli[3] too, in Ceylon and Burma, have arranged the subject matter derived exclusively from literature, and in their method they slavishly follow the model of Sanskrit grammar. The oldest of the extant Pāli grammars is the Kaccāyanappakarana[4], "the grammar of Kaccāyana". He differs from Prākrit grammarians in the way that he does not derive Pāli from Sanskrit, but treats it as an independent language, although he has adopted the terminology of Sanskrit grammars and has framed his sūtras on their model. In addition to the works of Pānini and his successors, particularly the Kāśikā, he has utilized also the Kātantra. Since Buddhaghosa did not know of the grammar of Kaccāyana it was in any case written sometime after the 5th century A.D. and perhaps in about the

[1 Edited by Luigia Nitti Dolci, Paris 1938]

2 So Bloch, Vararuci und Hemacandra, p 30 ff and A. Gawron'ski in Kuhns Zeitschrift 44, 1911, 247 ff But see Pischel, ibid p 45 f

3. On these cf R O Franke, Geschichte und Kritik der einheimischen Pāli-Grammatik und Lexikographie, Strassburg 1902, and W. Geiger, Pāli Literatur und Sprache (Grundriss I, 7), p 25, 33 ff

4 Grammaire Pālie de Kaccāyana, sūtras and comm published with a French translation and notes by E Senart, JA 1871, s 6, t XVII, pp 193 ff, 361 ff, E Kuhn, Kaccāyanappakaranae specimen, Halix Sax, 1867 and specimen altertum 1871 See also Weber, Ind Streifen 2, 316 ff, 3, 118 ff, and Geiger, ibid p 25 Kaccāyana is the Pāli form of Kātyāyana, but he is not identical with any of the grammarians known by this name [Published by Laksmīnārāyana Tiwari and Birabala Sarma, Varanasi 1962.]

11th century A.D.[1] In this grammar there is also a chapter on the Unādi-suffixes that does not agree with the Unādisūtras of Pāṇini, and a list of roots, Dhātumañjūsā[2]. In addition to the large number of commentaries on the grammar of Kaccāyana, there are also very many recent adaptations of it. One such is the Rūpasiddhi or Padarūpasiddhi[3] of Buddhappiya Dīpaṁkara of the second half of the 13th century. [The second important commentary is the popular Bālāvatāra of Dharmakīrti written in the 14th century A.D.[4]] A new school of grammar was founded by Thera Moggallāna, who probably wrote under Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186 A.D.). In his grammar (Saddalakkhana with a vutti) he has utilized in addition to an old Pāli grammar, the grammars of Pāṇini, Kātantra as also Candragomin with enthusiasm[5]. As in Ceylon, so in Burma too, people had been unsparingly working on Pāli grammar since the 11th century A.D. Not only the monks, but also kings, ministers as well as women learnt grammar and wrote grammatical treatises[6]. Saddanīti by Aggavaṁsa of Arimaddana in Burma, written in the year 1154 A.D., is particularly treasured also by the scholars of Ceylon : but the author essentially depends on the Kaccāyana and also on Sanskrit grammarians.

For the people of India, "Pānini" and "grammar" have the same meaning and it appears to them as obvious that any type of grammar can be written only on the model of Pānini. This is a thing that has been demonstrated by Pārasīprakāśa of Kṛṣnadāsa[7], who struggled spasmotically to write in Sanskrit a grammar of the Persian language. He

1 [Renou, L'Inde Classique, § 1536, considers the work of Kaccāyana to have been written not before the 11th century A.D.]

2. Franke (Album Kern, p. 351 ff.) has later proved that there existed a Pāli-Dhātupāṭha.

3. Cf. A. Grünwedel, Chapter VI of the Rūpasiddhi, Berlin, 1893.

[4. Edition by Satish Chandra Vidyābhūsana, and Samana Punnānanda Swāmi, Calcutta 1916; edition also by Don Andris de Silva Batuvantudāve Pandit, Colombo 1866.]

5. Franke, JPTS 1902-03, p. 70 ff. Cf. Pischel, DLZ 1902, p. 78 ff. [Cf. Jagadīśa Kāśyapa, Pāli Mahāvyākarana, Delhi 1963.]

6. Cf. Mabel Bode, JPTS 1908, p. 81 ff., and Pali Literature of Burma, London 1909, pp. 25, 81 ff.

7. Cf. Weber, ABA 1888, III. [Edition under preparation by Pt. Śrī Bhūṣana Bhaṭṭācārya, Varanasi.]

wrote it during the reign of Akbar the Great (1556-1605).

[In Indian grammar there has developed the theory of sphoṭa[1]. This sphoṭa is manifested by sound and is eternal, indivisible and really expressive of the sense[2]. This sphoṭa-theory has been critised by naiyāyikas who consider śabda to be *kārya*, action, hence non-eternal. The sphotavāda had originated from Sphoṭāyana, who is referred to by Pānini and it was developed first in the Mahābhāsya and later explained and elaborated in certain treatises.

The theory of the Sphoṭa has been treated in detail in the Sphoṭacandrikā by Krsnabhaṭṭamauni[3] and in the Sphoṭa vāda[4] of Nageśabhaṭṭa, about whose other famous works we have already spoken above. The theory of sphoṭa links up the transient phenomenon of the pronounced word to Brahman as Śabda-Brahman, the eternal Noumenon of every form of significant sound of word and indeed of every manifested object of creation[5].]

LEXICOGRAPHY[6]

The beginning of Indian lexicography is found in the Vedic nighanṭus.[7] However, the latter are separated from the kośas[8] or word-books, dictionaries by an apparently wide gulf, that has partly been filled with the development of the science of grammar. To the grammatical literature belong the

[1. Cf Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti, Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar, p 84 ff, Calcutta 1930]

[2. *evam tarhi sphoṭah śabdo dhvanih śabdagunah | katham | bheryāghātavat-bherīmāhatya kāścidvimśatipadāni gacchanti-sphotastāvāneva, dhavanikrtā buddhih dhvanih sphoṭaśca śabdānām dhvanistu khalu lakṣyate* (Mahābhāsya, vol I, p 181.]

[3 Edited by Vindhyeśvarī Prasāda Dvivedin and Ganapati Śāstrī Mokāṭe with Śabdakaustubha, ChSS, 1898-1917, Vārānasī]

[4. Edited by V. Krishnamacharya, The Adyar Library, 1946]

[5 From the Preface to the edition of the Sphoṭavāda]

6 This section is based essentially on Th Zachariae, die indischen Wörterbücher (Kośa), Strassburg 1897 (Grundriss I, 3 B) Here the literature published up to 1897 has been fully noticed

7. See above I, 62, 244 ff, transl p 287.

8 Kośa (or Koṣa) "thesaurus" is an abridgement of Abhidhānakośa "Treasure of Words" Other appellations of dictionaries are : *nāmamālā*, 'garland of nouns", or nāmapārāyana, "complete list of nouns". In south India the expression nighanṭu [or nirghanṭu, and among the Jainas niggham̐ṭa] are also used.

Dhātupāṭhas, Uṇādisūtras, Gaṇapāṭhas and Liṅgānuśāsanas, and these constitute the transition to lexicography. Whilst in the nighaṇṭus verbs too are included, the kośas contain only nouns and indeclinables. And while the nighaṇṭus belong to some particular Vedic texts, the kośas are not derived from any particular word-book.

In fact the dictionaries, that we have, follow an objective that is quite different from that of the Vedic nighaṇṭus. The latter are meant to serve as commentaries. The kośas are in a great measure collections of important and rare words and their meanings are meant for use of the poets. The lexicographers often emphasise that they have written their work for the use of the poets[1]. The dictionaries are compiled, therefore, all in verses (commonly in ślokas, many a time in the Āryā-metre), and like the alaṃkāraśāstras they too are indispensable help-books for ornate poets. The study of dictionaries often spared the poets of undertaking the troublesome task of studying other sciences. This was so because the authors of the kośas collected from manuals of different sciences, viz. nītiśāstra, astronomy, nouns and all important words.

There are two kinds of dictionaries : synonymical and homonymical. The dictionaries of the first type have systematically arranged collection of words that have one and the same meaning. They are often arranged according to the subject-matter and have the appearance of a real encyclopaedia. The homonymical dictionaries contain words with meanings more than one (anekārtha, nānārtha). But most of the great synonymical dictionaries contain also a section on homonyms.

The arrangement of words in dictionaries is executed on different principles, usually according to several principles, according to the extent of the items (first the big ones, then

the small ones), in order of the letters of to the alphabet (either according to the terminal consonant or according to the initial letter or according to both at the same time) or according to the number of syllables[1]. In homonymical dictionaries the words and their meanings stand either side by side in the nominative or the meanings are put in the locative form. Several dictionaries give not only the meaning, but also the gender of words[2], and often they contain a special section on the gender of words as an appendix. Many a time the words are partly arranged according to gender too.

The older dictionaries have come to us only in fragments. They were arranged neither alphabetically nor according to any other system. Their explanations of words were very elaborate Whilst later the largest possible number of words have been dragged into single verses, the old kośas used a whole stanza for expressing the meaning of a single word. Probably the oldest fragments of a dictionary are contained in eight leaves found among the so-called "Weber-Manuscripts"[3] from Kashgar in Central Asia. They are fragments of a very old looking synonymous dictionary, of which the author was perhaps a Buddhist Further we know about a number of dictionaries only through quotations in commentaries. One Nānārthakośa is already quoted in the Kāśikā. To the older lexicographers belong, amongst others, Kātyāyana (or Kātya), whose Nāmamālā is often quoted, Vācaspati, the author of a Śabdārnava, Vikramāditya, to whom is ascribed one Samsārāvarta, and Vyāḍi, the author of Utpalinī, that was particularly copious and contained words from Buddhist literary usage. In the same way as Pānini, amongst the grammarians, has pushed aside all of his predecessors and who stands highest

1. The circumstance that the Indians did not follow usually the principle of alphabetical arrangement of words, a thing that appears to the people of the West so independent, has its explanation in the fact that Indian dictionaries are not meant for consultation, but for learning by heart particular groups of important words

2. So they are also called nāmānuśāsana and lingānuśāsana at the same time

3 They are so-called because this bundle of manuscript-fragments was purchased by the Missionary F Weber in Leh in Ladakh Cf Hoernle, JASB 62, 1893, 1, 26 ff, Bühler, WZKM 7, 1893, 266 f, Winternitz and Keith, Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library II, p 111.

in respect of fame above his all successors, so amongst the books on dictionaries stands out the name of Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana ("teaching of names and their genders") of Amarasimha, commonly called only Amarakośa[1], "Amara's dictionary", enjoys a similar superior position. Amarasimha was a Buddhist, but no particular attention has been paid to the Buddhist vocables in his work. We know nothing definite about his age. That his name is included among the "nine jewels", *nava ratnāni*, of the court of King Vikramāditya goes to prove nothing. It has already been mentioned above that he must have been younger than Kālidāsa, since he has derived his materials from his works[2]. Since the decline of Buddhism in India began in the 8th century A.D., we may assume that Buddhist Amarasimha lived in between the 6th and 8th centuries A.D. Nevertheless it is a pure hypothesis and this too is not certain that Amarasimha's book is the oldest among the extant dictionaries. [In the opinion of the authors of L'Inde Classique probably the Amarakośa was written in the 6th century A.D., rather in the 4th century[3].]

The Amarakośa is a dictionary of synonyms that consists of three sections (whence many a time it is called also "Trikāṇḍi"). In section I we find words for the heaven, gods, atmosphere, stars, time, word, language, sound, music, dance, netherworld, snakes, sea, water, island, ship, river, water-animals and water-plant; in section II there are words for the earth, city, mountain, forest, trees and plants, animals, man, woman, relationships, illness, parts of the body, different kinds of garments, ornaments, the four castes and their professions; section III contains adjectives, compound words and supplements on homonyms, indeclinables and on the gender of

1. The single edition that has been brought out in Europe was by Loiseleur Deslongchamps, Paris, 1839 and 1845. In India there have been a very many editions. The most recent one is that of Ganapati Śāstri that contains the commentary Ṭīkāsarvasva, said to have been written in 1159 by Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda, TSS No. 58, 47, 51, 52 (1914-1917). A good edition is also that by P. Durgāprasād, K. P. Parab and Śivadatta, Bombay NSP. 1889. [The edition of Haradatta Śarma, Poona, 1941 is particularly useful on account of marginal notes in English.]

2. See above p. 46f. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, etc. p. 45 will like to place him in the 4th century A.D., because he was a Mahāyāna-Buddhist. But we find in the 7th century a prominent Mahāyāna-author as Śāntideva.

[3. Vol. I, p. 100.]

nouns[1]. Similar is the introduction in which other synonymous words occur and the subject-matter is divided into three sections. There are not less than 50 known commentaries in the Amarakośa[2]. Important is the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Kṣīrasvāmin, who probably lived in the 11th century A.D.[3] A very elaborate commentary was written in the year 1431 A.D. by Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭamaṇi, who himself admits that his commentary has been extracted from 16 former commentaries and that he has quoted from not less than 270 works and authors. [The most popular commentary on the Amarakośa is that by Rāmāśrama[4]]

A supplement to the Amarakośa is the Trikāṇḍaśesa of Puruṣottamadeva [and follows its arrangement.] This index of particularly rare words "undisputably belongs to the class of most important and most interesting dictionaries that we possess[5]." It contains rare names of the Buddha and many words that are peculiar to Buddhist Sanskrit. He has included also words that are found only in the inscriptions and also Prākrit words[6]. [The number of words that do not occur in the Amarakośa, but have been recorded in the Trikāṇḍaśesa, is quite large.] Purusottamadeva is also the author of a small dictionary the Hārāvalī, that contains a section on synonyms and another on homonyms and has more rare words than the first book has. He says that he had worked on this book for twelve years, *i.e.* during this period he had collected rare words from literature. We know nothing about the age of Purusottamadeva who wrote also a commentary on Pāṇini and several other works on grammar. In any case he must have lived in an age when Buddhism was still flourishing in India. [In all probability he lived in the 12th century A.D[7]. His another important work is Varṇadeśanā.)

1. The so accurately arranged lexicographical section of the Agnipurāna 359-366 is probably only a selection from the Amarakośa
2. Cf Burnell, Tanjore 44 ff, Eggeling, Ind Off Cat II, 270 ff
3. Since he cites the drama-writers Rājeśekhara and Bhoja, he cannot be identical with the grammarian Kṣīra, who is mentioned in the Rājatarangiṇī and was probably living under King Jayāpīda (8th century A.D.)
[4. Edition by Śilaskandha Mahānāyaka, Khemaraj Krishnadas, Bombay, 1972 Vikrama Samvat.]
5. Zachariae, ibid p. 23, Hara prasād, Report, I, p 7
6. On this topic see Zachariae, Bezz Beitr 10, 1886, 122 ff
[7. Cf L'Inde Classique, § 1529]

Old and important is the homonymical dictionary Anekārthasamuccaya[1] of Śāśvata, [probably written in the 6th century A.D.[2].] The arrangement of the subject-matter is outright antiquarian. First of all are explained those words that need an entire verse, then those that need a half-verse and lastly those that need a quarter for their explanation. They are followed by a supplement and a section on the indeclinables. The Abhidhānaratnamālā of Halāyudha[3], written in the middle of the 10th century A.D., is the single ancient kośa of which the age can be determined approximately. This dictionary is very small and contains only 900 stanzas. As against it, voluminous is the dictionary Vaijayantī[4] of Yādavaprakāśa [11th century A.D.], who was a contemporary of Rāmānuja. Like Halāyudha he too was a South Indian. In this work, in the beginning words are arranged according to the number of syllables, then according to the gender and in each sub-section again according to the initial letter. Consequently the work is of great importance, because it contains a large number of words that are not to be found in other dictionaries[5]. Dhanañjaya[6], a poet and Digambara Jaina, wrote in between 1123 and 1140 A.D. the Nāmamālā[7], an old dictionary. The homonymical dictionary Viśvaprakāśa[8] of Maheśvara, was written in 1111 A.D. according to statement of the author himself. Mankha, the poet, with whom we are already acquainted, wrote in the middle of the 12th century A.D. one Anekārthakośa with a commentary[9]. He himself mentions

1. Edited by Th Zachariae, Berlin 1882, who then tried to prove that Śāśvata was older than Amarasimha But in the Grundriss (Die indischen Wörterbücher, p 24) he expresses doubt about it
[... L' Inde Classique, § 1547]
3 Ed by Th Aufrecht, London 1861. [Also in the SBT Series, No 12, Vārāṇasī 1879] Śakābda—1957 A D.
4 Ed by G Oppert, Madras 1893.
5. Cf Bühler, WZKM. 1, 1887, 1 ff, Zachariae, GGA 1894, 814 ff and Die indischen Wörterbücher p 27
6 See above p 82
[7. Edited with the commentary of Amarakīrti, Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Kāśī, 1950. It contains about Anekārtha nighaṇṭu and Ekākṣarīkośa, perhaps by the same author.]
8 Ed in CSS 1911.
9. The Mankhakośa with extracts from the commentary and three indices edited by Th Zachariae, Wien 1847 (Quellenwerke der altindischen Lexikographie III) See also Epilegomena zu der Ausgabe des Mankhakośa, SWA 1897, Bd 141, where at p 16 ff. have been treated the

Halāyudha, Amarasiṃha, Śāśvata Dhanvantari among his sources. The dictionary of Śāśvata had been utilized by him in particular. His credit lies in the fact that he has suggested a large number of meanings that are not indicated in other dictionaries In the commentary the Kashmirian poet Bhallata and Harsacarita have been frequently cited

Of great importance are the dictionaries of Hemacandra As the author himself has said they were written as supplements to his grammar. A synonymical dictionary is the Abhidhānacintāmanimālā, briefly called Abhidhānacintāmani[1]. The work contains an introduction and deals with different word-types Of its sections the first one is devoted to Jaina gods, the second to Brāhmanical gods, the third to men, the fourth to animals, the fifth to residents of the underworld, the sixth to abstract nouns, adjectives and particles. Hemacandra himself wrote a commentary upon his this work In addition, he provides us with much information, partly from his ownself, and partly from others[2]. As a supplement to the Abhidhānacintāmani, he wrote also the Nighantuśesa, a botanical glossary in 396 ślokas. The Anekārthasamgraha[3] of Hemacandra is a homonymical dictionary in seven chapters. In the first six chapters from the monosyllabic, the di-syllabic, upto six-syllabic substantives and adjectives have been explained is an ascending order of the number of syllables. The seventh chapter deals with indeclinables The arrangement of words is very practical they have been arranged according to the number of syllables, according to the initial letters and according to the final consonants. Mahendrasūri, a disciple of Hemacandra, either made public or himself composed on the kośa a commentary that is rich in contents.

Of the later dictionaries only two homonymical ones

sources of the Mankhakośa Zachariae has tried to show that probably the commentator is identical with the author

1 Edited by O Bohtlingk and Ch Rieu, St Petersburg 1847 [Edition with Gujarātī translation by Vijayakastur Sūri, Bombay 2013, Vikram Samvat]

2 On this see Zacharie, WZKM 16, 1902, p 13 ff

3 With extracts from the commentary of Mahendra, edited by Th Zachariae, Vienna and Bombay 1893 (Quellenwerke der altind Lexikogr I) See also Epilegomena zur Ausgabe mit einem Verzeichnis der von Mahendra zitierten Dichter, SWA 1893, Bd 129.

deserve still to be mentioned. At the end of the 12th or in the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Keśavasvāmin wrote the Nānārthārnavasaṁkṣepa[1], in which words are arranged nicely according to the number of syllables, alphabet and gender. Very well known and much quoted is the Nānārthaśabdakośa[2] of Medinīkāra, who probably wrote it in the 14th century A.D. The work is shortly called Medinīkośa or Medinī. Its chief source appears to the Viśvaprakāśa [of Maheśvara Kavīndra.]

[We may add here a list of small dictionaries recently published:--The Nānārthamañjarī of Rāghava comes first. Although we know nothing about the author, the editor of his work conjectures that he possibly lived in the 14th century A.D[3]. Another work of the same type is the Nānārtharatnamālāof Irugapa Daṇḍādhināthā[4], who was the minister of law in the reign of Harihara II of Vijayanagara who came to the throne in 1379 A.D. and ruled upto 1406 A.D. The work is divided into six kāṇḍas, *viz ekākṣara, dvyakṣara, tryakṣara, caturakṣara, saṅkīrṇa* and *avyaya.* The Kalpataru of Viśvanātha[5], who found a patron in Jagatsiṁha of Mewar and wrote in between 1628 and 1644 a poem Jagatprakāśakāvya, is one of the biggest works of its kind and consists of more than 5000 verses. It is both synonymous and homonymous. The synonymous part is modelled after the Amarakośa and the homonymous portion is arranged according to the number of letters under different heads. In addition the work deals with the gender of words and indeclinables. A small lexicon divided into chapters and consisting of 626 stanzas is the Nāmamālikā[6] and is attributed to Bhoja of Dhārā

1. Edited by Ganapati Śāstrī in TSS Nos. 23 and 29, 1913.
2. Published in the collected work Nānārthasamgraha by Arudaram Borooah (Comprehensive grammar of the Sanskrit Language, Vol. III, Part I), Calcutta 1884 [Medinīkośa edited by Jagannātha Śāstri Hedāū, Kashi Sanskrit Series No, 41, and the Viśvaprakāśa by Rangagopāla Bhatta in chSS No 160, 1911.]
[3. Edited by K.V. Kṛiṣnamoorthy Sharma, Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography, Poona, 1954.].
[4. Edited by Bellikoth Ramachandra Sharma in the same series, Poona, 1954.].
[5. Edited by Madhukar Mangesh Patkar and K. V. Krishnamurthy Sarma in the same series, Poona, 1957.]
[6. Edited by Hanesh Dattatreya Kulakarni and Vasudeva Laxman Gokhale, in the same series, Poona. 1955.]

of the 11th century A D.[1] An important work in four kāṇḍas is the Anekārtha tilaka of Mahīpa of uncertain date. Since this writer has referred to Hemacandra, he was posterior to the latter[2]. Here the words are arranged in an alphabetical order in each of the chapters. To Saubharī, who probably flourished not later than 1639 samvat 1582 A D., is attributed the authorship of Ekārthanāmamālā-dvyaksaranāmamālā[3], a dictionary in 211 stanzas dealing with words having a single syllable or two syllables. Unlike other similarly entitled works the present one gives not only the meanings of *ka*, *kha*, etc., but also of *ki*, *khi*, etc. Only the Abhidhānappadīpikā, the Buddhist kośa has this peculiarity[4]. One Harsakīrti composed his Śāradīyākhyanāmamālā[5], a dictionary of 995 stanzas divided into 4 vargas. He probably lived in the 16th century A D. and there is another work the Śabdānekārtha, that is also attributed to him[6].

As late as in the 17th century A.D. Śāhaji, the ruler of Tanjore, wrote a dictionary named Śābdaratnasamanvaya[7] and in the same century Keśava wrote the Kalpadrukośa[8]. In recent years there have been written great many dictionaries on modern lines and we may make here mention of the Śabdakalpadruma[9] of Rādhākāntadeva (1822-1858) and the Vācaspatyam of Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati[10] (1873-1884). Lastly we may mention the name of the synonymic glossary of D. Galanos, who was a Greek and prepared it in between 1786 and 1833 at Vāraṇasī.]

[1. According to the editors, Introduction p 3.]

[2. Edited by Madhukar Mangesh Patkar, Sources of Indo Aryan Lexicography, No 1. Poona 1947 According to Stein, Cat of Kashmir and Jammu MSS, p 52, the work was dated 1374 A D.; cf. Patkar, Introduction p 4]

[3 Edited by Ekanath Dattatreya Kulkarnī, Sources of Indo Aryan Lexicography, Poona 1955].

[4. See below, p 463]

[5 Edited by Madhukar Mangesh Patkar, in the Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography, No 6, Poona, 1951].

[6 India Office Catalogue No 5175].

[7. Ed by Vitthalram Lalluram Shastrī, Baroda, GOS No 49, 1932]

[8 Vol I edited by Ramāvatāra Sarmā, GORI, 1928, Vol II complied by Shri Kanta Sharma, Baroda 1932

[9. Recently reprinted, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1961]

[10. Recently reprinted, Vārāṇasī 1961.]

In addition to the synonymical and homonymical dictionaries, there are all sorts of special dictionaries e.g. glossaries of words, that are capable of being written in two or three different manners (dvirūpakośa, tirūpakośa), besides there are medico-botanical and astronomico-astrological glossaries.

[We may mention here the N r t y a r a t n a k o ś a[1], that is a section of an encyclopaedic work the Saṅgītarāja of Mahārāja K u m b h a k a r ṇ a of Citrakūṭa. It is divided into 4 chapters, ullāsas. We may also add here the V a s t u r a t n a k o ś a[2] of an anonymous author. It means a treasure of jewels and in fact it is a short treatise on various subjects which a cultured man was supposed to know in Indian society in ancient times. The work is divided into two parts. The first part is written in the sūtra-style, while the second one is in the form of sūtras and a vivaṛana. Its age is not known and it was probably written sometime between 1000 and 1400 A.D.)

Special dictionaries are also the dictionaries written for the purpose of interpreting the Buddhist Sanskrit texts. They stand closer to the Vedic nighantus than to the rest of the Sanskrit dictionaries, inasmuch as they are written for particular texts and are not presented in a metrical form. The most noteworthy of them is the M a h ā v y u t p a t t i[3]. This voluminous lexicon does not contain only an enumeration of Buddha's names and an explanation of Buddhist technical terms but deals also with other things : names of relations, parts of body, names of animals and plants, diseases, pronouns etc. It gives not only synonyms, but also phrases, verbal forms and complete sentences.

The oldest extant Prākrit-dictionary is the P ā i y a-

verses. According to his own statement, the author wrote this work in 972 A D. for his younger sister Sundarī. In the arrangement of words there is no noteworthy method that has been followed except that in the first three sections the names of gods and words expressive of holy things come first. Notwithstanding its title, the Nāmamālā contains not only nouns, but also adverbs, verbal forms, particles and affixes The Pāiyalacchī was utilised by Hemacandra in his Desīnāmamālā or Deśīśābdasamgraha.[1] As its title indicates, the purpose of this work is a treatment of "Deśī"-words. The grammarians of Prākrit, who on principle derive Prākrit from Sanskrit, divide all words into three classes : tatsama, words that are like Sanskrit), tadbhava (words that are derived from it, i.e. Sanskrit) and Deśī (or Deśya), "provincialisms", that cannot be derived from Sanskrit. Hemacandra has included all sorts of things in this dictionary, including tatsama and tadbhava words, but only in a limited number. On this account his work is of extra-ordinary importance for our knowledge of Prākrit, not only because Hemacandra has stated the sources of his information, but also because the works on the basis of which he has compiled his dictionary, that are not available to us. The Deśīnāmamālā, his another work, is divided into 8 vargas, in which words are arranged alphabetically and according to the number of syllables. As in the case of his other works, so here too Hemacandra has written his own commentary on it.

Of the older Pāli dictionaries only one is extant: the Abhidhānappadīpikā of Moggallāna, who is probably identical with the above-mentioned grammarian of this name. In any case the work belongs to the same age [end of the 12th century A.D]. It is written like Sanskrit dictionaries in verses and is composed exactly after the model of the Amarakośa; many of its parts are even simply translated into Pāli. Probably Moggalāna had used also some other Sanskrit lexicon.[2] There was also a compiled Sanskrit-

1 Ed by R Pischel, BSS, No 17, 1880 [Second Edition, with Introduction, Critical Notes and Glossary, by Paravastu Venkat Rāmānujaswamī, Bombay 1938, Edition also by Muralydhar Banerjee, Calcutta 1932]

2 Cf Franke, Zur Geschichte und Kritik der einheimischen Pāli-Grammatik—und Lexikographie, p. 65 ff, and Geiger, Pāli Literatur und Sprache, p. 37 f,

Chinese dictionary[1].

Lastly it may be mentioned that even in recent days dictionaries have been written in which words of a modern Indian language or those of a foreign language are explained in Sanskrit or reversely Sanskrit words are explained in a modern Indian language. During the period of reign of Akbar the Great one Kṛṣṇadāsa wrote a book under the title Pārasī-prakāśa[2] that is also a Persian-Sanskrit dictionary; whilst one Vedāṅgarāya wrote in 1643 A.D., under the same title, under Shah Jahan, one similar dictionary of astronomical and astrological terms[3].

The Lokaprakāśa of Kṣemendra is something between Kośa and arthaśāstra. Only a small portion of the work can be called a dictionary; its major portion contains miscellaneous notices about all sorts of things that one should know in daily life. But even the dictionary-like sections are devoted more to words and to things that are of daily occurrence than to those that are found in literature. On this account this badly preserved work of some importance is written in a mixture of Sanskrit, Persian and popular languages. The author, in the introduction, calls himself to be a disciple of the great wise Vyāsa, that perhaps is an abbreviation for Vedavyāsa, that was an epithet of Kṣemendra, with whom we are already familiar. Since in this work there occur also Muhammadan names and Shah Jahan too is frequently mentioned, who ruled from 1628 to 1658 A.D., in the form in which it is presented to us it cannot be a work of Ksemendra of the 11th century A.D. It may be that an old work of this Ksemendra was remodelled in the 17th century in a manner corresponding to the situation then obtaining[3].

Prātiśākhyas. This topic has been dealt with at pp. 243 in the original book and at pp 282 in the translation in vol. I. Later the following important titles have been published · Bhāradvājaśikṣā with the commentary of Nāgeśvara[1], the Kauhalaśikṣā[2] and Pāninīyaśikṣā[3]. It is not necessary to add further comment.

As an auxiliary to grammar there has developed in Sanskrit a special branch of learning that goes in the name of the Śabdakhanda This branch of knowledge is included in Nyāya that we shall deal later below.

The first work in which the principles of Śabdakhanda appears to have been enunciated is the Tattva-Cintāmani of Gangeśa[4] and they were developed in the Śabdaśakti prakāśikā of Jagadīśa[5] Tarkālamkāra. According to the Naiyāyikas śabda is a quality of the sky and śabda or "verbal cognition" is one of the sources of knowledge (pramāna)[6]. According to the Śabdakhaṇḍa verbal knowledge is derivable from a sentence[7] and not from individual words.

Amongst other problems Śabdakhanda deals with all the different aspects and categories of Sanskrit grammar. It deals with semantics in particular. In any case it is remarkable that in spite of its most penetrating and critically logical approach according to this science words are created by God

This subject has been treated in detail in commentaries and in notes and in glosses etc. on the section Śabdakhanda of the Tattvacintāmani and there has

[1 Bhandarkar Or Res Ins Poona 1938, edited by Rāmacandra Dīkṣita]

[2 Edited by Sadhu Ram, Lahore 1935]

[3 Edited Manomohan Ghosh, Calcutta 1938]

[4 Edited with several commentaries by Kāmākhyānātha Tarkavāgīśa in the BIS, Calcutta 1888-1901 and by so many others A recent edition is being published by the Mithilā Research Institute, Darbhanga]

[5 Published in ChSS No 109, 1934]

[6 *pratyakṣānumānopamānaśabdāḥ pramānāni* (Nyāyasūtra 1, 1]

[7 For further discussion cf Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti, The philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar, Calcutta 1930, p 325 ff and also R C Pandeya The Problem of Meaning in Indian Philosophy, Delhi, 1963]

developed on its basis a considerable amount of literature in Sanskrit that tries to explain rules of Pāṇini's grammar in the language of Śabdakhaṇḍa of Nyāya. The basic work is Laghuśabdenduśekhara of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa or Nāgojibhaṭṭa, and learned commentaries have been written on it till recent days.]

PHILOSOPHY

The meaning conveyed by the word philosophy to the people of the West is expressed most closely by Ānvīkṣikī[1] (or Ānvīkṣakī), that is to say "the science of demonstration or research". In the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra (p. 5 f.) about this discipline it has been said that it is associated with Sāṁkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata, and it is enjoined in a verse that it is a lamp for all sciences, means for execution of all the affairs and basis for all that is to be done[2]. But in

India this "science of search" has been struggling in vain for more than two thousand years to extricate itself from religion and to make itself independent of faith in the scriptures. So are the so-called darśanas or "way of viewing things", as the philosophical systems are usually called, not only the teachings of particular philosophical schools, but also those of the religious sects[1]. The Indians generally enumerate such six darśanas of which two are closely associated with one-another : Pūrva-mimāmsā and Uttaramīmāmsā, Sānkhya and Yoga, Nyāya and Vaiśesika [Nyāya and Vaisesika constitute samānatantra, so do Sāmkhya and Yoga] The six darśanas are considered to be orthodox because they hold the words of the Vedas to be the highest authority, or at least recognise them amongst others as one of the means of knowledge. However, this enumeration of the darśanas[2] is not very old and does not appear to have been universally recognised as well.

Cambridge 1922 The volume (the only one that was then available) contains a representation of the philosophy presented in the Vedas (Samhitās and Brāhmanas) and in the old Upanisads, the philosophy of the Buddhists, the philosophy of the Jainas, the Sānkhya and Yoga, the Nyāya-Vaisesika philosophies, the Mīmāmsā and the Śankara-school of Vedānta [By now, the above-mentioned work of Dasgupta has been completed in 5 volumes, London 1922-1954 In addition the following are the most important publications —M Hiriyanna, Outline of Indian Philosophy, 3rd impression, London 1956, History of Philosophy—Eastern and Western, 2 vols , edited by Sarvapalli Radhakrishanan, and others, London 1952; S Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, in two volumes, London 1923, 1927. S K Belvalkar and R D Ranade—History of Indian Philosophy, 2 vols, Poona 1927, Jadunath Sinha, History of Indian Philosophy, Calcutta 1952; 1956; Umesa Mishra, History of Indian Philosophy, volume one, Allahabad 1957, S C Chatterjee and D M Datta, An Introduction to Indian Philosophy, Calcutta 1939 An excellent resume of the different schools of Indian Philosophy has been provided by J Filliozat and L Renou in L'Inde Classique, vol II, Paris 1953]

1 On the philosophical systems in relation with the religious currents, see J Estlin Carpenter, Theism in Medieval India (Hibbert Lectures), London 1921

2 A short sketch of the six darśanas will be found in Siddharsi's Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā (906 A D), [edited by Peter Peterson and H Jacobi, As Soc of Bengal, Calcutta 1899-1914 The book is written in Prākrit] According to E B Cowell (in Rhys Davids. Dialogues of the Buddha, I, p. XXVII), this introduction is of the "later middle age". According to Dasgupta, ibid p 68 note, the word darsana occures in the sense of "true philosophical knowledge" first of all in the Vaiśesikasūtra IX, 2, 13, that he considers to be of a pre-Buddhistic age [On the import of the word *darśana*, see Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, Introduction pp 43-44 Cf also Umesha Mishra, History of Ind Philosophy, Vol 1, p 18, where the term saddarsana is said to be a misnomer. In addition we may here mention the works Caturmatasamgraha, which

We have already seen that Jaina Haribhadra in his Saddarśanasamuccaya describes not only the above-mentioned six systems, but also the Buddhist and Jaina systems in addition to Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika and Pūrvamīmāṁsā.[1] In the Sarvadarśanasiddhāntasamgraha, "Short Collection of the Principles of all Systems"[2], attributed to Śankara, notwithstanding the fact that the author adheres to the stand of the orthodox Vedānta, the teachings of the Lokāyatikas (materialists), of the Jainas, of the Buddhists (and really of the Mādhyamikas, Yogācāras and Sautrāntikas and Vaibhāsika schools), of Vaiśeṣika, of Nyāya, of Pūrvamīmāṁsā (according to the schools of Prabhākara and Kumārila), of Sāṁkhya, of Patañjali, of Vedavyāsa (philosophy of the Mahābhārata) and of Vedānta have been presented in succession in an apparently objective manner. Even in case the work may not be attributed to great Śankara, it was certainly a production of his school, just like the more detailed and more critical Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha, the "Short Collection of all Systems"[3] of Mādhava, the

famous Vedānta-scholar of the 14th century[1]. But he too does not limit the scope of his work to the "six darśanas" and gives a representation of 15 (with Vedānta 16) systems [including the philosophy of the grammarian Pāṇini and the philosophy of alchemy-raseśvara darśana]. Like the author of the preceding work, he begins with the systems that merit to be more strongly refuted from the point of view of Vedānta and proceeds with the "better" systems. He commences his book with the materialistic system of Cārvāka and then passes on to the systems of the Buddhists[2], Jainas, Rāmānuja, different Saiva sects, Vaiśesika, Nyāya, Pūrvamīmāmsā, Pānini[3], followed by Sāmkhya and Yoga. At the end he says that he has already elsewhere spoken about the system of Śamkara, the "head-jewel of all systems"[4]. A quite small, but comprising of all the systems of philosophy is also Sarvamatasamgraha[5] of an unknown author (unfortunately also of an unknown age). According to some, in the introduction, dealing with the means of knowledge, a distinction is made between the two classes of śāstras: Vedic and non-Vedic (Buddhist, Jaina and Materialist) systems. In the beginning the last three systems are described, then follow the teachings of Kanāda, Aksapāda, theists and atheists

1. Mādhava, under the monastic name Vidyāranya, "forest of knowledge", is held by the Indian as one of their most learned scholars, His brother was the famous Veda-interpreter Sāyana He was a minister of Bukkarā of Vijayanagara in 1368 and became a Sannyāsin in 1391. Cf. Bhāu Dāji, JBRAS 9, 1869, 225 ff, Shamrao Vithal, JBRAS 22, 374 ff, G R Subramian Pantulu, Ind Ant 27, 1898, 247 ff. K. Klemm, Gurupūjāl aumudī 41 ff, P Peterson and C Bendall, JRAS 1890, 490 ff Sāyana and Mādhava are often changed for one-another and many scholars consider them to be one person, so E B Cowell ibid, p. 1 note) See also Aufrecht, CC p. 711 f

2 Chap II, translated into French by La Vallee Poussin in Le Muséon II, 1901, III, 1902

3 The teaching of Pānini is considered here as a darsana, because the grammarian admits the same philosophical theories of language as do the adherents of the Pūrvamīmāmsā

4 So in the earlier editions and in most of the manuscripts The new edition of ĀnSS has a chapter also on the Vedānta, that is found in two manuscripts The question whether this "Śānkhyadarsana" is genuine or not remains to be investigated It is also noteworthy that in the colophon of this chapter the work is attributed to Sāyana In the introductory stanzas, the author calls himself once Mādhava and once as Sāyanamādhava (stanza 4). Actually Mādhava has himself written works on Śankara's philosoply, see below, p 491

5 Edited in TSS No 62, 1918 Cf also Saddarśanasidhāntasamgraha of Rāmabhadra in Burnell, Tanjore, pp 84 f 96

ment of philosophical systems inside schools, their formation into śāstras, and lastly the literary fixation of the systems in definite text-books and school-works (sūtras, kārikās, bhāsyas), that constitute the foundation for further activities in the philosophical schools. Since it has not been possible for us to determine accurately the age of even the philosophical sūtra-texts[1], naturally it is impossible to establish the age of the origin of the philosophical systems and schools. So it is generally admitted that although Śāṁkhya is considered to be the oldest system of philosophy, that has developed into a system, the Sānkhyasūtra is the youngest of the philosophical sūtras

In closest relationship with Vedic religion stand the two systems, Pūrvamīmāṁsā, called briefly also Mīmāṁsā and the Uttaramīmāṁsā, better known under the title Vedānta[2]. These two darśanas constitute the real

1 Jacobi (JAOS 31, 1911, 1 ff), who is followed by Suali (Introduzione p 13), tries to determine the chronology of the philosophical sūtras and concludes that in them sometimes negavitism (*śūnyavāda*) and sometimes idealism (*vijñānavāda*) of the Buddhists are refuted Since he places Nāgārjuna at the end of the 2nd century A D and Asanga towards the end of the 5th century A D, he comes to the conclusion that the Nyāyasūtra and the Brahmasūtra were written in between 200 and 450 A D The Vaisesikasūtra and the Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra have either the same antiquity or are not removed considerably away from it, whilst the Yogasūtra was written after 450 A D and the Sāṁkhyasūtra originated still later In case Asanga lived in the 4th century A D (see above II, 256, *note* 1, trans p 354, note 1), the difference of time between *śūnyavāda* and *vijñānavāda* is essentially small The entire argument appears doubtful, because the idealistic view is presented more than once in Buddhist philosophy (see Th Stcherbatsky, The Soul Theory of the Buddhists, Petersbourg 1919, p 825, note) Jacobi, however, adheres fast to his dating of the sūtras (DLZ 1922, Sp 270) Uncertain, however, is the conclusion deduced from the definition of ānvīksikī in the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra (so Jacobi, SBA 1911, 732 ff, Garbe, Sāmkhya-Philosophies, p 3 ff), since this Arthasāstra could hardly have been written in the 4th century A D (see further below) [According Dasgupta—Hist of Ind Philos, Vol I, p 418, the Brahmasūtra was written in the second century B C As regards the antiquity of the Vaiśesikasūtra, this scholar is of the opinion that it is probably the oldest of the sūtra-works that we have and in all probability it is of an pre-Buddhist age, ibid p 282 The Mīmāmsāsūtra of Jaimini was written in about 200 B C, ibid p 370 The Yoga-system had developed as a technical method of absorption sometime before the Buddha (ibid p. 227) and the Yogasūtra of Patañjali was written probably during the first 300 or 400 years of the Christian era (ibid p 236]

[2 The word mīmāmsā means "investigation," properly "desire for intensive thinking", and it recurs in Vedic Samhitās It is a thing that points to the great interest taken by ancient Indian sages in thinking The scholars of mīmāmsā, called mīmāmsakas, have been praised in the Mahābhāsya as the people who are well familiar with traditions.]

orthodox Brāhmaṇical philosophy, for which the word of the Veda constitutes, as the "revelation", the highest authority for all knowledge. Mīmāṃsā means "full discussion". Pūrvamīmāṃsā is the "discussion of the first part" (or preliminary investigation), namely the Karmakāṇḍa (work-part) of the Veda, and hence it is called also Karmamīmāṃsā. The Uttaramīmāṃsā is "discussion of the second part" (or the final investigation), namely of knowledge of Brahma taught in the Upaniṣads, hence also called Brahmamīmāṃsā, "discussion about Brahman" or Śārīrakamīmāṃsā", discussion of the world-pervading spirit of the Universe[1].

The P ū r v a m ī m ā m s ā[2] was originally only a system of maxims (nyāyas), [as a matter of fact the words *mīmāṃsā* and *nyāya* are employed as synonyms], formulated for correct exposition of the Vedic texts (Mantras and Brāhmaṇas) connected with religious performances. The scholars who knew these maxims were called n y ā y a v i d a ḥ. This word is used in this sense already in the Āpastambīya Dharmasūtra[3]. The authors of manuals or rituals, of the Śrautasūtras and Gṛhyasūtras, were obliged to know these maxims in order to be able to reconcile the scattered and often contradictory statements of the Veda (Mantras and Brāhmaṇas) in respect of sacrifices. Therefore, these maxims must have been prescribed centuries before Christ, [according to some scholars before 300 B.C.][4]. Hence, however, it does not automatically follow that in that age Pūrvamīmāṃsā had already become a darśana,

a complete system of teaching about emancipation. But at least this may be concluded that the primary work of Pūrvamīmāṃsā, the Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra[1], [a treatise in 12 adhyāyas], attributed to Jaimini goes back to such an antiquity. Indeed this work is principally just a manual of hermeneutics, a system of rules for interpretation of religious texts, so far as they relate to the performance of Vedic sacrifices and to the treatment of rituals According to the Pūrvamīmāṃsā, there is no means for emancipation other than work (karman), performance of sacrifices and of ceremonies—and there is no authority regarding religious duties (*dharma*) superior to the Veda. All other sources of knowledge, such as perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), etc. must be either relegated into the background of this *śabdapramāṇa*, or 'verbal authority", rather they must contribute towards correct interpretation of the eternal Vedic word. Since the Veda is the highest authority of the system, the sūtras try to understand the connotation of the word for the purpose of determining the relationship of a word with its meaning and discuss the associated problem of the philosophy of speech[2]. In these sūtras, there is nothing else that we may call "philosophy." The importance of Pūrvamīmāmsā lies in the fact that in it has developed the method that has remained the measuring standard for all philosophical, nay for the entire scientific literature. According to this method every argument has five parts : 1) presentation of the subject under discussion (*viṣaya*), (2) expression of the existing doubt (*saṁśaya*), (3) view of the opponent (*pūrvapakṣa*), (4) the reply to it or the view that finally stands (*uttarapakṣa, siddhānta*) and (5) consistency in all related sentences (*samgati*). This method has become

1. With Śabarasvāmin's commentary, edited in Bibl. Ind 1873 ff Translated by Gangānātha Jhā in the Sacred Books of the Hindus, Vol X, 1910 (Introduction to Mīmāmsā-Sūtras by Mohan Lal Sandal, SBH, vol 2), English translation by the same author SBH vol 25 191923 Aphorisms of the Mīmāmsā Philosophy with extracts from commentaries. Edited by J R. Ballantyne, Allahabad 1851]

2 G Thibaut, in the introduction to his edition of the Arthasamgraha, gives a brief representation of the Pūrvamīmāmsā, a detailed description of the system and of the literature is given by A B Keith in The Karma-Mīmāmsā, Calcutta and London 1921. (K A Nilkanta Sastry (Ind. Ant. 50, 1921, 211 ff, 340 ff) tries to prove that Pūrvamīmāmsā too contains philosophy, and as an example he cites the discussion on the question about the existence of personal gods)

vāda "emphatical explanatory statement", force of mantra, resolution of conflict between Smṛti, "tradition", and Śruti, "revelation" etc. The second chapter defines injunction, *codanā*, its grammatical sign *liṅga*, the verb, the real force of the verb and determines the different kinds of verbal activities. The third adhyāya is devoted to complimentary items *śeṣa*, that contributes certain external elements in a ritual. The fourth chapter is devoted to distinction between *kratvartha*, "what is meant for a ritual", and to *puruṣārtha*, what is meant for elevation of one's personality.]

The oldest of the (extant) commentaries on Jaimini's sūtras is that of Śabarasvāmin[1], [probably a scholar of the North.] His date is considered by tradition to be about the first century B.C. on account of his having been mentioned as the father of Vikramāditiya, the founder of the Vikrama era in the śloka :—

brāhmaṇyāmabhavadvarāhamihiro jyotirvidāmagraṇīḥ
rājā bhartṛhariśca vikramanṛpaḥ kṣatrātmajāyāmabhūt ॥
vaiśyāyāṁ hariścandravaidyatilako jātaśca śankuḥ kṛtīḥ
śūdrāyāmamaraḥ ṣaḍeva śabarasvāmidvijasyātmajāḥ[2] ॥

Since Śabara, 6, 1, 12 has quoted the well-known text *bhāryā dāsaśca putraśca nirdhanāḥ sarva eva te*, from the Manusmṛti, he must be posterior to this first law-giver.]

Śabara further quotes from an older small commentary that is not available to us [that is said to have been written by] Upavarsa[3] and probably lived in the 5th century A.D.[4]

[According to tradition Baudhāyana was the first commentator on the Mīmāmsāsūtra and his

1. The commentary has been translated into English by G Jhā in the Indian Thought, Vol II, 1911, see G A Jacobi, JRAS 1924, 297 ff on some important technical terms and maxims [Edition by Maheśachandra Nyāyaratna, Bib Ind Series 1873 and 1889, by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1883-4, and English translation by G Jhā, also in the GOS, vol I, 1933]

[2 Quoted by Gangānātha Jhā, in the Pūrva-Mīmāmsā, Benares p 14]

3 The name of the author is not at all certain, since he is generally known as the Vṛttikāra, see Keith, ibid p 7 f Upavarsa must have been older than Śabarasvāmin, since the latter refers to him with the honorific title *bhagavat* [The date of Upavarsa is given as between circa 100 B C and 200 A D C Kunhan Rājā, Int to Tattvabindu, p 17]

4. Cf. R G Bhandarkar, JBRAS 20, 1900, 402 ff

pādas of the first adhyāya and the adhyāyas II and III of the bhāsya and the Tupṭīkā[1], notes on the rest of the nine adhyāyas of the bhāsya. As regards the method of exposition adopted by Kumārila one can just get an idea from the fact that the interpretation of the words *athātaḥ* is contained in not less than 104 ślokas. It is a highly scholarly work manifesting deep and intelligent thought; nevertheless it contains much jugglery and hair-splitting.

Kumārila frequently refutes the teachings of Vaiśesika, but he speaks most angrily against the Buddhists, who deny the authority of the Veda. The Veda is eternal and unperishing; it has no author, and it alone is true as well as dependable. This eternal truth of the Veda is repeatedly supported against the false teachings of the Buddha. The Buddhists posit that the Buddha is omniscient; this is absurd. In case the Buddha was omniscient, contemporary people could not have known him, since he who is himself not omniscient is incapable of knowing one that is different from the other. Kumārila posits that the Buddhists too do not run counter to the Veda : in actual day-to-day life they too follow the teachings of the Śruti, Smṛti, Itihāsa and Purānas. Moreover, he says that the teachings of the Buddha are followed only by outcastes, foreigners, and tribes who live like animals[2]. (Kumārila's opposition to Buddhism is so strong that an adage makes him the executor of a actual chasing away of the Buddhists, a thing that in all events is historically incredible[3].) Kumārila, in the following manner, posits that the Veda alone is true : "people in common tell false things. Therefore, we can little believe the people of the past in the same way as we do with the people of today." Besides we can distinguish between what is good and what is bad (dharma and adharma) never through reasoning, but only with the help of the Veda. Those who hold that good (dharma) consists in one man making another happy and evil (adharma) consists in one

in Bibl. Ind 1903 (with extracts from the commentaries) [Edited also in the Pandit, New Series 3, 1878-79 and also in ĀnSS 1929-1933]

1 Edition in BenSS 1903 [by Gangādhara Śāstrī.]

2. Cf. La Vallée Poussein, JRAS 1902, 369 ff

3. On these and other adages by Kumārila, see G. Howells, The Soul of India, London 1913, 354 ff.

man making another unhappy, will at last come to the conclusion that intimacy with teacher's wife is good, because thereby one makes another person happy[1].

Important is the commentary of Kumārila on account of many literary references and all sorts of allusions to manners and customs that are of greater significance, since its age approximately is the end of the seventh and the first-half of the 8th century A.D.[2]. Kumārila lived in South India and it is remarkable that he too had a knowledge of the Dravidian languages[3].

[The principal commentator on Prabhākara was Śālikanāthamiśra, who in addition to the Rjuvīmālā[4], wrote an independent work the Prakaranapañcikā[5] and his work was continued by Bhavanātha in his Nayaviveka[6]. Bhavanātha, who lived in Mithilā, was born in the 15 century A.D.]

Just a little after Kumārila, Maṇḍanamiśra [615-695] a disciple of Kumārila, according to others, a disciple of Śaṁkara, wrote his Vidhiviveka, "Analysis of Rules"[7] and this work had the honour of having been commented upon by Vācaspatimiśra in his Nyāyakanikā. Maṇḍana is considered very often o be identical with Sureśvara, the famous Vedāntin.

Kumārila found a large number of commentators: Pārthasārathi of Mithilā (probably in the 14th century A.D. wrote a commentary on the Ślokavārttika

under the title Nyāya ratnākara and also a gloss on the sūtras, the Śāstradīpikā[1], discussed some important points of the doctrine in the Tantraratna[2] and wrote an independent work the Nyāyaratnamālā[3].]

There have been written several commentaries on Mīmāṁsā down upto the seventeenth century, when Khāṇḍadeva, following the line of Kumārila, wrote the Bhāṭṭadīpikā[4] and the Mīmāṁsākaustubha[5]. Another important work of Maṇḍaramiśra is the Vibhramaviveka[6].

Later hand-books of Pūrvamīmāṁsā are Nyāya-mālāvistara[7] of famous Mādhava [14th century] and the very popular Mīmāṁsānyāya-Prākāśa[8] of Āpadeva, [a Māhārāṣṭra scholar the 17th century], son of Anantadeva, meant to serve as an introduction to the system. The Arthasaṁgraha, meant for beginners is based on it. Another name of this work is Mīmāṁsārthasaṁgraha[9]. Its author was Laugākṣi Bhāskara. In this elementary book has been taught the manner in which each of the five constituent parts of the Veda contributes towards knowledge of some or other religious duty. According to Pūrvamīmāsā, each word, and each line of the Veda has this objective. It contains only sentences that are rules (*vidhi*), but also that are adages and hymns (*mantra*), names (*nāmadheya*) of performance of sacrifices, prohibitions (*niṣedha*) and clarification of meaning (*arthavāda*)[10].

[1. Edited by Rāmamiśra Śāstrī, Pandit N. S 7, 1885-1891.]

[2. Edited by Gangānātha Jhā, SB Series, 1930-33.]

[3 Edited in ChSS 1900, by Gangādhara Śāstrī Mānavallī].

[4 Edited by Candrakānta Tarkālankāra and Pramathanātha Tarkabhūsana, As Soc. of Bengal, 1899-1912.]

[5. Edited by Cinnaswami Śāstrī and Paṭṭabhirāma Śharmā, ChSS 1924-33]

[6. Ed. by S Kuppuswami Śāstrī and T. V. Rāmcandra Dīksita Madras 1927] Probably Bhavadāsa, according to Maithila tradition Bhavanātha, and Maṇḍanamiśra were identical, see also p. 478]

7. Ed by Th Goldstücker and E B Cowell, London 1878, and in ĀnSS No 24. On this work is based the presentation by Max Müller, Six Systems 200 ff. Maṇḍanamiśra had written also one Nayaviveka This has been edited by S K. Ramānatha Sastrī, Madras 1937.

[7. Ed by RāmaŚāstrī Tailaṅga in the Pandit 1903-1906]

8 Published in Pandit N. S Vols 26, 27; [edited also by a A. Chinnaswami Śāstrī, ChSS, 1925; translated into English by Franklin Edgerton, New Haven, 1929]

9 Edition by G. Thibaut, in BenSS No. 4, 1882.

10. See above I, p. 175 f. 181., trans. p. 201 f., 208 f.

Of the large number of special treatises on Pūrvamīmāṁsā, only one, that is Mānameyodaya[1] of Nārāyana Bhatta [16th century A.D.] of Kerala, the poet of the Nārāyanīya, deserves still to be mentioned here. His work that remained incomplete has been very popular. Another Nārāyana, however, made further additions to it.

[Really there are three schools of Mīmāṁsā. We have already noticed in brief some of the most importants works of the Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara schools. The third one goes by the name Miśra school, that was started by Murārimiśra. We do not possess any complete work of Murārīmiśra, but according to a report by Umeśa Miśra referred to by Gaṅgānātha Jhā the former had come by fragments of his two glosses on the Mīmāṁsāsūtras. According to Umeśa Miśra, Murāri flourished in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era[2]. But C. Kunhan Rājā is of the opinion that Murāri's age fell in about 1150-1220 A.D.[3] Since Murāri founded the third school of Mīmāṁsā, there has come into circulation the expression :— *murāreṣṭṭīyaḥ panthāḥ.* The title of his work was Tripādīnītinayana][4].

Probably there existed from the very beginning an opposition between Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā and Uttara-Mīmāṁsā, inasmuch as the former believes only in the performance of duty and the latter only in the knowledge of Brahman to be the path to emancipation. As a matter of fact the Mīmāṁsakas (especially Śabarasvāmin and Kumārila), the Aupanisadas, that is the adherents to the philosophy of the Upanisads, and the latter, in particular Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara, defend themselves against the Mīmāṁsakas. This opposition, however, was ultimately patched up, when both of them were united in

the region of Brāhmaṇical orthodoxy[1]. The primary work of Uttaramīmāmsā is the Vedāntasūtra attributed to Bādarayāna[2]. This work is called also the Brahmasūtra, the Uttaramīmāṁsāsūtra, and the Śārīraka-Mīmāmsāsūtra. This work was redacted approximately at the same time as the Pūrvamīmāmsāsūtra. This is a thing that is supported by the fact that Jaimini is mentioned in the sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa and the latter in those of Jaimini. On the whole the Pūrva— and Uttaramīmāṁsā are considered to constitite respectively the first part and the second part of a single discipline. Hence the general maxim that have been elucidated in Pūrvamīmāṁsā have not been refuted in the Vedāntasūtra[3] where views of Jaimini have been often referred to in an extraordinary measure, although they are opposed to those of Bādarāyana. Once he says, without mentioning by name, that "both" of them are in agreement that certain religious performances do not lead to attainment of true knowledge[4]. In addition to those of Jaimini and Bādarāyana, in these sūtras are mentioned the teachings of

[1. *An elaborate discussion on this subject has been provided by* P. V. Kane, Pūrvamīmāmsāsūtra, Brahmasūtra, Jaimini and Bādārāyana, in the BDCRI, Poona Vol 20, parts 1-4 pp 119 ff]

2 The tradition that makes Bādarāyana identical with mythical Vyāsa is first found in the Bhāmatī of Vācaspatimiśra written in about 850 A.D. [see K T Telang, JBRAS 16, 1885, 1900 ff), Madhusūdana in the Prasthānabheda calls Bādarāyana the author of the 18 Purānas Bādari, who is mentioned also by Jaimini as also by Bādarāyana, must have been an ancestor of Bādarāyana. Windisch (Über das Nyāyabhāsya, p. 6 ff) tries to associate Bādarāyana with a Vedic school, and in the opinion of W. he has not succeeded in doing this]

3. Cf Vedāntasūtra III, 3, 26; 33; 43 f ; 50; 4, 42 and Thibaut, SBE Vol 34, p XIII When, however, Thibaut (ibid p. X f.) says that the Pūrvamīmāmsāśāstra must be much older than the Vedāntasūtra, because necessity for it arose later, this holds good only for the sūtra as a manual of hermeneutics, and not as a darśana treatise. The sūtras of Bādarayana would be going back to a high antiquity, in case the *brahmasūtrapadaiḥ* mentioned in the Bhagavadgītā 13, 4 were connected with our Brahmasūtra and the passage belonged to the old text of the Gītā Winternitz considered this earlier as probable and later as improbable Jacobi (*DLZ* 1921, p 717) perhaps rightly calls the verse "an obvious interpolation" Nilkanta Sastry (Ind Ant 50, 1921, 167 ff) tries to prove that Jaimini is older than Bādarāyana and that there have been two Bādarāyanas and three Jaiminis Dasgupta, ibid p 418 is of the opinion that the Vedāntasūtras should have been written in the 2nd century A D [There is an interesting discussion on the identity of Vedāntasūtra and Brahmasūtra is the Nāgarī-Pracāriṇī Patrikā, Samvat 2017, Vol. 65, No 4, p. 356 ff Here MM. Pt Giridharasharmā says that the original name of the work was Bhikṣusūtra, and this he does on the basis of Pānini's aphorism *pārāśaryaśilālibhyāṁ bhikṣunatasūtrayoḥ.*]

4 Vedāntasūtra IV, 1, 17.

continuing from Bādarāyana down up to Śankara, whom we hold to be the most ancient among the writers of the extant commentaries, we do not know with certainty in all cases as to what the teaching of Bādarāyana actually was.

However, this appears certain, that one of the main teachings of later Vedānta, that is the Māyā —theory, according to which the world is merely a deceptive vision, an illusion (māyā), was not developed in the Vedāntasūtra[1]. We come by it in its full development in the Gauḍapādīyakārikās[2], in the memorial verses of Gauḍapāda, that we must consider to be the oldest Vedānta work, beside the Vedāntasūtras. According to reliable tradition Gaudapāda was the teacher of Govinda, the teacher of Śaṅkara, therefore, he lived in about 700 A D. The work consists of 215 memorial-stanzas, that are divided into 4 sections, of which the first one contains the Māṇḍukya Upanisad, on which the kārikās present an elucidation[3]. The author of these kārikās apparently is under an influence of the Buddhist philosophy of negativism, as we know it from the Mādhyamikaśāstra[4]. The māyāvāda and the śūnyavāda are in agreement not only in the denial of reality of the world, but we find even here, as there, the same

explanations of one sūtra of Bādarāyana Cf K T Telang, JBRAS 18, 1890, p 7 f Thibaut, SBE Vol 34, p XVII ff

1. Cf Thibaut, SBE Vol 34, pp XCI ff, Prabhu Dutt Shāstrī, The Doctrine of Māyā in the System of the Vedānta, London 1911 (Diss Kiel) has, however, shown that the preliminary stage of the theory of Māyā already existed in the monism of the Upanisads

2 Published in ĀnSS Nr. 10, 1911. Translated into German by P. Deussen, Sechzig Upanishads des Veda, p 573 ff A representation of the contents in Prabhu Dutta Shāstri, ibid p 84 ff Cf also Carpenter, Theism in Medieval India 304 ff According to Max Walleser, Der ältere Vedānta, Heidelberg 1910 the title did not mean "the kārikās of Gaudapāda" but the "kārikās of the Gauda-country", (i e. of the North West Bengal The name Gaudapāda, as an author, occurs in the commentary (attributed to Śankara) on the Śvetāśvataropanisad, where he is mentioned as the teacher of Śuka, but Walleser does not consider Śankara to be the author of this commentary He holds the Gaudapādīya-Kārikā to be older than the Vedānta-sūtras. That is not wholly improbable The succession of teachers in the order Gaudapāda, Govinda, Śankara (see Aufrecht, Bodl Cat p 227) is trustworthy

3 The Buddhist author Śāntiraksita calls the Gaudapādakārikās as an "Upanisad-śāstra" Cf Walleser, ibid p 21 ff

4 Cf V A Sukhtankar, WZKM 22, 1908, 137 ff La Vallée Poussin, JRAS 1910, 134 ff, Bouddhisme, p 189 note; H Jacobi, JAOS 33, 1913, 51 ff Dasgupta, ibid p 423 ff makes it almost certain that Gaudapāda was intimately familiar with the Buddhist philosophy of śūnyavāda as well as with that of Vijñānavāda, and thinks that possibly he himself had become a Buddhist.

followers of the school of Rāmānuja include also the Śrīmad-bhāgavata and the Vishnupurāṇa in the prasthānas.

We know almost nothing about the date of the Brahma-sūtra. But from the fact that there are in it certain polemics against the Mahāyāna Buddhistic teachings, it is probable that the compilation of the sūtras took place in about the 3rd century A D.

Although Śankara or Śaṅkarācārya, "Master Śankara", as he is commonly called, the universally recognised greatest of the Vedānta-philosophers, passionately refutes the logic and metaphysics of Buddhism, his teachings have many distinctive points of contact with the text of Buddhist philosophy[1]. Śaṅkara is the chief propagator of the Advaita - theory of "One, without a Second", that is to say of strict monism By the cultured people of India[2], since centuries, he has been considered to be one of the greatest scholars of all times. In Europe Paul Deussen[3] in particular has appeared as his admirer and prophet. He compares him with Luther and calls his distinction between a "lower" and a "higher" science, that is to say an exoterical, the understanding of the multitude of preconceived and planned doctrines, and an esoterical, the philosophy satisfying the strictest requirements of thought, as "emblematical". In the opinion of Winternitz,

1 La Vallée Poussin, JRAS 1910, 129 ff, speaks with great caution about the relation existing between Śankara and Nāgārjuna But he describes only about a family-likeness of Vedānta with the Vijñānavāda of Buddhism In the same way as the adherents to Śankara's teachings are reproached as being "*pracchannabauddha*, "concealed Buddhists", so are the adherents of the Buddhist Vijñānavāda accused on account of "Brāhmaṇical" speculations R Otto, Dīpikā des Nivāsa, p VIII f says: whether the Vedāntins are dependent upon the Bauddhas or the latter on the former or neither of them are dependent upon the others and rather both of them appear to manifest parallels under the similar conditions of the similar inner motif of religious feeling, that is not certain In the opinion of Winternitz it is more probable that they have influenced each other [Dasgupta, ibid, p 493 f, considers it certain that Śankara was dependent upon the Buddhist philosophy]

2. Howells, Soul of India 356, says that probably five of every six pandits in India consider Śankara as the highest authority in respect of religious and philosophical matters The extent to which Śankara is honoured till this day can be guaged on a perusal of Manilal N Dvivedi's essay in WZKM 2, 1888, 95 ff or in the lecture of Lala Baij Nath. The Philosophy of Advaita in OC XI, Paris 1897, I, 99 ff. See also R W Frazer, Literary History of India 325 ff, Carpenter, Theism in Medieval India 307 ff and V S Ghate, ERE XI, 185 ff.

3. Cf. for example AGPh I, 3, p. 582.

between the second-half and the beginning of the 9th century A.D.[1] [We know from tradition further that Śankara was a Nambudri Brāhmana, had been a contemporary of Maṇḍanamiśra of Mithilā, founded several temples and died young at the age of 32 years at Kedāranātha. Various dates ranging between the 5th and 9th centuries have been postulated as the age of Śankara, although the question still remains unsettled].

The main work of Śankara is his commentary on the Vedāntasūtra, the Śārīrakabhāsyā[2]. But as in his other commentaries, so in this work too, he is not so much

1 K B Pathak (Ind Ant. 11, 1882, 174 f) has noticed a statement in a manuscript of three leaves, whereof the authenticity and age are wholly uncertain, according to which Śankara was born in the year 788 A D. and became "one with Śiva" in 820 A D , according to this very statement he studied the Vedas for four years and all the śāstras for twelve years, in his 16th year he wrote the Bhāsya and became a *muni* in his 22nd year Hence it remains, in all events, to be proved whether his this "union with Śiva" in the 32nd year means his passing away or his "emancipation as a Sannyāsin, or—whether the entire report is apocryphal The attempts of J F Fleet (Ind Ant 16, 1887, 41 f) and K. T Telang (Ind. Ant. 13, 1884, 95 ff , and Mudrārākṣasa, Introd , p XXXVII ff ; JBRAS 17, 63, ff and 18, 1 ff) to prove that the age of Śankara was either the 6th or the 7th century A D. must be considered to be unsuccessful, although Franke, GGA 1891, 960 has associated himself with them See also W. Logan, Ind. Ant 11, 160 f, Deussen, System des Vedānta, 36 ff , Buhler, SBE, vol 25, p XXI f , K B Pathak, JBRAS 18, 88 ff , D R Bhandarkar, Ind Ant 41, 1912, 200, 42, 1913, 54; A B Keith Aitareya Āranyaka, Introd , p 11, and Karma-Mīmāmsā p 16 S V Venkateswara, JRAS 1916, 151 ff has tried to prove that Śankara lived from 805 to 897 A D. See also A Balakrishna Pillai, Ind. Ant 50, 1921, 136 f

2. Edited in the Bib Ind 1854-1863 and in the ĀnSS No 21 Die Sūtras des Vedānta oder die Śārīraka-Mīmāmsā des Bādarāyāna nebst dem vollständiger Kommentar des Śankara, aus dem Sanskrit being a German translation of the Vedāntasūtra with the commentary of Śankara by P Deussen, Leipzig 1887 Translated into English by G Thibaut, SBE, vols 34 and 38 On this commentary is based the presentation of the Vedānta by P Deussen, Das System des Vedānta, Leipzig 1883 [Some other important publications are the NSP edition by Wāsudeo Lakshman Shastri Pansīkar, 1915, chapter II, Quarter I, edited with English translation by S V Belvalkar, Poona, 1923, edition with English translation by K M Banerjea, ASB, Calcutta 1870, Śankar Ācārya's commentar op de aphorismen van den Vedānta, Vertaald by A Bruining, Bijdragen tot de taal-, land - en Volkenkunde van Nederlandisch-Indie, 1873-78, also the works of Śrī Śankarācārya in 20 volumes, ed by T K Balsubrahmanyan, Srirangam, 1910, Select Works of Śrī Śankarācārya, Sanskrit text with English translation by S Venkatramanan, Madras 1911; Edited with Bengali commentary by Yogendranātha Tarkavāgīśa, Calcutta and Durgācarana Sānkhya-Vedānta-Tīrtha, Calcutta]

and the Ātmabodha[1], a small compilation of his teachings made up of 67 stanzas with a commentary the Ātmabodhaprakāśikā. Religious poetical writings that are attributed to Śankara have already been mentioned (p 137 ff). Here, however, one stanza, that is a very characteristically philosophical is quoted from the Svātmanirūpana: "I do not bow before the gods, he who is godly does not care to show reverence to gods; he is free from the responsibility of performing any sacrificial duty. Reverence to my ownself that terminates in the One"[2].

Extraordinarily copious is the literature of the Advaita philosophy of Śankara Sometimes to his own self are attributed the commentaries on the poem Hastāmalaka[3]—many a time the text too is attributed to him It is a philosophical poem (in 12-14 stanzas) of which the main basic idea is contained in the refrain :—"I am the self (ātman) in the form of eternal real perception" and further significantly in the second stanza

"I am neither a man nor a god nor a Yaksa, neither a Brāhmana, nor a Ksatriya, not a Vaiśya, not a Śūdra, neither a student of the Vedas, nor a house-holder, not a resident of a forest, not a monk—I am my own knowledge."

A commentary on the first five pādas of Śankara's bhāsya is the Pañcapādikā[4] of Padmapāda, who might

1 Edited by F Hall, Mirzapore 1852 and in Haeberlins Kāvyasamgraha English by J F Kearns in the Ind Ant 5, 1876, 125 ff and J Taylor in the appendix to his translation of the Prabodhacandrodaya, 2nd Ed Bombay 1893 [Editions also in complete works of the author]

2 Translated into German by H v Glasenapp in "Der neue Orient" 5, 1919, p 59 To the apocryphal works of Śankara probably belongs the Vajrasūcyupanisad, of which the contents of the first part do not correspond to the Vajrasūcī, attributed to Aśvaghosa See above II, 209 f trans p 265 and Weber, ABA 1859, 259 ff

3 Several times printed in India Text with English translation by E B Cowell, Ind Ant 9, 1880, 25 ff The title means . "(so clear as) an *āmalaka* in the hand" [Edited with Bengali translation by Ānandacandra Vedāntavāgīsa, Calcutta 1849]

4 Translated into English by A Venis in the Pandit N S vols 23, 25 Text and Commentary of Prakāsātman, edited VizSS, vol 2, 1891 and 1892 The Vivaranaprameyasangraha of Mādhava, published in VizSS, vol 5, 1893, and translated into English in Indian Thought, vols I-III, 1907-1911 [Edition also by Rāmaśāstrī Bhāgavatācārya, Part I, Benares, 1891 Tattvadīpana, a commentary on it by Prakāśātman too has been edited by the same, Benares 1902]

type is the Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya or "Biting of the Criticism"[1] of the poet Śrīharsa. It is a work of scepticism, a refutation of the criticisms of the teachings of Vedānta, that confident of the testimony of perception, assumes reality of the world, so particularly of Nyāya and Vaiśesika, with the intention of establishing *anirvācyavāda*, that is the teaching according to which the world is inexplicable and all illusion, till we know what Brahman is[2].

The best known and most popular small handbook of Vedānta and excellent introduction to the system of Śankara is the Vedāntasāra, "the Essence of Vedānta[3] of Sadānanda, who must have lived a little before 1500 A.D., since commentaries on his work were already written in the 16th century. It is in the spirit of time that in Sadānanda the theories of Vedānta are mixed up with those of Sānkhya. The Vedāntaparibhāsā[4] of Dharmarāja is an elementary book of Vedānta in which technical terms have been defined.

[Before we pass on to the next important school of Vedānta associated with the name of Rāmānuja, a mention ought to

lated by A Venis in the Pandit N S vols 11 and 12) of Prakāśānanda (16th century), who tries to justify the basic principles of Vedānta and to refute the teachings of Tattvasāra of Rāmānuja A number of works on Advaita-philosophy (of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, Appaya Dīksita and others) have been edited in the Advaitamanjari Series, Kumbhakonam 1893 ff

1 Edited with a commentary in the Pandit N S vols 6-13, translated into English by G Thibaut and Gangānātha Jhā in the Indian Thought, vols I-V, 1907-1913 [Edited also by Madana Mohana Tarkaratna, Calcutta 1948]

2. "C'est le cogito ergo sum réduit à son premier terme et laissé sans conséquence", A Barth, RHR 19, 1889, 154 —Oeuvres II, 26 Cf also Haraprasād, Report I, 14, Keith, JRAS 1916, 377 ff

3. Printed several times in India Sanskrit and German by Othmar Frank, Muenchen and Leipzig 1835; German translation, transcribed text and glossary by Ludwig Poley, SWA 1869, I, p 33-156. English by E Roer, Calcutta 1845, by Rammohun Roy, Calcutta 1816, by G A Jacob, (A Manual of Hindu Pantheism, London, 1881, 4th Imp 1904, Sanskrit and German in O Böhtlingk, Sanskrit-Chrestomathie, (3rd edition, by R Garbe, Leipzig 1909, p 287 ff). German by Deussen, AGPh I, 3, 615-670 English Translation of the commentary Vidvanmanoranjanī of Rāmatīrtha by A. E Gough and Govindadeva Śāstrī in the Pandit vols VI-VIII [We know about another Vedānta-teacher Sadānanda, the author of Pratyaktattvacintāmani (ed. Acyutagranthamālā, Vārānasī, Samvat 1988, ed. by Śri Krisnapanta Śāstrī), who possibly lived in the latter half of the 19th century]

4. Edited with English translation by A Venis in the Pandit N. S. vols. 4-7

made of Bhāskara, who wrote his own commentary on the Brahmasūtra[1], the Gītā[2] and the Chāndogyopanisad[3]. We know nothing about his age. But since he has criticised the view of Advaitavāda and has in turn been quoted by Rāmānuja, it is definite that he was anterior to the latter and probably posterior to the former. But the difficulty arises from the fact that the principle of Bhedābhedavāda, of which Bhāskara is the first known exponent, has been criticised by Śaṅkara We get a further limit to his age from the fact that Udayana in the Nyāyakusumāñjali has criticised the Brahmaparināmavāda of Bhāskara Therefore, Bhāskara lived before 984 A.D., although the position as to his being senior to Śaṅkara is not established.

Bhāskara outright refutes the māyāvāda of Śankara, whom he calls a Buddhist, and he was perhaps the first commentator, who pointed out that Advaitavādins tried to impute their own ideas on the Brahmasūtra. According to Bhāskara individual soul is neither different nor indifferent from the Supreme Soul—Brahman. According to certain scholars this theory of Bhedābhada stands closest to the teachings of Brahmasūtra[4].]

In the same way as the followers of the philosophy of Śankara form simultaneously a religious sect, so [many] other schools of Vedānta too represent many religious sects Excluding the school of Śankara, *the most important one is that* of Rāmānuja, who is called by his followers also "chief of the ascetics "(yatīndra, yatīśvara) Whilst Śankara teaches absolute monism (Advaita), Rāmānuja has propounded the "qualified monism" (Viśistādvaita) and thereby has tried to establish the supremacy of devotion to a single God and of the cult of love of God (Bhaki)[5]. [His philosophy is

[1 Edited by Vindhyeśvarī Prasad Dvivedin, ChSS, 1915]

[2 Edition under print in the Sarasvati Bhavana Text Series and also in the HOS]

[3 No MS of this work appears to be extant But in his commentary on the Gītā Bhāskara says that he had commented also upon the Chāndogyopanisad]

[4 See PN Srinivasachari—the Philosophy of Bhedābheda, Adyar 1934]

5 On Rāmānuja's teachings see V A Sukhtankar, WZKM 22, 1908, 121 ff, 287 ff; R G Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism, Śaivism, etc. p 50 ff and A B Keith, ERE X, 572 ff

based jointly on the Bhedābhedavāda of Bhāskara and the Śaktivāda of Yādavaprakāśa] The works of Rāmānuja fall in between the last quarter of the 11th century and the first half of the 12th century A.D[1]. He was a South Indian. His father's name was Keśava and his mother was Kāntimatī. In his youth he lived at Kāñcīpura (Conjeevaram) and he was a disciple of Yādavaprakāśa, who was an Advaita-philosopher. Not satisfied with the absolute monism,he soon parted company of his teacher. Yāmuna of Yāmunācārya[2], the teacher of his teacher, had greater influence on him and as his successor he became the "Ācārya" of the Vaisnava-sect of South India[3]. One of the last commands of Yāmunācārya was that he commissioned his successor to write a new commentary on the Vedāntasūtra of Bādarāyaṇa. And the Śrībhasya[4], "the masterly commentary", on the Vedāntasūtra is the chief work of Rāmānuja. He believed as strongly as Śaṅkara about the infallibility of the Upanisads as well as of the Brahmasūtras. But as soon as he begins his Śrībhāṣya, he starts refutation of the theories of Śaṅkara. He refutes his theory about the relationship of work and knowledge, about real knowledge, about the relationship between Ātman, Brahman and the World, about emancipation, etc. R. Otto considers the Śrībhāsya to be "one of the most important works of thought that India has produced."

1 Cf S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Ancient India, London 1911, p 192 ff According to tradition he lived for 120 years, from 1017 till 1137 A D. In the year 1091 he got erected a statue of god Visnu on the Yādava mountain R Otto (Viṣṇu-Nārāyana, Jena 1917, p. 73) gives 1055-1137 [A D.] as the life-time of Rāmānuja The Yatirājavaibhava (in 114 stanzas) of Āndhrapūrna (Sanskrit and English by S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Ind Ant 38, 1909, 123 ff) is a strikingly sober biography of Rāmānuja with a few miracles mentioned in it Āndhrapūrna was brought up among the disciples of Rāmānuja. Cf also Carpenter, Theism, etc 386 ff

2 He is the author of the Siddhitraya, published in ChSS No 36, 1900, of the Āgamaprāmānya (published in the Pandit N S. Vol 22) and of other works [see Aufrecht, CC 476]

[3 On the philosophy of Rāmānuja, see Srinivasachari, The Philosophy of Visistādvaita Philosophy Adyar 1943, the Siddhānta des Rāmānuja, Texte zur indischen Gottesmystik II Aus dem Sanskrit Übertragen von Rudolf Otto, being the German translation of chapter 1, of the Śrībhāsya, Jena 1917 and Tubingen 1923].

4 Published in the Bibl Ind 1888 ff and by J J Johnson in the Pandit, N S. vols 26-29, 33, with two commentaries in the Pandit, vols 7-19 English translation by G Thibaut in SBE, vol 48. [Reprint Delhi 1963] [Edition also by Rāmānātha Tarkaratna, ASB 1888-91 and by Vāsudeva Shastri Abhyankar, Bombay, BSS 1914 English translation also by Diwan Bahadur V. K. Ramanujachar, Kumbhakonam, 1932.]

M. Walleser[1] agrees with him and adds further—"it could at once be considered to be one of the most important productions of world-literature." He thinks, the mass of mental work that is stored up in the work of Rāmānuja is suitable for utilization even in contemporary philosophies, especially with reference to the theories regarding perception In the opinion of Winternitz this conclusion appears to be exaggerated As of Śankara, so of Rāmānuja too, the main objective seems to be to make the texts of the Upanisads, the Bhagavadgītā, the Purānas, and the Mahābhārata, that are equally holy for him, mean something that is in accord with his religion and philosophy. It is a theological and not scientific way of thinking and argumentation. He declares that he has rightly understood the teachings of "old teachers" and mentions as his predecessors Vākyakāra, Vrttikāra and Dramidācārya or Bhāsyakāra, who had already interpreted the sūtras of Bādarāyana in the light of the teachings of the Bhāgavata-religion The "author of the Vṛtti" is Bodhāyana, of whose work too little has come down to us as that of Dramidācārya[2], who had abridged the commentary of Bodhāyana. The legendary Vyāsa, for Rāmānuja, is probably the seer or the redactor of the Brahmasūtras as also of the Veda and of the Mahābhārata. He refutes that Śāṇḍilya's Pāñcarātra-philosophy stands in opposition to the Veda On the contrary his teachings were preached for the purpose of making the real meaning of the Veda intelligible. He postulates three principles the individual soul, the irrational world and God (Īśvara) as the highest soul. Above all he associates Bhakti with his philosophy. He has borrowed his theories regarding the external world from the Purānas and Śānkhya.

Other works of Rāmānuja are : the Gītābhāsya,[3] a commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, the Vedārthasaṁgraha[4], a polemic work for refutation of the Māyā-theory, the

1. DLZ 1920, p 501 f

2 He is older than Śankara, See Thibaut, SBE, vol 34, p XXII.

3 A Bombay edition has been mentioned by VA Sukhtankar, WZKM 22, 123 [English translation by A Govindācārya, Madras 1928; Edition in ĀNSS, Poona 1923]

4 Edited with Tātparyadīpikā of Sudarśana Sūri in the Pandit, N S. vols 15-17.

Vedāntasāra[1], a systematic representation of the teachings of the Vedāntasūtra, according to the interpretation of Rāmānuja, and the Vedāntadīpa[2], an abridgement of the Śrībhāsya. Sometimes the Vedāntatattvasāra[3] too is attributed to Rāmānuja. In it the teachings of Rāmānuja have been defended against Śankara. But the actual author of the work is Sudarśana Sūri

An exposition of Rāmānuja's system is the Yatīndramatadīpikā, "lamp of the meanings of the chief of the ascetics"[4], of Śrīnivāsadāsa or Śrīnivāsa, son of Govindācārya and disciple of Nimbārka The work consists of a section on the theory of knowledge (chap. 1-7) and of a theological section (chap. 8-10) on the soul and God. Śrīnivāsa has written also one Sakalācāryamatasaṁgraha, "a brief collection of the views of all teachers[5]. It is a collection of teachings of all the teachers of the Bhakti-cult. Of the 12th and 13th centuries A.D., of Rāmānuja, of Visṇusvāmin, of Nimbārka and of Mādhva. In the middle of the 13th century A D. Vişnusvāmin propounded his own Vedāntatheory. On his theory of Vedānta Vallabha (1478-1530) laid the foundation of a sect believing in the Krsna-cult. He wrote also a number of tracts and a commentary the Anubhāşya[6] on Vedānta. Nimbārka too, whose age is not determined accurately, but who must have lived a little after Rāmānuja, wrote a commentary Vedāntapārijātasaura-

1 The text does not appear to have been published, and it is controversial whether Rāmānuja was its author, see Sukhtankar, ibid [Edition by V Krishnamacharya, with English Translation by M B Narasimha Ayyangar Adyar 1953]

2 Edited in the BenSS Nos 69-71.

3 Edited with English translation by J J Johnson, in the Pandit N S, vols 9-12 Cf Erich v Voss, Das angeblich von Rāmānuja verfasste Vedāntatattvasāra, mit einer Einleitung und Anmerkungen herausgegeben und ins Deutsche Übertragen, Leipzig 1906, Diss, V A. Sukhtankar ibid p 124

4 Edited in the Pandit N S vol I, in BenSS No 133 and in ĀnSS No 50, translated by R Otto, Dīpikā des Nivāsa, eine indische Heilslehre, Tubingen 1916

5 Published in the ChSS, translated into German by R Otto Visnu-Nārāyana, Jena 1917, p 57 ff

6 On Vallabhācārya, see Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism etc p 76 ff and Carpenter, Theism in Medieval India 437 ff His Anubhāsya, that is the Brahmasūtrānubhāsya has been published in the Bibl. Ind. 1888-1897 and in the BenSS 1905 ff. Sixteen small works of Vallabha have been published under the title Şoḍaśagranthasamgraha, Benares 1884.

bha on the Vedāntasūtra.[1] In the Siddhāntaratna, a collection of 10 stanzas, (hence also called Daśaślokī[2]), he has given the essence of his teachings Madhva too is the founder of a sect He is known also by the names Ānandatīrtha, Ānandajñāna and Ānandagiri[3] He lived from 1197 to 1276 AD[4] and preached in the country as an itinerant ascestic. In addition to the commentaries on the seven old Upanisads, the Bhagavadgītā, the Vedāntasūtra and the Bhāgavatapurāna, he wrote a number of magnificent independent works[5] For him the Upanisads and the Vedānta-sūtra have a religious value But he has succeeded merely through his most forceful discussion on the dualistic theory about the creation in which he has tried to effect a compromise between the Vedānta with Sāmkhya-philosophy and the Bhāgavata-religion. In the Tattva-samkhyāna[6]

[1 Edited by Vindhyeshwariprasāda Dvivedin, ChSS 1910, and by Dhundhirāja Śāstrī with the Vedānta-Kaustubha in the same Series, 1932)

2 Cf Bhandarkar, ibid p 62 ff A work of the Nimbārka-sect is the Vedāntakaustubhaprabhā of Kesavabhatta, published in the Pandit, vols VIII and IX [Śrībrahmasūtram edited with three commentaries (the Vedāntakaustubhaprabhā of Kesavabhatta, the Vedāntapārijātasaurabha of Nimbārka and the Vedāntakaustubha of Śrīnivāsa, a commentary on the commentary of Nimbārka edited by Nityasvarūpa Brahmacārin and published by Devakinandana Press, Vrndāvana, 1904 The Dasaśloki of Nimbārka has been edited by Dhundhirājā Śāstrī, ChSS, Benares 1906-27]

3 On the life and teachings of Madhva, see Bhandarkar, ibid 57 ff,, Carpenter ibid 406 ff and Grierson ERE VIII, 232 ff

[The Brahmasūtrabhāsya of Madhvācārya with a gloss of Jayatīrtha, etc edited by R Raghavendracharya, Bibl Sanskr, Mysore 1911-1922, Vedāntasūtras with the commentary of Madhva, translated into English by S Subba Rau, Madras 1904 Brahmasūtras with Madhva's commentary and Jayatīrtha's Tikā, edited by Bhikācārya Arnapure and Anantācārya Astapure Bombay 1883]

4 Bhandarkar, ibid p 58 f has made this date probable on the basis of inscriptional evidences H Krishna Śāstrī (Ep Ind 6, 260 ff) places him during the period 1238-1317 AD

5 He is the author of 37 works that were printed in 1911 in 4 volumes at Kumbhakonam, and here he is called simply Madhva and Ānandatīrtha; see also Aufrecht, CC 46 ff, Bhandarkar, Report 1882-83, p 16 ff, Burnell, Tanjore 100 ff Madhva's commentary has been edited and translated into German by Betty Heimann, Leipzig 1922 The author of the Tarkasangraha (ed T M Tripāthī, Baroda 1917 in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series No 3), in which the teachings of Vaisesika have been refuted for the purpose of proving that there is nothing except Brahman, that is real, is probably a different Ānandajñāna and is not identical with Madhva

6 Translated and annotated by H V Glasenapp in Festschrift Kuhn 326 ff

Winternitz, vol III, 33.

he has construed in brief his thesis on this dualistic Vedānta. Madhva was so much against Śankara that his followers call the latter an incarnation of a demon who tried to lead man along a wrong path.

In the case of many of the Vedānta-works we may be in doubt as to whether they ought to be included in philosophical or in theological (sectarian) literature. So it is with the Yogavāsiṣṭha[1], that is said to be an appendix to the Rāmāyana and is attributed to Vālmīki. It is rather a religious work that discusses the topics like renouncement of the world, conduct of persons striving for emancipation, creation, conservation and cessation of the world, nirvāna, etc. There are many commentaries upon this work that is widely studied in North India. Besides there is its the abridgement the Yogavāsiṣthasāra by Abhinanda, who lived in the middle of the 9th century A.D.[2]. Therefore, the Yogavāsiṣtha must be of an earlier age. Since, however, Śankara does not refer to this work, perhaps it was written by one his contemporaries.

An apparently modern sūtra-work, that is more theological than philosophical, is the Bhaktisūtra[3], attributed to Śāndilya, that is quoted by Rāmānuja, although he, like Śaṅkara, considers Śāndilya, as the propounder of the Pāñcarātra system and tries to prove that it is also founded on the Vedic soil[4]. Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa have been cited

1 The title is called also Ārsarāmāyana, Jñānavāsiṣtha, Mahārāmāyana, Vāsiṣtharāmāyana or Vāsiṣtha, see Aufrecht CC, 478 ff and Windisch and Eggeling, Ind Off. Cat IV, p 772 ff The work has several times been printed in India, published with a commentary by W L Sh Pansīkar, Bombay 1911; translated into English Vihārī Lāl Mitra, Calcutta 1899 See also B L Baij Nath in in OC XI, Paris 1897, I, 123 ff The Bhaktisāgara of Nārāyanabhatta, published in the Pandit N S, vols 33-35, is a compilation made for some religious objective and is a work in which, in addition to the Purānas, the Yogavāsiṣtha has been quoted [The work has been edited critically and studied by B L Ātreya · The Philosophy of the Yogavāsiṣtha, Adyar, 1936; Yogavāsiṣṭha and Modern Thought, Vārānasī 1934, edition with Hindi Translation, Acyutagranthamālā, Kāshi Sam 2004 and also NSP Bombay 1937 with the commentary Tātparyaprakāśa.

2 Cf Konow, Karpūramañjarī HOS, Vol 4, p 197

3 Edited with the commentary of Svapneśvara by Ballantyne in the Bibl Ind 1861, translated into English by E B Cowell, Bibl Ind. 1878

4 Śrībhāsya on the Vedāntasūtra, II, 2, 43 Śankara on II, 2, 45 quotes a passage from the Pāñcarātra-text to prove that the Pāñcarātras are anti-Vedic :

caturṣu vedeṣu paraṁ śreyo labdhvā Śāṇḍilya idaṁ śāstramadhigatavān.

in the Bhaktisūtra The modern Bhāgavatas mention, in addition to Śāndilya, Nārada too, as one of their great teachers and attribute to him the authorship of one Nāradīya Bhaktiśāstra[1]. The Bhaktamālā[2] is a purely theological work of the Bhakti-religion in which we find all sorts of technical discussion (for example on the luck-foreboding signs on the feet of the incarnation of the divinity or on the characteristic marks of the saints, etc) and also interesting legends.

One of the finest legends is that of the meeting of Rāma with the poor Bhīl-woman In order to appreciate this one ought to keep before his eye the importance of castes in India It is said that a great sage scolded and insulted a poor woman, who was born of a very low family of Bhīls and that Rāma, the God, who had become Man, himself goes to the hut of the poor woman and rebukes and humiliates the arrrogant sage by saying

"I recognise no relationship except through faith - neither caste, nor race, not religion, nor status nor empire, power or connection, neither virtue nor ability"

[Among the other works of the Bhakti-Cult, we may here mention the Bhaktiratnāvalī, which was commented upon by Visnupurī of Mithilā[3] and the Bhaktisāgara of Nārāyaṇa Bhatta[4].]

The Vedānta-philosophy is associated not only with the Visnu-cult, but also with the Śiva-cult And it is true that

"Since Śāndilya did not find in the Vedas the highest bliss, he studied this sāstra" G A Grierson, (JRAS 1907, 314) and before him already H H Wilson (see Weber, LG 225 note) believed to have found in the sūtras echoes of Christian ideas Grierson (ibid 317 ff Cf ERE II, 548 ff) in addition also believes that Rāmānuja and Visnusvāmin too were under the influence of Christianity

1 Nārada-Sūtra, an Enquiry into Love (Bhakti-Jijñāsā), translated from Sanskrit by E T Sturdy London 1896, was not available to Winternitz [The Bhakti-Sūtras of Nārada with explanatory notes and translation by Nandlal Sinha, SBH Allahabad, in vol 7 No The aphorisms of Nārada (Trans by Lala Kanoo Mal, Triplicane 1923]

[The Bhakti Candrikā (commentary on the Śāndilya Sūtra of Nārāyana Tīrtha, Edited by Gopinatha Kavirāja, 1924, PWSBT 9 The one hundred aphorisms of Śāndilya with the commentary of Svapnesvara Trans (with text of sūtras) by Manmathanath Paul SBH Allahabad, 19]

2 Cf G A Grierson JRAS, 87 ff, 269 ff Grierson. JRAS 1907, 321 makes the Christian influence on the Bhaktamālā plausible.

[3 Text and Trans by a Professor of Sanskrit, Śyāmācarana granthāvalī, No 1, Allahabad 1944]

[4 Ed Ganapati Śāstrī Mokāte, Pandit 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914]

among members of the different Śaiva-sects there are both the orders : monistic as well as dualistic. Further there is an inclination towards Bhakti among the devotees of Śiva. In Kashmir there have developed two schools of Śaivism ; the Spandaśāstra and the Pratyabhijñāśāstrā[1]. The former is attributed to Vasugupta and his disciple Kallata. The two main works of the school are Śivasūtra and the Spandakārikā (51 stanzas)[2]. The former is believed to have been revealed by God Śiva Himself to Vasugupta. The Spandakārikā was written by Kallaṭa on the basis of the teachings of Vasugupta. Kallata was living during the period of reign of Avantivarman (854 A.D.). A commentary on the Śivasūtra is Śivasūtravimarśinī[3] of Kṣemarāja, a disciple of Abhinavagupta. The founder of the Pratyabhijñā-school, "Recognition-School"[4], was Somānanda, who had written a work. Śivadṛṣṭi in the beginning of the 10th century A.D. But the chief work of the school consists of the sūtras : the Īśvarapratyabhijñāsūtra of Utpaladeva[5], a son of Udayakara and a disciple of Somānanda. In between 993 and 1015, the famous rhetorician Abhinavagupta, who is already familiar to us as a poetician,a disciple of the disciple of Somānanda,

1 Cf Buhler, Report 77 ff, Bhandarkar, Report 1883-84, pp 89 ff, 375 ff and Vaisnavism etc p 129 ff; Carpenter, Theism in Medieval India p 346 ff

[2 Ed with the Vrtti of Kallata by Jagadish Chandra Chatterji, Srinagar 1916, KTS 5]

3 Edited with the Pratyabhijñāhrdaya by J C Chatterji, Bombay NSP (see the discussion by V S Ghate, Ind Ant 42, 1913 271f [really Srinagar 1911, KTS 1]; translated into English by P. T Shrinivas Iyengar in Indian Thought—vols III, IV, Allahabad, 1912 Ksemaraja wrote also a commentary on the Pratyabhijñāhrdaya (in 20 sūtras), that Ghate (ibid) commends as a Handbook of Introduction to Kashmirian Śaivism See also L D-Barnett, JRAS, 1915, 175 ff

4 The following is the explanation of this name : The individual soul of man is identical with God : but in order to be able to rejoice the happiness of this unity, it is necessary that man (with the help of a teacher) comes to realize that the completeness of God is present in his soul too This is illustrated with the example : a girl has heard about the excellent qualities of some young man and she begins to love him, but when they meet each other she is quite indifferent towards him, so long as she has not known his fine qualities But as soon as she comes to see love in him, she is attracted and becomes happy (Cf Sarvadarśanasangraha, Chap 8, towards the end :)

5. Īsvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī, edited in the Pandit, Vols II and III.

wrote a commentary- on this sūtra composed in verses. The interpretation of the Paramārthasāra[1], according to the teaching of the Pratyabhijñā school also originated in Abhinavagupta. The Paramārthasāra, "essence of the highest truth", is one of those popular religious texts in which the basic ideas of the teachings of asceticism, according to the Advaita philosophy, are so associated with the objective of Yoga and with the sentiments of devotion for reverence to Śiva or to Visnu that they could with some alterations be claimed by different schools and sects to belong to each of them Abhinavagupta himself says that his own work is based on the Ādhārakārikās, "memorial verses of the bearer of the world", i.e. the World-carrying Snake Śesa. And we actually have a work consisting of 85 Āryā stanzas[2], that is attributed to Ādisesa or also to Patañjali, as an incarnation of the world-carrying snake, and is Vaisnavistic. Indians generally include it amongst the work on Yoga, as also among those on Advaita Since Abhinavagupta's work consists of 100 Āryā stanzas, it cannot be an extract from a smaller text, but it is obviously an exposition of an older one, that is no more available to us.

The Virūpāksapañcāśikā[3] of Virūpāksanāthapāda contains a representation of the Pratyabhijñā principles. But we know little about the other philosophical systems of the Śaiva sects. An exponent of the Vīra-Śaiva or the Liṅgāyata-sect is Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya who, in his Vedāntasūtraśaivabhāsya[4] interprets

1 Edited and translated by L D Barnett in JRAS 1910, 707-747, who interprets it as a work of Yoga, while V V Sovani, JRAS 1912, 257 calls it to be an exposition of the Vaisnava Paramārthasāra (see the following note) Against this Barnett, JRAS 1912, 474 f, 1915, p 176, note 2 [Edited with the commentary of Yogarāja by Jagdish Chandra Chatterji, Srinagar 1916 Another important work of Utpaladeva, who is called also Rājānaka Utpala, is Pratyabhijñākārikāvrtti, ed by Madhusūdana Kaul Shāstrī, KTS 34, Srinagar 1921]

2 Edited in the Pandit, Vol V, 1871, p 189 ff and in TSS, No 12, 1911 Cf Weber, ZDMG 27, p 166 f A text consisting of 79 stanzas has been published from Madras

[Cf also the Brahmamīmāmsā with Śrīkanthaśivācārya's commentary, edited by L Śrinivasacarya, Mysore 1903]

3 Edited in TSS, No 9, 1910 [Edition also by L D Barnett, Le Muséon, N S No 9]

4 Edited in the Pandit, vols VI and VII Cf Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism, etc 137 and L D Barnett (JRAS 1911, 236 f) on the work that was not available to Winternitz V V Ramanan,

the Vedāntasūtras in the sense of Śiva-bhakti. To the same school belongs also the great Śaiva philosopher and prolific author Appaya Dīksita of the 16th century, the author who wrote a large number of philosophical and theological treatises[1].

Since in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya the systems of Pūrvamīmāmsā and Vedānta are not included among the scientific philosophies (anvīksikī), the reason must have been that here one saw in them more of theology than of philosophy. According to the Arthaśāstra only Sānkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata belong to the Ānvīksikī, the science based on inquiry about reasoning (*hetubhir anvīksyamānā vidyā hetuvidyā*).

By Lokāyata, the word that means "concerning this world", we understand the principles of materialism of which the founder or teacher is said to be Cārvāka. The fact that in the Vinayapitaka[2] the Buddhist monks are forbidden to have any contact with the Lokāyatas goes to show that these principles are quite old in India. But we do not possess any literature about the exponents of this school. We know about their teachings only from their presentation by their opponents[3], and we know that their philosophy has found literary presentation even in a sūtra-work, that is attributed to Brhaspati[4], the teacher of demons, and in a work of Bhāguri, mentioned by Patañjali in the Mahābhāsya. None of these works has come down to us, a position that we can easily understand, since all the religious sects hate the materialists not only as persons not admitting the infallibility of the Vedā[5], but also as enemy of religion.

"The Search after God," (Brahmamīmāmsā by the inspired Saint Bādarāyana with the Holy Interpretation (Śaiva-Bhāshya) of the Teacher in God (Śivācārya) Śrīkantha, known also as Nīlakantha, Madras 1910

1 Cf Aufrecht, CC p 22 f, Krishnamacharya, p. 168 and GRS Pantulu, Ind Ant 27, 1898, 326 f

2 Cullavagga 5, 33

3 Cf Max Muller, Six Systems 86, 94 ff, Deussen, AGPH I, 3, p 194 ff; Oldenberg in Kultur der Gegenwart I, V, p 33 f, 51 f, A Hillebrandt in Festschrift Kuhn, p 14 ff, Garbe, Sāmkhya Philosophie, p 179 ff, J Dahlmann, der Materialismus in Indian (Stimmen aus Maria-Laach 52, 117 ff, 278 ff), La Vallée Poussin, ERE VIII, 403 f [On the Cārvākas see also Dasgupta, History of Indian Philosophy, vol 1 p 78 f The latest and most upto-date description of the Lokāyatamata has been presented by Debiprasad Chattopadhyava, Lokāyata, A Study in Ancient Indian Materialism, Delhi 1959]

4 Ed by F W Thomas, Le Muséon, 1916

5 To Winternitz the opinion of Jacobi (GGA 1899, 22 f.)

[The Maitrāyanīya-Upanisad mentions Brhaspati, who assumed the form of Śukra and propagated *avidyā* (ignorance) amongst the Asuras with the intention of leading them to destruction. But it is not understandable how Brhaspati, the priest of the gods, could be identical with the politician Brhaspati or the originator of the Lokāyata philosophy. It appears probable that Lokāyata-darśana was the precursor of the Arthaśāstra.]

We may here add the name of Kambalāśva the author of the Tattvasāmgraha[1]. He explains thus his theories (like the polemics of other materialists against the Vijñānavādin school) : the different combinations of the four elements are called the body and organs : there is no element other than the four. There is no transmigration of consciousness from one body to another. With the body that is dead the body that will originate has no causal relation and the flux of conscience differs, since the consequent knowledge varies In addition, the spirit had been possessed of *kleśa* (impurities), it could not produce after its complete extinction another spirit. Thus conscious is the product of a body endowed with life and vital air.

Ajitakeśakambali is considered to be identical with Kambalāśvatara. The former was a contemporary of the Buddha and was the author of the theory of *Ucchedavāda*, the theory of annihilation of the individual after death Although tradition is unanimous in making Brhaspati the author of the materialistic *sūtras*, there are others who do not hesitate in calling Ajita keśakambali to be the founder of the nāstikamata, since Brhaspati and Cārvāka are purely mythical personalities.

[It appears probable that a veritable materialism was not of vital importance in India, nor had it a continuous existence. We find here an aggregate of divergent doctrines, some of which are very old and others are recent, and that it was in the 14th century A.D. that materialism appears to have been

that there existed an orthodox Lokāyata conforming to the tenets of the Veda seems improbable In the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya the Ānvīkṣikī stands higher than all (including the revered) Trayī (Veda), since the Ānvīksikī has to prove "on the basis of reasoning" what is right or wrong in the Trayī Accordingly neither Ānvīksikī, not Lokāyata belonging to it has the characteric of being faithful to the Veda

[1 Tattvasangraha of Śāntiraksita with the commentary of Kamalāśva, edited by Embar Krishnamacharya in 2 volumes, GOS, 30, 31, Baroda 1926]

presented in a definite and systematic manner by Mādhava, who borrowed the ethical and social part from treatises on politics, the latest logical part from the nāstikas and sophists and the materialist physical part from the doctrine of the four elements and from that of *svabhāva* of the Buddhists and the Jainas.[1]]

We possess literary works, although not of the most ancient ages, of the two philosophical systems of Sāmkhya and Yoga, that are closely connected with each other (in a manner different from the one in which Pūrvamīmāmsā and Uttaramīmāṁsā are associated. Notwithstanding that there is no doubt that the oldest philosophical ideas of India are the teachings regarding Brahman and Ātman contained in the Veda, especially in the Upanisads, the oldest philosophical system, that is the oldest philosophy, that has been systematically planned and presented is apparently Sāmkhya[2], the philosophy of realism, that originated in express opposition to the idealism of the Upaniṣadic philosophy. The common tradition mentions Kapila as the founder of the Sāmkhya system; but whatever is said to have been taught by Kapila is wholly legendary. Already in the Śvetāśvatara Upanisad (V, 2) there is a dialogue about Ṛsi Kapila and his teaching of the highest Brahman. In different passages in the Mahābhārata, he is included among the sons of Brahman and identified as Hiranyagarbha, and sometimes he is mentioned also to be an incarnation of Krṣṇa or of Agni. These legends must have originated in an age, when the Sāṁkhya system had already been admitted into Brāhmaṇical theology. Even

[1. Louis Renou, L'Inde Classique § 1504]

2 Śāmkhya (from samkhyā, "number") means "philosophy of enumeration", since enumeration (division, classification as 3 gunas, 25 principles, etc) are especially characteristic of this school, cf Garbe, Sāmkhya-Philosophie 189 ff Jacobi, who earlier (GGA 1895, 209) had explained it as "discussion, reflection" later (GGA 1919, 28 f) explained it as the "philosophy of enumeration" in the sense of "determination of the sphere of understanding through numeration of its contents" The best presentation of the Sāmkhya-philosophy is the one by R Garbe, Die Sāmkhya-Philosophie, 2 Aufl , Leipzig 1917 Cf also A B Keith, The Sāmkhya-System (The Heritage of India), Calcutta and London 1918, Deussen, (AgPh I, 3, p 408-506, Oltramare, ibid 219 ff ; F O Schrader, Bibliography of Sāmkhya-Yoga-Samuccaya Works, Adyar, Madras 1906 On the Sāmkhya-texts in Tibet see S Ch Vidyābhūṣana, JASB 1907, 571 ff

3 Cf Hillebrandt, ZDMG 74, 1920, 462 f

though we know about him nothing otherwise, we should probably mention Kapila as the founder of the Sāmkhya philosophy[1], he was, in respect of religion, a thinker who did not depend upon the Veda. Perhaps it may not be possible for us to say about him as to whether he was a Brāhmana, who turned down to a new way of thinking, or a Ksatriya (like Gotama Buddha) standing far away from Brāhmanical environment. It is certain that unlike the Vedānta-system, the Sāmkhya-system was not originally depending on the interpretation of the scriptures, but was later tugged to the Veda and was admitted into Brāhmanism[2] But Kapila repudiates Brahman and the existence of a Universal Soul He distinguishes between a substance, that is real, and the unending multiplicity of souls, that are not considered to have emanated from a single universal soul. He teaches that the primary cause (Prakṛti) is the ultimate cause, and notwithstanding its being single, consists of three constituent substances (gunas). Sorrow results from ignorance of distinction between the soul and the matter. The distinctive knowledge brings emancipation from grief. So Sānkhya too is not only a bare system of knowledge of the world and an explanation of the creation, but also a system of religious teachings But all these teachings are not found in the Vedic hymns, not in only the Brāhmanas and in the Āranyakas, but also in the oldest Upanisads. Therefore, they are said to stand in opposition to the Veda. On the other hand, we find that Kapila's theories already had their influence in the second layer of the Upanisad literature in the Katha—, Śvetāśvatara—, Praśna—, and Maitrī—Upanisads[3]. We find an admixture

1. Winternitz (with Garbe, ibid 46 ff) sees no ground to doubt that there was an actual thinker Kapila by name Jacobi, who had earlier (GGA 1895, 205 ff) been of the opinion that there was a real Kapila, who had the credit of regulating an existing discipline into a system, later (GGA 1919, 26) did no more believe about the reality of Kapila and considered him to be an equally mythical personality like Manu, Brhaspatī and Usanas

2 It was only in this sense that Sāmkhya was originally "unbrāhmanical" Cf Garbe, ibid, 13 ff, Ottramare, ibid, 144 Besides Jacobi, ibid and Festschrift Kuhn 38 f, A B Keith, RJAS 1915, 444 f and Sāmkhya System, pp 5 ff 87

3 Winternitz is wholly in agreement with Garbe, (ibid p 32) on this point E A Welden (American Journal of Philology 35, 1914, 32 ff) has tried to prove the probability of the Maitrī-Upanisad going back to an old systematic Sāmkhya-text Other researchers see in those Upanisads a "pre-classical Sāmkhya", that probably was a further natural

of the philosophies of Sāmkhya and Vedānta in the philosophical sections of the Mahābhārata, of the Purānas, and of the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra. Sāmkhya is the philosophy of the Purānas to such an extent that it is commonly designated as the epical philosophy, and it may more correctly be designated as the "Purānic philosophy[1]". In this philosophy was undoubtedly trained Gotama Buddha, whose cosmological theories are essentially based on Sāmkhya[2]. In case we hold the opinion that the age of the oldest Upanisads could be about 800 B.C. at the latest, the foundation of the Sāmkhya system of Kapila was laid sometime in between 800 and 550 B.C.[3]

We do not possess anything written by Kapila himself. The Sāmkhyasūtra (or the Sānkhyapravacana), of which the authorship is attributed to him, is one of the youngest works of the Sāṁkhya literature. [Scholars consider it to be a work of the 9th century A.D., while Garbe comes below as far as the 15th century A.D.[4]] Tradition names Āsuri as a disciple of Kapila, and Pañcaśikha was probably a disciple of Āsuri. Whilst for us Āsuri is a bare name, we possess stray fragments from a work of a

development of the philosophy of the Upanisads Cf Oldenberg, NGGW 1917, 218 ff, Oltramare, ibid 222, Deussen AGPh I, 3, p 508 ff; C C Everett JAOS 20, 1899, 309 ff, Keith, Sāmkhya System, p. 9 ff.

1 See above I, 374, ff, 376 A transl p 437 &440 Garbe, ibid, p. 60 ff and Keith ibid p 29 ff J Dahlmann has, in the book "Nirvāna", Berlin 1896, described his opinion on the "epical Sāmkhya" as the primary stuff of the classical Sāmkhya Deussen AGPh I, 3, 15 ff, 408 ff and O Strauss, Ethische Probleme aus dem Mahābhārata GSAI 24, 1911, 193 ff, separately Firenze 1912) have used "epical philosophy" in the same sense. Jacobi, GGA 1897, 265 has already shown that we find in the Mahābhārata a fusion of Sāmkhya, Yoga and Vedānta Later he (GGA, 1919, p 6) was tempted to speak about one "epical Vedānta" as about the "epical Sāmkhya" See also Winternitz, Osterr Monatsschrift fur den Orient 41, 1915, p 184 f

2 Cf Jacobi, ZDMG 52, 1898, 1 ff, Garbe, ibid. p 6 ff; Stcherbatsky, Soul Theory, p. 824, Keith, ibid, p 20 6off, O Strauss, WZKM 27, 257 finds that the presentation of the Sāmkhya system in Aśvaghosa, Buddhacarita XII, stands closer to the Sāmkhya of the Mahābhārata than to that of the systematic Sāmkhya-texts

3 Jacobi (ibid p 3) considers it undoubtful "that Buddhism originated about several centuries later than Sāmkhya-Yoga" According to Weber, LG 256 the blossoming age of Sāmkhya-Yoga fell in the first century A D, since its influence in the development of the gnostic principles in further Asia cannot he ignored" In China the Sāmkhya parabole of the blind and the lame already has been attested in the 2nd century B C (See A. Conrady, ZDMG 60, 6, 190, 33 ff)

[4 Cf. Louis Renou, L'Inde Classique § 1429]

Pañcaśikha in the Yogabhāsya of Vyāsā[1]. Varsaganya [author of the Saṣṭitantra], is a senior contemporary of the Buddhist scholar Vasubandhu. From his this Sastitantra[2] (System of Sixty Principles) and his other works we possess only a few citations According to Chinese, seemingly legendary reports, that, however, are based on Indian sources[3], this Varsaganya was a snake-king, who was living in a pond at the foot of the Vindhya hills. In the Vindhya hills, approximately 900 years after the nirvāna of the Buddha, there lived a philosopher, and hence he was called Vindhyavāsa. He was a disciple of the Nāga-prince Varsaganya and learnt the Sāmkhyaśāstra from him But while he was learning this from him he made improvements in places where it was faulty and wanting and brought out a completely revised text. He became very arrogant, defeated the old teacher Vasubandhu in a disputation and composed a work in 70 stanzas for which the ruling king gave him a reward of 300,000 gold coins, wherefore the work came to be known as "the Golden Seventy" (Suvarnasaptati or Hiranyasaptati). For the purpose of refutation of this work, Vasubandhu probably later wrote his Paramārthasaptati. Takakusu has posed the hypothesis that has received general approbation that Vindhyavāsa was just an epithet of Īśvarakrsna, whose Sāmkhyakārikā[4] (in the singular) is the oldest available

1 F. E Hall, Sāmkhyasāra, Preface, has collected together these fragments, and Garbe (Festgruss Roth 75) has translated them into German. According to Garbe, Sāmkhya Philosphie 66 f, Pañcaśikha lived "in about the beginning of the Christian era" Oldenberg, NGGW 1917, 25 ff), considers Kapila to be a really historical personality, but not Āsuri and Pañcaśikha According to Dasgupta, ibid 213 ff, the earliest traces of the Sāmkhya system is to be found in Caraka, the writer on medicine, with whom Pañcaśikha is in agreement

2 Cf Garbe, ibid p 73 ff The Saṣṭitantra indicates the Sāmkhya system generally as also this work particularly see F O Schrader, ZDMG 68, 1914, 101 ff

3 They are contained partly in the "Life of Vasubandhu" of Paramārtha and partly in a report of K'uei-tschi one of the disciples of Hiuen Tsiang, on a disputation between a Buddhist and a Sāmkhya-philosopher, see J Takakusu, in T'oung-Pao 1904, 282 ff, 461 ff, BEFEO 4, 1904, 1 ff, 40 ff, JRAS 1905, 47 ff

4 With the commentaries of Nārāyanatīrtha and Gaudapāda, edited by B Tripāṭhī in the BenSS No 9, 1883, translated into English by H T Colbrooke and H H Wilson, Oxford 1837, also by John Davies, Hindu Philosophy, London 1881, into German by Deussen, AGPh 1, 3, 413-466 [Edited with an introduction, translation and notes by S Suryanārāyana Śāstrī, Madras, 1930]

complete work of the Saṁkhya-philosophy. [It is considered to have been composed in about the 4th century A.D.[1]] This work was translated into Chinese by Brāhmaṇa Paramārtha, who wrote also a commentary on it in between 557 and 569 A.D. The Sanskrit original of the commentary, the Māṭharavṛtti of Māṭhara was discovered a little before[2]. This discovery has made it improbable that Vindhyavāsa was just an epithet of Īśvarakṛsṇa[3]. After we have received the Chinese documents, in addition to Paramārtha's translation, we can conclude now from these that the text and the commentary of the Sāṁkhyakārikā that had already become famous long before the age of Paramārtha, and apparently before Vasubandhu, and that they were written in about 300 A.D.[4] The Sāṁkhyakārikā, written in the Āryā metre, stands out not only on account of its high antiquity but also on account of its clear and brilliant presentation of the principles. Barth[5] calls them pearls not

1. Cf Bunyiu Nanjio, Catalogue 378; S Beal, JRAS 1878, 355 ff and Takakusu, BEFEO 4, 1904, 978 ff (Text and Translation with Sanskrit correspondences to Suvarnasaptati of Paramārtha Paramārtha lived from 499 to 569 A D and in 546 A D. went to China where he lived for 23 years and translated the Indian manuscripts that he had brought with him See above II, 258, trans p. 341, 355 and 356 n

2. We owe this discovery to S K. Belvalkar, see Bhandarkar Comm. Vol, p 171 ff [Sāṅkhyakārikā with Māthara-Vrtti, edited by Vishnu Prasad Sharma ChSS 66, 1922; La Sāṁkhyakārikā, étudiée à la lumière de sa version Chinoise by M J Takakusu, BEFEO4, Paris 1904.) This edition contains the kārikās and the vrtti, that have been translated into French]

3 Belvalkar, ibid, p. 176 There are several citations from Vindhyavāsa in prose Garbe (ibid, p 78) hence holds that in addition to the Sāṁkhyakārikā, Īśvarkrsna wrote also some other work Rather we find in it an evidence in support of the hypothesis that Īśvarakrsna and Vindhyavāsin (Vindhyavāsa) were two different persons. Keith (Sāṅkhya System, p.69) firmly sticks to the identity of the two and doubts the correctness of the Māṭharavrtti, but in another place (Indian Logic and Atomism 248 note) he says that Vindhyavāsin cited by Kumārila is expressly different from Īśvarakrsna Since the Māṭharavrtti has not yet been published we are not in a position to arrive at any final decision Dasagupta, ibid p 218, note 3 holds the identity of Īśvarakrsna with Vindhyavāsa as doubtful on other grounds

4 R. G Bhandarkar (JBRAS 20, 407) places Īśvarakrsna in the beginning of the 5th century A D ; Garbe ibid, p 77 ff places both Vasubandhu and Īśvarakrsna together in between 420 and 500 A D. Belvalkar, ibid, p 78 dates Vasubandhu in about 300 A.D and assigns Īśvarakṛsna to the first or the first half of the 2nd century A D Cf also Tuxen, Yoga, p. 144 and Charpentier, WZKM 27, 95 f, ZDMG 65, 845.

5. Oeuvres II, 138

rangasya darśayitvā nivartate nartakī yathā nṛtyāt |
puruṣasya tathātmānam prakāśya nivartate prakṛtiḥ ||

only of Sāmkhya but of the whole of the scholastical philosophy of India. However, the kārikās are not often different from the sūtras[1] in a metrical form and are hardly intelligible without a commentary. But sometimes the prosaic and tedious presentation is made lively through thoughtful and poetical similes Thus the relationship of Matter (Prakrti) with Soul (Purusa)[2] in the verses 59-61 is expressed in the following picture .—

> Just as a female dancer, after she has appeared on the stage, retires from the dance, so does Prakrti stop to work, after she has been face to face with Purusa ; in several ways she helps him, who does not help her and unselfishly sets into action the qualities for his benefit who is not endowed with any quality[3]. In my opinion there is nothing more delicate than Prakrti; as soon as she comes to know that she has been seen by him, she never comes within the range of his vision.

The Sāmkhyakārikā with the old commentary, the Mātharavrtti was utilized by Arabian Alberūnī in about 1030 A.D. for his presentation of the principles of Sāmkhya But Alberūnī mentions also "a book of recluse Gauda" that is named after him[4]. By this is meant the commentary of G a u ḍ a p ā d a, that is just a brief adaptation of the Mātharavrtti, that had, however, replaced it. It is not probable that this Gaudapāda appears to be just a plagiator, who is identical with the teacher of Vedānta of the same name[5]. The most valu-

nānāvidhairupāyairupakārinyanupakārinah pumsah
gunavatyagunasya satastasyārthamapārthakam carati
prakrteh sukumārataram na kiñcidastīti me matirbhavati
yā drstāsmīti punarna darśanamupaiti puruṣasya

1. According to E S Walden (Amer Journal of Philology, 35, 1914, 34 f.) the Sāṅkhyakārikā is based on an old sūtra-text, that was reproduced in the Āryā-metre

2 The word *puruṣa* has been used in two meanings "man" and "soul"

3 Here the word *guna* has two meanings the technical term of the Sāṁkhya that means the "three constituent substances and also "virtue"

4 Cf E C Sachau, Alberūnī's India, London 1910, I, 132, II, 266 f and G a r b e ibid. 91 ff

5. See above p 483 G a r b e, ibid, p 87 f takes the two Gaudapādas as identical See, however, D e u s s e n, AgPh I, 3, 410, W a l l e s e r, Die ältere Vedānta, 11 ff, J a c o b i, GGA 1919, p 2 B e l v a l k a r, ibid p 174 [In the opinion of R e n o u, L'Inde Classique § 1426, the Gauḍapādabhāsya or the Sāṅkhyakārikābhāsya was believed to be the oldest commentary and that its author lived perhaps in the 6th century A D and that in spite of G a r b e, it is little probable that he was identical with the Vedānta-scholar of the same name]

able commentary on the Sāmkhyakārikā and at the same time the best methodical work on the Sāmkhya-philosophy is the Sāṁkhyatattva kaumudī,[1] "the Ray of the Essence of Sāmkhya"[2] of Vācaspatimiśra. He not only writes in beautiful and clear Sanskrit, but presents the teachings of the system lucidly, and in doing this he shows the same objectively in respect of the other systems as well. King Ranaranga Malla or Bhoja was probably the author of the Rājavārttika[3]. The work is not available to us, although Vācaspatimiśra cites three verses form it.

It has long been admitted that the Sāṁkhyasūtra or the Sāmkhyapravacana[4], attributed to Kapila, is not an old work. Since Mādhava (about 1380) does not quote it in the Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha and since Aniruddha in about 1500 A.D. wrote a commentary on it, Garbe held the view that it was written in between 1380 and 1450 A.D. It is, however, not probable that it is actually a work of such a late period, on the other hand it is possible to assume that there was an old Sāmkhyasūtra, that was elucidated with the help of the Kārikā and the Yogasūtra under the influence of Vedāntic observations. This view receives circumstantial support in the fact that Siddharṣi (906 A.D.) in his Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā cites the sūtras, but these sūtras are not identical with those that are found in our Sāṁkhyasūtra[5]. In the Sāṁkhyasūtra the sūtras are not so short and formula-like as those in the Pūrvamīmāṁsā—or in the

1 Editions have been brought out in Calcutta, Benares and Bombay German translation by Garbe, ABayA XIX, 3, Munich 1892; English translation with Sanskrit text by Gangānātha Jhā, Bombay 1896 See also Garbe, Die Theorie der indischen Rationalisten von den Erkenntnismitteln, BSGW 1888, and A Burk on the theory of argumentation according to Sāmkhyatattvakaumudī, WZKM 15, 1901, 251 ff

2 Cf Woods, The Yoga System of Patañjali, p XXI and Garbe, Sāmkhya-Philosophie, p 89 ff

3 Sāmkhya Aphorisms of Kapila, with extracts from Vijñanabhiksu's commentary, translated by J R Ballantyne, Calcutta 1865, Bibl Ind, Transl by Nandalal Sinha in the Sacred Books of the Hindus, vol XI, Allahabad 1912 [The Sankhya Philosophy of Kapila, being a translation with notes (of the Sānkhyasūtra), by Jag Mohan Lawl, Edinburgh 1921]

4 Sāmkhya—Philosophie, p 94 ff

5 Jacobi, CZDMG 62, 1908, 593 posits that Siddharsi had himself composed the sūtras "that are cited by him." But in the opinion of Winternitz it was a thing that was hardly in accord with the habit of the Indian authors Cf also Jacobi, GGA 1895, 210 f and Barth, Oeuvres, II, 138 note 2.

Vedāntasūtra. Sometimes the prosaic style is made lively with examples and similes that are throughout very popular in Sāṁkhya.

Elsewhere too in philosophical literature frequently there recurs the simile of the string that in the light of the dusk is taken to be a snake and is feared so long as its real nature is not known, or that of the white conch that appears to be of yellow colour to the person suffering from jaundice. As examples of things that are absurd are mentioned repeatedly the horns of the hair, the fata morgana, the garland of flowers of the sky and the son of a barren woman[1]. The three guṇas or "constituent elements" are already compared in the Sāṁkhyakārikā with a cord made of three brands—guṇas, called also string—the material, that entangles the soul. One of the most familiar pictures of the Sāṁkhya philosophy is that of the connection between the Matter and the Soul compared with that of the blind and the lame. Matter is compared with the sincere servant, who does not expect either a thank or reward from its Master in exchange the Soul, for its performances. The activity of Matter is not directed according to the command or desire of the Soul, but only through proximity, like the magnet in which there is no will, but still attracts iron. The unconscious Matter is often poetically compared with the being endowed with the Soul. Matter binds itself in a sevenfold manner with its own work like a spider with its self-spun web. The Matter is disciplined like a wife taken from a noble family, who does not manifest her bashfulness before her husband. The migration of the minute body (*liṅga-śarīra*), on which the personality rests from the gross body into another (in the case of rebirth), is compared with the change of the role of an actor or to the to and fro movement of a cook in the kitchen of a king. The organs on account of their major or minor importance are compared with the courtiers among whom one is always

1 In the commentary on the Taittirīya Upaniṣad we find all these things in the stanza :—

After he has bathed in the water of the mirage, put on a garland of the flowers of the sky, there comes the son of a barren woman drawing a bow of the hair's horn.

above the other and the minister (Soul) stands above them all[1].

The book 4 of the Sāmkhyasūtra contains an entire collection of examples. Similes and parables (ākhyāyikās) that partly correspond to the epical and Purāṇic stories. In the sūtras they are just briefly alluded to and are elaborated in more or less details in the commentaries.

For example it is said in the sūtra IV, 1 that knowledge is attained through "training in truthfulness as in the case of the king's son". On this the commentary adds :—A king's son was born under the influence of an unlucky conjunction of stars and he got burnt in fire. He was adopted by a chieftain of the Śabaras (wild residents of the forest) as a child. He learnt only their mode of living. After the king died issueless, the boy was brought into the city by ministers and he heard from them that he was not a Śabara, but a king's son. Immediately after this he took to the behaviour of a king's son as a consequence of his earlier habit. Sūtra IV, 9 : Through misfortune originates quarrel in the company of many, as in the case of a conch and the girl. Commentary:— When there are many there originates strife, as through mutual rubbing of many conches in the hand of the girl there ensue, rattling; therefore the girl (in the story) got her all the conches, excepting one, removed, with the intention of avoiding the displeasure, that might be caused by their rattling, of the guest for whom she was pounding rice. Sūtra IV, 11 : "He who has abondoned hope is as happy as Pingalā." Commentary :—The harlot Piṅgalā was not happy and she could have no sleep, because she was awaiting her suitors in vain. At last she felt disgusted with her past conduct and gave up the hope— then she could sleep in peace[2]. Sūtra IV, 16. "Even on account of forgetfulness (of the truth there ensues sorrow) as (in the story of) the little female frog". Commentary :—A king had gone on a hunting. In the forest

1. Cf Garbe, ibid 221 ff.

2. Cf Mahābhārata XII, 178, 7 ff, and above I, 348, note, 358 and, translation, p. 405 note 3, p. 415.

he found a wonderfully beautiful girl. He asked her "Who are you ?" She replies : "I am a princess." The king says : "Extend to me your affection". She replies : "Yes, but only on the condition that you will never point to me water". The king agrees and marries her. After some time she feels fatigue in sport and asks the king, "Where is water ?" The king too does not remember of the condition on account of confusion and shows her water. But she, who is the daughter of a frog-king, through contact with water, again becomes a female frog And the king searches for her with nets, etc. to get her back, and suffers much grief, as she is not found[1]".

The oldest commentator of the Sāmkhyasūtra is Aniruddha, who wrote his Sāmkhyasūtravrtti[2] in about 1500 A D. In the middle of the 16th century Vijñānabhiksu wrote his Sāmkhyapravacanabhāsya[3] that is an excellent objective commentary on the sūtras. As a firm theist and believer in Vedānta he per force tries to impute his own views to the Sāmkhyasūtra. He tries also to effect a compromise between the common Brāhmanical ideas and those of Sāmkhya, whilst otherwise in Sāmkhya the mythological elements are of no importance[4]. He is also convinced that all the six orthodox systems preach the highest truth and supplement each other[5]. Vijñānabhiksu divides his teachings on emancipation into four parts that co respond to the four "noble truths" of the Buddhists,

1 Cf Mahābhārata III, 192 The tale belongs to the world literature, see Benfey, Pantschatantra I, 257 ff E Rohde, Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, N F 43, 1888, 303 ff

2 Ed and translated by R Garbe, Bibl Ind 1888, 1892 These editions are abridgements of the Sāmkhyavrttisāra of Vedāntin Mahādeva (end of the 17th century A D)

3 Ed F E Hall, Bibl Ind 1856, R Garbe, HOS, vol II, 1895, translated into German by R Garbe, AKM IX,3, Leipzig 1889, The Ākhyāyikādhyāya (IV) translated into English (with the text) in the Pandit N S 1, 445 ff

4 In the Ākhyāyikādhyāya itself the examples and illustrations are not those found in mythology, but they have been taken from common life or tales

5 It is less astonishing that Vijñānabhiksu, who was a monk, represents this view, (See also Keith, Sāmkya System, p 101) than the opinions of Max Muller (Six Systems, p XVII) and P Deussen, (Erinnerungen an Indien, Kiel and Leipzig 1904, p 176 f) who say that the six systems supplement each other and form a uniform philosophy of life Winternitz, Vol. III, 34

which obviously were borrowed by Buddhism, as by Sāmkhya, from Yoga. Vijñānabhikṣu himself admits that this division was originally borrowed from medical science in which are taught *roga* malady, *ārogya* health, *roganidāna* cause of disease and *bhaiṣajya* cure. Under the title Sāṁkhyasāra[1] Vijñānabhikṣu has given a small collection of the Sāmkhya-principles.

The Tattvasamāsa or the Tattvasamāsa-Sāṁkhyasūtra was written before the 16th century, but we do not know how much earlier. Max Müller[2] considers this work, that consists of only 54 words, to be an old sūtra, rather the oldest Sāmkhya-text; that is considered by Garbe to be wrong "on account of its wholly modern characteristics. However, it must be admitted that it had become considerably popular, since it had been commented upon so frequently.

Whilst Sāmkhya has had its origin independent of ideas regarding religious belief[3], the system of Yoga[4] came into

1. Ed by F E Hall, Bibl Ind 1865

2 Six Systems 224 ff, 242 ff, see Garbe, Sāmkhya-Philosophie 94 f and Keith, Sāmkhya System 89 ff Of the commentaries only the Sāmkhyakramadīpikā (wrongly attributed to Pañcaśikha) is available Text and commentary in J R Ballantyne, A Lecture on the Sāmkhya Philosophy, Mirzapur 1850) Of the other works of Sāmkhya only the following may be mentioned . Sāmkhyatattvapradīpa (text and English translation by Govindadeva Śāstrī in the Pandit, vols IX, X)

3 Nothing is more characteristic for it than the Sāmkhyakārikā 4, where only three means of knowledge (perception, inference and trustworthy expression) are prescribed, and the remarks made on it by Vācaspatimiśra. He says :

dṛṣṭamanumānamāptavacanam ca sarvapramānasiddhatvāt l
trividham prāmānamistam prameyasiddhi pramānāddhi ll

etacca laukikapramānābhiprāyam lokavyutpādanārthatvācchāstrasya tasyaivādhikārāt

Here the topic of discourse is only the worldly means of knowledge; since this manual aims only at (offering) explanation to man, and for this even only these means of knowledge are suitable The extraordinary knowledge of yogins and gods (that is not attained) cannot be like that of men of our type So although it exists, actually, for the present purpose, it is not included among the means of knowledge

4. On Yoga, cf R Garbe, Sāmkhya und Yoga (Grundriss III, 4), p 33 ff; P. Tuxen, Yoga en oversigt over den systematiskae Yoga—filosofi paa grundlag af kilderne, Kopenhagen 1911; Charpentier, ZDMG 65, 1911, 843 ff, Thomas, JRAS 1915, 537 f Poet Bhāsa already knew a Yogaśāstra, see above p 204 [Mircea Eliade—Yoga Immortality and Freedom, London 1958, originally published in French : Le yoga Immortalité et Liberté, Paris 1954 S N. Dasgupta, Yoga Philosophy in Relation to other Systems of Indian Thought, Calcutta, 1930 The Yogas Philosophy and Religion, London 1924 and A Study of Patañjali, Calcutta 1920 Roesel, Richard—Die psychologischen

being directly through religious necessity. As a matter of fact the origin of Yoga goes further back to the pre-Bhāhmaṇical and pre-Vedic religious ideas, that the people of early India maintained in common with the people of other countries. The word *yoga* originally meant so much as does the word "discipline[1]", especially disciplining of the will, with the intention of concentrating all thought at a single point, hence "submerging, concentration[2]," and the practice in the discipline of breathing (*prāṇāyāma*), of seating (*āsana*), and control over senses (*yama*) that should serve towards extricating all other things from the thought and towards concentrating it wholly on supersensual one with the intention of attaining in this manner supernatural knowledge and gaining influence over supersensuous forces[3]. This Yoga-practice is very primitive and reaches back to an age when there existed no essential distinction between a saint and a magician. The practice in Yoga was prevalent in India long before the Buddha—a thing that is evident from the fact that the Yoga-practices played a great rôle in ancient Buddhism[4]. The discipline regarding control of mind, that belongs to the Yoga-practices, comprises also of the moral relationship of man, so that Yoga in a certain sense is also "ethics" (*kriyāyoga*, "yoga of activity"). It is clear that this yoga-practice as well as as concentration and its preliminary steps too, the practical morality—can be associated with

Grundlagen der Yogapraxis, Stuttgart, 1928, Lind Quist Sigurd, Die Methoden des Yoga, Lund 1932; Daniélou, Alain . Yoga, the Method of Re-integration, London 1949, Masui, Jacques, ed Yoga, science de l'homme intégral Paris 1953 On Buddhist Yoga see Evans-wentz, W Y., Tibetan Yoga, etc London 1958]

[1. Cf Pāṇinian Dhātupāṭha—*yuj samādhau*]

2 According to J W Hauer, Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis, eine Untersuchung über die Wurzeln der indischen Mystik nach Rgveda und Atharvaveda, Berlin, Stuttgart, Leipzig 1922, p 7, 189 ff Yoga firstly means, "controlling witchcraft or god through magical formulas" etc. and just secondarily it means "disciplining of the spiritual force " In any case the first meaning does not come into consideration in the present context [although it is used in this sense in Modern India, particularly in Mithilā] See also Tuxen, Yoga 32 ff. and Charpentier, ibid 848

3 Th Goldstücker, Literary Remains, I 320 ff on the basis of N C Paul, that is Navinacandrapāla, A Treatise on the Yoga Philosophy, Benares 1851, gives a fine account of Yoga practices Cf also Oltramare, ibid 290 ff. 300 ff. and Hauer in the above-mentioned book

4 That this Indian Yoga had already taken root very early in China and had gained influence on Taoism has been shown to be probable by A Conrady, ZDMG 60, 1906, 338 ff [Cf Dasgupta History of Indian Philosophy Vol I, p 227.]

Vedānta as also with any other system of philosophy[1]. The fact, however, remains, what might always have been the basis—that the system of Yoga appears in closest contact with that of Sāmkhya, and these two systems differ essentially only on account of the Yoga-practices and belief in God (that are wanting in Sāmkhya). Cosmology, physiology, psychology and teachings about emancipation are considered from these two points of view in yoga in the same manner as in Sāmkhya Even the intercalation of belief in God in the Yoga-system appears to be unconnected. God (Īśvara) creates nothing and does not offer any reward or punishment. It is only the individual soul that stands in perpetual association with the minutest ingredients of matter and hence possesses strength, wisdom and excellence. The devotion to God appears to be just a part of the Yoga-morality: (*kriyā-yoga*). Among the cultured adherents of religious sects, who had faith in a personal gods, there was the necessity to lay a philosophical foundation for their religion, and this was found in Sāmkhya as well. Therefore, the Sāmkhyapravacana is also the common title for the Sāmkhyasūtra and for the Yogasūtra[2].

The Yogasūtra,[3] the primary work of the Yoga.

1 In the Āpastambīya-Dharmasūtra I, 8, 23, 5 Yoga appears to be be in association with Vedānta-ideas According to Deussen, AGPh, I, 3, 507 Yoga had directly been derived from Vedānta Among the Indian ascetics, as also among the Buddhists and Jainas, we find Yoga prevalent in one or another form

2 See Garbe, Sāmkhya-Philosophie, p 149 ff and DLZ 1922, Sp 103 and Jacobi, ibid Sp 266 ff on the belief in God in Yoga This Yoga-system is still further- mixed up with elements of Vedānta under the name "Sāmkhya-Yoga" that has become the philosophical basis for the philosophy of life, oscillating between theism and pantheism that we find in the Mahābhārata, in the Purānas and in the Manusmrti See above p 506, note 1 and Oltramare, ibid 302 ff Yoga is distinguished also as Seśvarasāmkhya ("theistic Sāmkhya") from aniśvarasāmkhya (atheistical Sāmkhya) [There is nothing here that can be used against the statement, of Dasgupta (ibid p 68) that Sāmkhya and Yoga are modifications of one single system, that he designates as "Kāpila Sāmkhya" and "Pātañjala Sāmkhya"]

3 Editions with the Vyāsabhāsya and the Tattvavaiśāradī of Vācaspatimisra by R Bodas, BSS 46, 1892 and also with Bhojadeva's Vrtti in ĀnSS No 47, 1904 J H Woods, The Yoga-System of Patañjali, HOS, Vol XVII, Cambridge Mass 1914, contains an English translation of the Yogasūtra, of the Vyāsabhāsya and of the Tattavavaisāradī Earlier English translations of the Yoga-text by J R Ballantyne and Govindadeva Śāstrī in the Pandit, vols III-VI, by Gangānātha Jhā, Bombay, 1907 and Rām Prasāda in the Sacred Books of, the Hindus 1910. The commentary Maniprabhā of Rāmānanda Yati edited in the

Tradition knows only One Patañjali who wrote also the Mahābhāsya and who had, in the legends, been made an incarnation of the snake-king Śesa. European scholars are inclined more towards the view that Patañjali, the author of the Mahābhāsya, could not be identical with the writer of the Yogasūtra[1]. But even if we admit that grammarian Patañjali had founded the Yogadarśana by bringing together into the Yogasūtra the teachings, it does not necessarily follow thence that this Yogasūtra has come down to us the form in which it was written in the 2nd century B C. The statement of Deussen[2] that the Yogasūtra was compiled from four different texts and that its fourth section was a later appendage is actually unconfirmed. But it may be probable, since the oldest commentary that has come to our notice contains many things that the old Yogasūtra of Patañjali did not have. The Yogasūtra consists of four sections : the first one deals with different types of meditation,

BenSS, No 75, English by J H Woods, JAOS, vol 34, 1915, 1-114 German translation of the Yogasūtra by P Deussen, AGPh I, 3, 511-543 [Also Hauer, J. W. Eine Uebersetzung der Yoga-Merkspruche des Patañjali mit dem Kommentar des Vyāsa, (Hamburg-Willhelmsburg 1931 Edition with the commentary Vyāsābhāsya and Bhāsvatī thereon, with a Bengali Translation by Hariharānanda Āranya, and Dharmamegha Āranya, Calcutta 1949]

1 See above, p 430 Liebich, Zur Einführung in die indische Sprachwissenschaft, I, p 7 ff, holds the identity of the two Patañjalis as apparent, Garbe, Bhagavadgītā, 2nd ed p 76, as possible, Deussen AGPh I, 3, p 508 leaves the question open, Woods, Yoga-System, p XV ff, Jacobi, GGA, 1919, 14 f, DLZ 1921, Sp 723, 1922, Sp 271 and Keith, The Karma-Mīmāmsā, p 5 have argued against their being identical Patañjali, however, is not a frequently recurring name The legends about him in Rājendralāla Mitra, Yogasūtras, Ed Preface p LXVI ff According to a tradition, he is said to have written also a medical work and is considered to be identical with Caraka, see Bodas in Athalye's Tarkasamgraha, Introduction, p 24, Dasgupta, ibid p 230 ff, firmly holds that the tradition that makes the two Patañjalis identical cannot be proved to have been current before the 11th century A D , as against this Woods has shown that the teachings of the Mabhābhāsya and those of the Yogasūtra are in agreement to such a measure that there is no necessity to separate them Alberūnī has translated into Arabic "Kitāb—Pātanjal" and quotes from it frequently This book was written in the form of a dialogue between a disciple and a teacher, and therefore, in any case, it was different from the Yogasūtra, and we are in a position to conclude from it, that it taught alchemy (Rasāyana) as a means of emancipation It does appear probable, as remarked by Dasgupta, that this book was written by a different Patañjali in between 300 and 400 A D He must have been much younger and was probably called only "Pātañjala, because it was a Yoga-text See also Garbe, Sāmkhya und Yoga, p 41 f

2. AGPh I, 3, 508 ff

the second one with the means thereof, the third one with the wonderful powers that can be attained through meditation and the fourth one with *kaivalya*, that describes emancipation as isolation of the Soul. [Dasgupta believes the first three books of the Yogasūtra to have been written in the 2nd century B.C. and the 4th book to have been added later. In the opinion of Keith the Yogasūtras of Book 4[1] contain clear polemics against Buddhism, and hence this book could not be of an age anterior to the 5th century A.D. Since the Yogasūtras are believed to contain an expression that alludes to the Yogācāra-philosophy of the Buddhists, these sūtras are considered to have been written in an age not before the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.[2] But the passage which is said to allude to this Yogācāra is of questionable authenticity, and in case Patañjali was the author of the work, probably, it is a composition of a century or two earlier[3].]

But the thing that we know as the Yoga-philosophy is really contained in the commentaries. The oldest commentary is the Yogabhāsya [seventh-eighth century], that is attributed to legendary Vyāsa. The very fact that even the commentary is assigned to the same old sage, whom tradition names as the author of the Mahābhārata and of the Purānas, points to its high antiquity. But he must be later than Vārṣagaṇya[4], whom he quotes. Vācaspatimiśra- [9th century A.D.] and Vijñānabhiksu[5] commented upon

[1. On this Book IV, see J. W Hauer (Das IV Buch des Yogasūtra etc Studia Indo-Iranica, Ehrengabe fur Wilhelm Geiger, pp 122 ff, Leipzig 1931]

[2 Cf Renou, L'Inde Classique § 1448.]

[3. Cf Jvālā Prasad The Date of the Yogasūtras, JRAS , 1930]

4 Woods, ibid, p XXf limits the age of the Yogabhāsya between 650 and 850 A.D But since Māgha (Śiśupālavadha 4, 55) knew the Bhāsya on the Yogasūtra, as admited by Woods, it must be older than Māgha, therefore, it was written before 650 A D Further as the system of calculation of numbers mentioned in the bhāsya is found first of all in Āryabhata (according to Thibaut, Astronomie, etc p 71), Vyāsa could not be greatly anterior to 500 A D All that we can say about this is. the Yogabhāsya was written sometime between 350 and 650 A D , probably in the 6th century A D.

5. Yogavārttika of Vijñānabhiksu, edited in the Pandit N.S Vols. 5 and 6 Vijñānabhiksu wrote also a small manual of Yoga, the Yogasamgraha, edited and translated into English by Gangānātha Jhā, Bombay 1894.

the Yogabhāsya. The Rājamārtanda,[1] attributed to Rājā Bhoja, is an excellent commentary on the Yogasūtra. It is a clear, but simple and sober, exposition (a vrtti and not a bhāsya) that many a time follows the commentary of Vyāsa, but in worth stands far behind it[2]. [As late as in the 16th century Rāmānanda wrote the commentary Maniprabhā Bhāsvatī is another commentary on the Yogabhāsya written by Hariharāranya]

Of later-day origin are the manuals on the Hathayoga, i.e. the "Severe Yoga[3]". They are practical hand-books for severe Yoga-practices, with accurate instructions about physical exercises, diet, breathing, etc. The most famous of these is the Haṭhayoga pradīpikā[4] of Svātmārāma in 395 stanzas Although the author was an ascetic, he bore the title Yogīndra, "king of yogins" and he likes not only allegorical and mythical references, but takes delight also in making occasional obscene allusions clothed in expressions having two meanings.

The Nyāya and Vaiśesika systems supplement each-other and finally merge into a single system in a different manner in which Sāmkhya and Yoga are associated. According to their very principle Nyāya and Vaiśesika are altogether independent of religious beliefs and they have the merit that entitles them to be designated as strict scientific systems of logic

1 Edited and translated [into English] by Rajendralāla Mitra, Bibl Ind 1883. Cf. Paul Markus, Die Yoga Philosophie nach dem Rājamārtanda dargestellt, Leipzig Diss, Halle a S. 1886 Other commentaries, see in Aufrecht, cc, p. 480 The Pātañjalasūtravrtti of Nāgeśabhaṭta was published in the Pandit, N S, vols 25-28

2 Garbe, Sāmkhya und Yoga (Grundriss), p 41

3 In opposition to this the Yoga of Patañjali, that essentially consists of meditation, is called "Rājayoga", see Garbe, ibid, p 42 f

4 Edited by Tookaram Taya and translated by Shrīnivās Iyāngār Bombay 1893, printed several times elsewhere too in India Translated from Sanskrit into German by Hermann Walter, Munich 1893, Diss Some other works on the Hathayoga are the Goraksaśataka and the Gherandā-Samhitā. [The Goraksa śataka has been edited by Briggs, G W, Calcutta 1938 and the Gheranda-Samhitā has been edited by Bhuvana Chandra Vasaka, Calcutta 1877, and translated into English by S C Vasu, Allahabad 1914 in S B H Another important work on Haṭhayoga in the Śiva-Samhitā, that has been edited and translated into English by S C Vasu, Allahabad, S B H 1914 A modern manual is the Haṭha yoga by Ramacharaka Yogi, London, date not given]

and theory of knowledge[1]. Nyāya means directly "rule", string of rules, maxims" for every kind of argumentation. The theologicians have their own nyāyas or "rules" for the interpretation of the sacred texts[2]; the lay scholars have their own "rules" (laukikanyāya) of the types mentioned above (p. 419) for common life. But disputations and formal learned discussions played an important part in the intellectual life of ancient India —we hear of such ones already in the Upanisads and in the ancient Buddhist texts—, that it was simply natural, that there developed a formal type of disputation and a system of dialectics. So Nyāyaśāstra gave origin to a system of rules for right thinking, inference and argumenting. The Vaiśesika system, that tries to explain nature independently of religious belief, in its character does not appear to be widely separated from the Lokāyata system. Nyāya and Vaiśesika constitute the secular philosophies of lay scholars, of nontheological pandits and of "heretics[3]." It is significant that in the development of these two systems both the Buddhists and the Jainas have had made abundant amount of contribution.

1. For a history of Nyāya and Vaiśesika, cf B. Faddegon, The Vaiśesika-System (above p. 466 note 2), R Bodas in the introduction to Athalye's edition of the Tarkasamgraha, BSS No 55; AB Keith, Indian Logic and Atomism, Oxford 1921, and S Ch. Vidyābhūsana in the Bhandarkar Com. Vol p. 155 ff. W. Freytag (Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie 29, 1905, 179 ff) has made a presentation and evaluation of the Indian theory of knowledge (on the basis of the Nyāyasūtra and its commentary) About Nyāya, he says that "here critical questions regarding the problems of knowledge are accurately and scientifically discussed L Suali in the journal "Isis", No. 8 (vol. III, 2), 1920, p. 219 ff makes a presentation of the theory of knowledge according to Nyāya and Vaiśesika Th de Stcherbatsky, Rapports entres la théorie bouddhique de la connaissance et de l'enseignment des autres écoles philosophiques de l'Inde (Muséon 1904, 129 ff) has returned to the same position. See also Suali, Introduzione Kap XVI

2 See above, p. 472 Thence, however, it does not follow that since the Mīmāmsakas were originally called "scholars of nyāyas", the Nyāya System developed from the Pūrvamīmāmsā System, as Bodas (ibid p. 27 ff) tries to prove and Keith, (ibid p. 10 f) too assumes The "rules" of exegesis and the "rules" for correct thinking and correct argumentation are still of different types, although both of them are called nyāya Dasgupta (ibid p. 276) too assumes that Nyāya and Pūrvamīmāmsā have had the same origin, especially the topics relating to disputation and debate about the correct interpretation of the Vedic texts In the Upanisads, such debates, according to Dasgupta, are referred to by the word *ākovākyā*

3. Then there are those who depend on the Hetuśāstra and on the Tarkaśāstra, that is to say those who are devoted to the study of the systems of logic and dialectics They are not referred to in respectful terms in orthodox Brāhmanical literature. Thus according to Manu II, 11 he who despises the

The tradition unanimously names Aksapāda Gotama[1], (also called Gautama,) as the founder of the Nyāyadarśana and author of Nyāyasūtras[2]. [But Gotama is the name of a ṛṣi that was borne by several persons.] Whether we consider gotama to be a mythical personality or the real author-founder of the system, it is substantially of the same value. [It may here be added that Śatīśa Chandra Vidyābhūsana considers Aksapāda and Gotama to be two different persons.] This much is certain that we know nothing about the author of the Nyāyasūtra, that is said to have been written by Gotama, and it cannot be confirmed whether it is the work of a school and not of one person. This is also true that we do not have the present work in its original form, and in the form it exists, it includes obvious alterations and additions[3]. It is divided

revelation and tradition (Śruti and Smṛti) and depends exclusively on the Hetuśāstra is to be excluded from noble society

yo amanyeta te mūle hetuśāstrāśrayāddvijah |
sa sādhubhirbahiṣkāryo nāstiko vedanindakah ||

This stanza is current among the Brāhmanas and panḍitas (and is found in Sarvasiddhāntasangraha 6, 41 too).

"I would rather like to be reborn as a jackal in Vrndāvana than attain emancipation according to the principles of Vaiśesika (see Vanamāli Vedāntatīrtha, JASB 1, 1905, 251 f). See also Vidyābhūsana, Bhandarkar, Comm., Vol., p 159.] As against this in Mithilā and in Bengal, Nyāya-scholars enjoy higher respect than do scholars of any other discipline.]

1. In an inscription of the middle of the 12th century A D, he is mentioned as Āngirasa, Ep. Ind I, 197, 204. According to Garbe (Sāmkhya-Philosophie 174) originally Aksapāda was probably a nickname "the eye-footed", that is to say "he whose eyes (in constant thinking) were set in the feet". His another name probably is Gautama, spelt also as Gotama, according to Keith, ibid, p 19. Gautama is the older form.

2. Text with Vātsyāyana's commentary edited in Bibl Ind 1865 and in VizSS, IX, 1896, [with a recently written commentary Prasannapadā of Sudarśanācārya, published by the commentator, Gujarātī Press, Bombay 1922.] Sanskrit and English by Ballantyne, Allahabad 1850, by Kesava Śāstrī in the Pandit N S vol 2 [Text with an English Translation by S C. Vidyābhūsana, Allahabad 1913.] With extracts from commentaries translated into English by Gangānātha Jhā in the Indian Thought, vols IV, V, 1912, 1913. [The originator of Nyāya, according to S Ch Vidyābhūsana, was Medhātithi Gotama (550-500 B C.) and Aksapāda was the author of the Nyāyasūtra who lived in about 150 B C. This statement has the support of Vātsyāyana and Uddyotakara—Devarāja, Bhāratīyadarsana kā Itihāsa, p 214-216. The text with translation, annotations and a glossary by Walter Ruben, Leipzig 1928.]

3. Haraprasād Śāstrī (JASB 1905, 245 ff) tries to prove that the Nyāyasūtra was compiled by putting together the three different texts that had originated at different times and that it has undergone alterations by additions of portions from other philosophical systems. The text of the sūtras (contrary to the sūtra-text of the other philosophical systems) have been preserved very badly; there are variant readings and many of the sūtras have been mentioned in the commentary itself as not genuine. See also Faddegon, ibid 43, 46 f.

into five books; the first two books are on logic, theory of knowledge and dialectics; the third book is on psychology, the fourth one is on rebirth and emancipation and the fifth book is a subsequent appendage. It is naturally impossible to determine the date of such a work. When Suali[1] assumes that the Nyāyasūtra was written in between 300 and 350 A D., this may be so only for the last redaction of the work, since the old Sūtra might be going further back to an earlier age. [It may here be noted that in the Carakasamhitā we find certain theories that are connected with those of the Nyāyasūtras and this Carakasamhitā is older than the redaction of the Nyāyasūtras. These theories contain sufficient number of data to prove that before the Nyāyasūtra and the commencement of the Christian era, or rather even earlier, there existed currents of speculations on reasoning and in the Nyāyabhāsya there is an allusion to certain other Nyāya schools[2].]

The Nyāyasūtrabhāsya[3] of Paksilasvāmin Vātsyāyana (c. 300 A.D.) is a very old commentary on the Nyāyasūtra. This bhāsya has certain similarity with the Mahābhāsya of Patañjali, inasmuch as it too consists of short sūtra-like sentences that like the Vārttika of Kātyāyana complete the sūtras or extend further their subject-matter[4]. A

1. Introduzione 14 Cf, as against him, P Masson-Oursel, JA. 1913, p 11, t II p II p 423 ff A B Dhruva (Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona 1920, vol I, p. LXXXVIII ff) tries to prove that logic begins already in the pre-Buddhist age, and that as a science it was settled before 300 B C and that the Sūtra was written in about 200 B C Garbe (ERE VIII, p 423) fixes the date of the Sūtra at about 150 B C The statement of S. Ch Vidyābhūsana (JRAS 1918, 469 ff, and otherwise in the Bhandarkar Comm. Vol p. 161 f), that Gautama wrote one Tarkaśāstra in about 550 B C, that was perhaps different from the Nyāyasūtra of Aksapāda (according to him 150 A D.) remains totally unproved. It is remarkable that the principles of Nyāya and Vaiśesika formed the basis of the oldest medical work, the Carakasamhitā (see Jacobi, SBA 1911, 732 note, 736 note).

[2 Cf Renou, L'Inde Classique §1461, Surendra Nath Dasgupta. History of Indian Philosophy, Vol I p 302 and Walter Ruben, zur indischen Erkenntnis theory-Die Lehre von der Nyāyasūtra III, 1, being the Introduction to his edition of the Nyāyasūtras On the contents of the different chapters see Renou, ibid § 1465.]

3 Cf E. Windisch, Ueber das Nyāvabhāsya, Leipzig 1888, [A fine study of the work is Moritz Spitzer, Begriffsuntersuchungen zum Nyāyabhāsya, Kiel, 1926]

4. Windisch, ibid, p. 15, believes that in respect of time the Nyāvabhāsya can be taken to be near the Mahābhāsya However, these small sentences are not called Vārttikas in the Nyāya-traditions.

commentary on the Nyāyabhāsya is the Nyāyavārttika[1] of Pāśupatācārya Bhāradvāja, who is better known under the name Uddyotakara, "the light-maker". Again Vācaspatimiśra[2] wrote a commentary, the Nyāyavārttikatātparyatīkā[3], on the Nyāyavārttika and this work was further commented upon by Udayana in the Tātparyaśuddhi These five works, the Nyāyasūtra with the four commentaries and sub-commentaries form the orthodox Nyāyaśāstra. Vācaspatimiśra says in his commentary .

atha bhagavatā akṣapādena niḥśreyasāhetau śāstre praṇīte vyutpādite ca bhagavatā pakṣilasvāminā kimaparamavaśiṣyate yadartham vārttikārambhaḥ yadyapi bhāṣyakārtā tattvavyutpādanam etat dinnāgaprabhṛtibhirvaiyāsikair kutarkatamastamasasamutthāpanenācchāditam śāstram na tattvanirṇayāya paryāptam ityuddhotakarena svabandhoddyotena tadatvaṃjyata iti prayojanāramabhaḥ ||

"The venerable Akṣapāda composed the śāstra, that aims at guiding one to salvation and it was annotated by Paksilasvāmin. What now still remains to be done is composition of a Vārttika. Although the author of the Bhāsya has given an elucidation of the śāstra, later-day scholars, like Dignāga and others, have veiled it in the dark of delusive arguments in such a way that the annotation is not sufficient for the purpose of determination of the truth Therefore, Uddyotakara tries to dispel the darkness with his work Uddyota, "light". Vācaspatimiśra, who lived in about 850 A.D. mentions Dignāga, who did not live later than 500 A.D as a "moderner", in comparison to Paksilasvāmin, the author of the Bhāsya In case Vācaspatimiśra had the correct information, the duration of the interval between Dignāga and Paksilasvāmin must have been considerable, and,

1 Published in the Bibl Ind 1907 On the theory of knowledge according to the Nyāyavārttika, see V, Chakravartti, JASB 6, 1910, 289 ff [Edition also in the ChSS, 1916]

2 Vācaspatimiśra is also the author of the Nyāyasūcīnibandha, that is dated 841 A D , see above p 490 note4 The Tātparyatīkā has been mentioned by Vācaspatimiśra in his Sāmkhyatattvakaumudī

3 Edited in the VizSS XII, 1898 [by Gangādhara Śāstrī Tailanga) and Part I also by Rajeśvara Śāstrī Drāvida, ChSS 1925, Edited with Nyāyadarśana, Nyāyabhāsya and Vārttika by Amrendra Mohan Tarkatīrtha and Taranath Nyāya-Tarkatīrtha, Calcutta 1936]

therefore, the latter may have been living in about 350 A.D.[1] This Uddyotakara, who is mentioned by poet Subandhu, quotes the Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti, who lived in about 635 A.D. and who in his turn refers to Uddyotakara. It is, therefore, very likely that Uddyotakara, poet Subandhu and Dharmakīrti were contemporaries and lived in the first-half of the 7th century A.D.[2] [Another important work of Vācaspati, the Nyāyasūcī nibandha[3], is an index of the Nyāyasūtras.] Udayana, who is held in high esteem on account of his contributions to the study of Nyāya and Vaiśesika, wrote his book [the Nyāyavārttikatātparya pariśuddhi in the 10th century A.D., since one of his works is dated 984A.D.]

Udayana is also the author of the Kusumāñjali or Nyāyakusumāñjali (a handful of blossoms of the Nyāya-tree[4]) in 72 memorial stanzas in which the existence of God is sought to be proved from the standpoint of Nyāya-Vaiśesika. Herein he refutes in particular the atheistic teachings of the Mīmāmsakas[5] and also the theories of causation of Vedānta, of Sāmkhya and of the Buddhists. Against the Buddhists he wrote his own polemic work the Bauddhadhikkāra (fie on the Buddhists) or Ātmatattvaviveka[6], in which there

1 According to S Ch Vidyābhūsana (Int Ant 44, 1915, 82 ff Vātsyāyana is older than even Vasubandhu He fixes his date as about 400 A D

2 See above p 51 and Vidyābhūsana (JRAS 1914, 601 ff) who proves that Uddyotakara, Dharmakīrti and Vinītadeva were contemporaries, and were living in about 635-650

[3 Notes from this work given by Gangānātha Jhā Indian Thought, 1912-1919]

4 Edited with the commentary of Haridāsa and translated into English by E B Cowell, Calcutta 1864 Edited also in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, 1888-95 On Udayana's proof of the existence of God see Keith, Indian Logic, p 266 ff Cf also K T Telang, Ind Ant 1, 1872 297 ff, 353 ff [Edited with the commentary of Vardhamāna and a gloss of Ruci datta by Laksmana Śāstrī Drāvida, ChSS, 1912, English translation by Gopīnātha Kavirāja, Benares 1923 Vol I, Books 1 and 2 translated into English by Swami Ravi Tirtha, Adyar 1946, Hindī commentary Parimalā of Viśvesvara, ChSS, Vārānasī 1962]

5 The staunch orthodox people, that is the Mīmāmsakas, who believe in the Vedas, were often equally aetheist and in this respect they would be with the Buddhists Cutting is the remark of Varāhamihira (Yogayātrā 14, 24) that under the influence of certain constellations was killed a wicked hero, like the holy influence of a holy place in the presence of Mīmāmsakas and Buddhists

6 Published under this title, Calcutta, 1849 and 1873 Cf. Bodas, ibid p 30 f [Also edited with the commentaries of Śankaramiśra, Bhagīrattha thakkura, Raghunātha śiromani, Mathurānātha Tarkavāgīśa, etc. in the Bib Ind Series, 1907,

exist several commentaries. Paṇḍitas narrate a beautiful anecdote about this Udayana. Once the famous logician went on pilgrimage to the temple of Jagannātha and found the gate of the temple closed on his arrival. At this he got very much angry and hurled at the God the words :—

aiśvaryamadamattosi māmavajñāya tiṣthase l
bauddheṣu samāyāteṣu madadhīnā tava sthitih ll

"You are maddened with the pride of your godship and want to ignore me? When the Buddhists rise up, your existence depends upon me."

The above-mentioned [seven] works, to which we may perhaps further add a pair of commentaries, form the "old school" of logic. Dignāga, the great Buddhist logician introduces the "materialistic logic", that has been refuted chiefly by Buddhist and Jaina scholars[1]. Many of these are now available only in their Tibetan translations In the whole of the Buddhist world Dignāga is famous as a great philosopher. I-tsing has given him the respectful name "Jina" and mentions him as the master of hetuvidyā[2]. His works, the Handbook of Logic,

also by Jayanārāyana Tarkapañcānana and Madana Mohana Tarkālamkāra, Calcutta Sanskrit Press 1849) Ātmatattvaviveka with the commentaries of Raghunātha and Śankara Misra, edited by Rājesvara Śāstrī Drāvida ChSS 63 1927]

1 On this compare S Ch Vidyābhūsana, History of Mediaeval School of Indian Logic, Calcutta 1909 The works of the Buddhists and Jainas on Nyāya and Vaisesika are profane and have nothing to do with Buddhism or Jainism See, however, Mrs Rhys Davids, ERE VIII, 132 f The age of Dignāga is usually given as 500 A D (see Vidyābhūsana, ibid p 78 ff and Suali, Introduzione 42 ff), [and S N Dasgupta and S K De, HSL I, Introduction p IX] R G Bhandarkar (JBRAS 20, 1900, 406) puts him in about 400 A D , and likewise Keith, Indian Logic, p 27, in consonance with Tārānātha's statement that Dignāga was a disciple of Vasubandhu Mallinātha and several modern scholars with him have seen in the Meghadūta (I, 14) an allusion to Dignāga, see G Huth, Die Zeit des Kālidāsa, p 54 ff , FW Thomas, JRAS (1918, 118 ff),and they makes him a contemporary of Kālidāsa Winternitz does not believe in this allusion [On Buddhist Logic important contributions are . Guiseppe Tucci—Translation of the Nyāyamukha of Dignāga the Oldest Buddhist Text on Logic, MKB, Heidelberg, 1930, Pre-Dignāga Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources, Baroda 1929 and Buddhist Logic before Dignāga, JRAS, 1929, English translation of the Chinese Version of the Vigrahavyāvarttanī of Nāgārjuna and of the Śata-sāstra of Āryadeva, GOS 49]

2 Takakusu, I-tsing, pp 181 f, 184, 186 Dignāga and Dharmakīrti give to the Buddhists a new philosophy with logic, psychology and theory of knowledge, see La Vallée Poussin, JRAS 1902, 365. Dignāga had great influence with the scholars of Japan and China, see Haraprasād Śāstrī, JASB, 1905, 177 ff

Pramāṇasamuccaya[1], the Nyāyapraveśa[2], that deals with inference etc., are known only in Tibetan translations. Śankarasvāmin of South India was a disciple of Dignāga and he wrote one Nyāyapraveśatarka śāstra, that was translated into Chinese in 647 A.D. A disciple of Dharmapāla, who became the head of the university of Nālandā before 635 A.D., was Dharmakīrti, about whom I-tsing says that he effected improvements in logic according to Dignāga. He was born in a Brāhmanical family, but in his youth he became a Buddhist convert. He appears to have composed poetry too[3]. Whilst Uddyotakara[4] refutes the views of Dignāga, Dharmakīrti whose theories are refuted by Vācaspatimiśra, addresses his polemics against Uddyotakara. The Nyāyabindu[5] of Dharmakīrti is available in its original Sanskrit and his Pramāṇāvārttikakārikā (with a commentary on it) is known only through a Tibetan translation. Dharmottara, who

1 Quotations from this work have been located by La Vallée Poussin (JRAS, 1902, 365) in the Nyāyaratnākara (published in the ChSS), a commentary on the S'lokavārttika On the contents of this work, see Vidyābhūsana, Indian Logic, p 82 ff [Fragments from Dignāga, ed and translated into English by H. N Randle, London 1926, and Pramāṇasamuccaya, edited and restord into Sanskrit from the Tibetan translation with Vṛtti, Mysore Govt. Branch Press 1930]

2 On the Tibetan translations of the Nyāyapraveśa and the Hetucakrahamaru of Dignāga, see Vidyābhūsana, JASB 3, 1907, 609 ff. and 627 ff. and Indian Logic, p 89 ff,, On Dignāga too, the same JASB 1, 1905 217 ff. [Nyāyapraveśa I, Sanskrit text, edited and reconstructed by N D Mironov. T'oung Pao, sèr II, 28 (1-24) Text in Roman of the sūtras recovered from Haribhadra's commentary and the Tibetan and Chinese translations]

3. Stanzas composed by him are cited in Ānandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka III, 41, 54 (Jacobi's translation, p 134 f.) and in anthologies, see Peterson, Subh. 46 ff and Thomas 47 ff.

4 See above p. 525 note 2 The Vādanyāya by Dharmakīrti and the Vādanyāyaṭīkā by Vinītadeva are preserved only in the Tibetan translation.

5. The Nyāyabindu and the Nyāyabinduṭīkā were edited by Peterson, Bibl. Ind 1889 See also Peterson, JBRAS 17, 1889, Part II, p 47 ff; K B Pathak, JBRAS 18, 1891-1892, 88 ff, 229, Haraprasād Śāstrī, Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts in Sanskrit, Bibl. Ind. 1910, has edited several small treatises on individual topics of Buddhist logic of Ratnakīrti and of Pandit Aśoka (both in the middle of the 9th century A D. and a discussion on syllogism by Ratnakāra Śānti [Nyāyabinduh with the ṭīkā of Dharmottara, edited with notes in Sanskrit by Chandra Shekhar Shastri, ChSS, 1924; translation of the text and and the commentary into Russian by Th Stcherbatsky, St Petersburg 1903. Tibetan translation by Stcherbatsky, Bibl. Buddhica, 1918.]

lived in Kashmir[1] towards the end of the 8th century A.D., wrote one Nyāyabinduṭīkā, that is available in Sanskrit. On this last work, Jaina Mallavādin, apparently a younger contemporary of Dharmottara, wrote a commentary[2]. Among the Jainas prominent are Siddhasena Divākara, who wrote a systematic work Nyāyāvatāra[3] in 32 stanzas, and famous Hemacandra, who wrote a work on logic, the Pramāṇamīmāṃsā[4] in the sūtra-style. The Parīkṣāmukhasūtra[5] of Digambara Jaina Mānikya Nandin is a famous Nyāya work, on which Anantavīrya wrote a commentary in the 11th century A.D. Mānikya might have been influenced by Akalaṅkadeva (7th century A.D.[6]), by which the age of the work gets limited. Jaina Yaśovijaya Nyāyavisārada (about 1608-1688[7]) wrote a large number of works on Nyāya. The Brāhmanical logician Bhāsarvajña, the author of the handbook Nyāyasāra (about 900 A.D.[8]), stands under the influence of the Buddhists and of the Jainas. This work is influenced also by Vaiśeṣika and manifests strong Śaiva tendencies.

The "New School" of logic—Navanyāya or the school of Navadvīpa (Nuddea) in Bengal [also called Navyanyāya]—

1 Hultzsch, ZDMG 69, 1915, 278 f., proves on the authority of the Rājatarangiṇī 4, 498 that Dharmottara was a contemporary of Jayāpīda Vidyābhūsana, Indian Logic p. 131, puts him in about 487 A.D.

2 Nyāyabinduṭīkāṭippaṇi of Mallavādīn, edited by Th. Stcherbatsky, Bibliotheca Buddhica, XI, St. Petersburg 1909. It is to the credit of the Jainas, who never shunned to utilize the works of the people belonging to a different faith (see Bühler, WZKM 10, 1896, 329 f.), that the Nyāyabindu and the Nyāyabinduṭīkā are available to us in Sanskrit. Since Mallavādin wrote the commentary they were particular about copying it.

3 Ed. by S. Ch. Vidyābhūsana, Calcutta 1908, translated in Research and Review, I, 1908, 109-122. Vidyābhūsana, Indian Logic 13 ff. places Siddhasena in about 533 A.D., see also Suali, Introduzione, p. 38 f. [Published also by Jaina Publishing House, Arrah.]

[4 Edited with the author's commentary by Motīlāla Lādhājī, Poona, Jaina Printing Works, 1925.]

5 Edited with commentary by S. Ch. Vidyābhūsana, Calcutta 1909, Bibl. Ind. On the contents of this work see ibid., Logic, p. 28 ff.

6 See above II, 352, note 2, trans. p. 482, note 6. Vidyābhūsana, ibid., p. 28, places Mānikya in about 800 A.D.

7 On him Vidyābhūṣana, JASB 6, 1910, 463 ff.

8. With the commentary Nyāyatātparyadīpikā of Jayasimha Sūri, edited by S. Ch. Vidyābhūsana, Calcutta 1910, Bibl. Ind. Cf. Suali, Introduzione, p. 59 f.

begins with the Nyāya-Tattvacintāmaṇi[1], briefly called Cintāmaṇi, a systematic representation of Nyāya, of Gangeśa (or Gangeśvara) [Upādhyāya of Mithilā] at the end of the 12th century. The book consists of four sections on the four means of knowledge—Perception, Inference, Analogy and Authority, [that is *pratyakṣa, anumāna, upamāna* and *śabda.*] It is a classical work on Nyāya written in clear and simple prose and forms the starting point for an unending commentary literature[2]. Whilst, however, Gaṅgeśa is still a philosopher, this "new school" was, according to him, the place of shelter for most unsuccessful scholiastics. "Here" says R. Bodas[3] "we find scholiastics in the fullest blossoms and real philosophy at the lowest depth". R. G. Bhandarkar[4] too is of the opinion that this fashionable science has pushed aside the Nyāya-system of Gotama and Vātsyāyana.

[This criticism of the Navyanyāya system, obviouly made by scholars who had not taken pains to penetrate intot he relevant treatises, is wholly unjustified. This branch of discipline is as much connected with the Nyāyasūtra of Gautama as any other work of that branch of knowledge, since Navyanyāya tries

1. Published with copious extracts from commentaries by Kāmākhyānātha Tarkavāgīśa in the Bibl Ind 1888-1901; with the commentary of Rucidatta in the Pandit Vols. VI-VIII See also Burnell, Tanjore 113ff. and Suali, Introduzione 64 ff H. Jacobi, Die indische Logik, NGGW 1901, 460 ff, a brilliant presentation of Nyāya, is based on the Tattvacintāmani [One part of a critical edition has been recently brought out by the Mithilā Research Institute, Darbhanga, 1958].

2 To the chief works belong the commentary Tattvacintāmanidīdhiti of Raghunātha Śiromani (beginning of the 16th century) and the commentary on the Dīdhiti of Gadādhara (end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries AD), the Gādādharī (edited in the ChSS Nos 186, 187). An old commentary on Gangeśa is that of the poet Jayadeva, the author of Prasannarāghava; see Keith, Indian Logic, p 33 f. Varddhamāna, son of Gaṅgeśa, wrote a commentary on his father's work and also his own treatises

This "New School of Logic" attracted students of all the institutions of Sanskrit learning, so much so that in the beginning of the 16th century, the tolas or Sanskrit schools of Navadvīpa became the central point of learning in India, see Dinesh Ch Sen, Bengali Language and Literature, Calcutta 1911, 409ff, 693 [The real centres of learning of Nyāya were in Mithilā, the birth place of Gangeśa, and upto the middle ages scholars even from Navadvīpa came to Mithilā for completion of their studies]

3. Ibid p 43.

4. Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona 1919, Vol I, p 14. See also M. Ch Nyāyaratna, Brief Notes on the Modern Nyāya System of Philosophy and its Technical Terms (Read at the IX. Int. Congress of Orientalists 1891) Calcutta, 1891. [A scientific work is H H Ingalls, materials for the study of Navyanyāya Logic, HOS, 1951.]

mainly to discuss the sources of knowledge (pramāna) of Gautama in its different aspects, and that purely on the basis of valid reasoning. But the real difficulty of non-traditional Sanskritists in following the discussions is on account of the unusual style and verbose expressions adopted by the authors with the sole intension of giving an accurately scientific description of the subject-matter in these treatises They define a thing in terms of its constituents. Thus a cow (*gauh*) is one that has the constituents of a cow: so for *gauh* one will say *gotvāvacchinna* But this is not all. To understand what *gauh* is we are to understand also what *gauh* is not; etc Hence a thing that in common parlance may be expressed in a single work of two syllables may require a long compound word occupying even dozens of lines as the speaker may chose, his attitude depending upon the extent of accuracy in expression that may be aimed at by him]

But there are works on logic that have been written according to the old school even during later centuries. Such one is the Tārkikarakṣā[1], consisting of kārikās and a commentary of Varadarāja, a presentation of the Nyāya system according to Gotama. This work is younger than Kumārila, but older than Mādhava, who cites it in his Sarvadarśanasangraha. The Nyāyamañjarī[2] of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, who polemises against Pūrvamīmāmsā, too is an exposition of the Nyāyasūtra The Nyāyakośa[3] is out right a modern and extraordinarily useful work. It is a dictionary of technical terms of Nyāya that were collected together by Pandit Bhīmācārya Jhalakīkar in 1874 under the direction of G. Buhler and F. Kielhorn.

We are not able to say whether Nyāya or Vaiśasika[4] is

1 Published with commentary in the Pandit N S Vols 21-25 Cf Bhandarkar, Report 1883-84, p 81 and V Chakravartti, JASB 6, 1910, p 297

2 Published in VizSS V, 1895, see Keith, Indian Logic 33, The Karma-Mīmāmsā 15 f

3 BSS No 49 A very much enlarged second edition appeared in 1893 A D.

4. Vaiśesika is "the system that deals with distinctive characteristics (*viśeṣa*)," a thing that apparently indicates that in this system the multiplicity found in nature is classified under 6 categories—substance, quality, activity, generality, difference and inherence, [*dravya, guna, karma, sāmāmya, viśeṣa* and *samavāya*, a seventh category absence, *abhāva*, was added later] On the Vaiśeṣika Philosophy see Jacobi, ERE II, 199 ff.; see Atomic Winternitz, Vol III, 35

older of the two, and from this point the two systems cannot be differentiated[1] with certainty. In Nyāya we find the theory of the origin of the earth from atoms that has been developed in Vaiśesika; whilst on the other hand we find in Vaiśesika the classification of logical concepts that belongs to Nyāya. Both the systems, like Sāmkhya, stand on the ground of probability, and Vaiśesika is essentially an attempt towards a physical explanation of the world. It is not improbable that it is merely an aberration from the Lokāyata. In the Kalpanāmandanikā of Aśvaghosa Vaiśesika-theories are refuted[2]. In the Sūyagadaṁga of the Jainas, among the heretic theories, have been enumerated two materialistic theories, one of which appears to be a popular form of Vaiśesika. On the other hand the Jainas have participated actively in the study of the Vaiśeṣika and they posit that the Vaiśesika Philosophy was founded by one of their schismatics, namely one Chaluya Rohagutta of the Kauśikagotra. Between Jaina Philosophy and Vaiśesika there exists really a very close relationship. Thus both of them teach the *kriyāvāda*, that is they hold that the soul is influenced by the activities, sorrows etc. (as against the *akriyāvāda* of Vedānta, Sāmkhya, Yoga and Buddhism, according to which either the soul does not exist or is not influenced by action). Both of them teach that the effect is different from the material cause and that the attribute is different from a substance[3]. We may add to it that Buddhist logic is apparently an early aberration of Vaiśesika[4], and in that case, the hypothesis, that the age

Theory, W Handt, Die atomistische Grundlage der Vaiśesika-Philosophie, Rostock 1900, B Faddegon, The Vaiśeṣika-System, (see above p 466, note 2) and A B Keith, (see above p 520 note 1).

1. Faddegon, ibid p. 10 ff, believes that the last recension of the Vaiśeṣikasūtra is older than that of the Nyāyasūtra and in other respects he endorses the view of Jacobi and Suali who place the Vaiśesikasūtra in between 250 and 300 A D and the Nyāyasūtra in between 300 and 350 A D.

2. Also in the appendix to Chapter VIII of Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakosa, see Stcherbatsky, The Soul Theory of the Buddhists, p 040 ff

3. Cf Jacobi, SBE, vol 45, pp XXIV f, XXXII ff, XXXVII f, and F. Leumann, Ind Stud. 17, 91 ff. Jacobi, however, does not believe there have been borrowings, but he thinks there took place a strong exchange of ideas between the two systems.

4. So Jacobi, NGGW 1901, 482, 484 Stcherbatsky, on the contrary, admits that the logic of the Buddhists had influenced Prasastapāda. Cf Suali, Introduzione p 46; Bodas, ibid, p 17. There is no trace in the Upanisads of the atom-theory that characterises the Vaisesika system. In Vedānta, Sāmkhya and Yoga this theory has been refuted.

of origin of Vaiśesika was earlier than that of the origin of the Jaina canons and of the Buddhist philosophy—approximately about the second century B C., does not lose its weight.

The Vaiśesikasūtra[1], the authorship of which is attributed to Kāśyapa Kanāda[2], the basic work of the Vaiśesika system, in its modern form is clearly not so old[3]. As it exists at present it is, of course, absolutely a Brāhmanical work with religious and ethical tendencies It begins even like an outright religious manual with the words .—

athāto dharmam vyākhyāsyāmāh

"Now we shall describe religion (*dharma*) and dharma is defined as the one through which salvation is attained [*yato nihśreyasasiddhih sa dharmah.*] In the following sūtra the Veda is declared to be the highest authority. Immediately after follows the theory of category, and by far the greater portion of the ten sections that consitute the work is devoted to the exposition of matter, space, time, psychology, theory of atom, perception, inference, causation, etc., whilst

1. Ed with comm in Bibl Ind 1861; with the commentary of Prasastapāda and the Gloss of Udayanācārya, BenSS 1885 ff English translation by A E Gough in the Pandit, vols III-VI German translation by E Röer, ZDMG 21, 1867, 309 ff, 22, 1868, 383 ff The edition in the Bengali script (Kanāda's sūtras and a commentary by Gangādhara Kaviratna), Berhampore 1868, differs strongly from that published in the Bibl Ind (according to Taddegon, ibid, p 23) A Barth (RHR 27, 277= Oeuvres II, 141 f) very much praises the edition of Candrakānta Tarkālamkāra with his own commentary (Calcutta 1877), in which he tries to bring Vaiśesika in agreement with Western Physics Cf R Stube, Die naturphilosophischen Anschauungen im altindischen Denken (Annalen der Naturphilosophie 8, 1909, 483 ff), who finds overwhelming correspondences between Kanāda and the Physicist L Arrhenius

2 The name Kanāda (synonyma —Kanabhuj and Kanabhaksa) means "eater of corn-particles" According to a tradition he got this name because as an ascetic he lived on picked up corns, [left scattered in the fields] "Eater of grain-particles" could also be a name for the "owl" (ulūka) The Vaiśesika-darsana is called also Aulūkyadarsana, i e "Philosophy of the Owl", and there goes a story that Śiva, in the form of an owl, revealed this system (see Peterson, 3 Reports 26 ff) It has also been assumed that Kanāda was an epithet that could mean as well "atom-eater" Cf Bodas ibid, p 22, Suali, Introduzione p 22, Jacobi, SBE, vol 45, p XXXVII ff, SBE, vol 45, p XXXVII f, Garbe, Sāmkhya-Philosophie 167 Kāśyapa, as a name of Kanāda, occurs in an inscription, Ep Ind 1, 44

3. Dasgupta, Ibid, p 280 holds it as wholly certain that the Vaisesikasūtra was written before Caraka, whom he places in about 80 A D , since Caraka cites not only a sūtra from the Vaiśesikasūtra, but the entire basis of his medical system is founded on Vaiśesika The Lankavatārasūtra knows the atom-theory Winternitz expresses his inability to follow Dasgupta (ibid p 280 ff) when he tries to prove that Vaiśesika was pre-Buddhist and that it had evolved from an old school of the Pūrvamīmāmsā.

the teachings on theology and ethics and reference to the Veda are inserted in a few places only. There can hardly be any doubt that here an originally unadulterated secular scientific work has just superficially been converted into an orthodox Brāhmanical text. The entire composition of the sūtras is very irregular; however, it is clear that the original plan was to provide a theory regarding the categories[1].

An older commentary on the Vaiśesikasūtra has not come down to us[2], since the bhāsya Padārthadharmasamgraha[3] of Praśastapāda is itself an independent work, with a new systematic arrangement of materials, in which the categories (*padārtha*) in general and then each of the individual categories are treated. As Praśastapāda calls Kaṇāda a *muni*, the latter must have lived long before him. He is older than Uddyotakara and would not have been widely separated in respect of time from Dignāga[4]. The Praśastapādabhāsya is claimed by both the Vaiśesikas and the adherents of Nyāya. Śrīdhara wrote in 991 A.D. a commentary Nyāyakandalī[5], briefly called also Kandalī, on the Praśastapādabhāsya. This is the first Vaiśesika-text in which theism seems to have been formulated first of all. In respect of this and in that of the assumption of non-existence (*abhāva*) as a category, he is in agreement with logician Udayana, who wrote on the work of Praśastapāda an elaborate treatise the Kiraṇāvalī, on which in turn have been written several commentaries[6].

1. According to Faddegon, ibid, p. 21 ff, the Vaiśeṣikasūtra is not the work of a single person, but of several generations of scholars. [The translation of *dharma* as religion is not accurate.]

2 Bhāradvājavṛttibhāsya is considered to be an old commentary, a thing that according to Faddegon, ibid, 34 ff., is not correct.

3. Edited with the Nyāyakandalī by V P. Dvivedin in the VizSS 1895 and translated by Gangānātha Jhā, in the Pandit, N.S vols 25-34. Cf. also Peterson, 3 Reports 26 ff., 261, 272 ff [A portion of the work with commentaries, edited by Gopīnātha Kavirāja and Dhundhirāja Śāstrī, ChSS 61, Benares 1930.]

4. According to Stcherbatsky, Praśastapāda has borrowed from Dignāga, but see Suali, Introduzione 424 and Faddegon, ibid, p. 15 f. Keith, Indian Logic, p. 27 tries to place him in the 5th century A.D.

5 [Hindi translation by Durgādhara Jhā, SBTS, Vārānasī, 1963.]

6 Cf. Aufrecht CC, p 107. Published in parts with the commentary of Praśastapāda in BenSS [Edited by Vindhyeśvarī Prasād Dvivedin and Dhundhirāja Śāstrī, Benaras 1919.]

The same Udayana is the author of the Vaiśesika work, the Lakṣaṇāvalī[1], written in 984 A.D. A comparison of the Vaiśesikasūtra with the Praśastapādabhāsya and the Kandalī shows that the Sūtra contains much that is wanting in the commentaries, whilst on the other hand the latter quotes sūtras that are not available in the existing redaction of the text[2]. The first real commentary on the Vaiśesikasūtra is the Upaskāra[3] of Śaṅkaramiśra, who lived in about 1600 A.D, and hence in an age when the original tradition regarding the exposition of the Sūtra had long been interrupted. Suali[4] says that the commentary is ornate, ingenious and little dependable.

There are numberless commentaries and massive works that try to explain the systems of Nyāya and Vaiśesika, that in later times became inseparable. None the less a scholar of the eminence of R. G. Bhandarkar[5] says that all these voluminous books that try to elucidate the Nyāya-Vaiśesika systems merely help towards making them obscure On the other hand there are many handbooks of this "Tarka-philosophy"[6] that are eminently suitable, not only as introductions to the Nyāya-Vaiśesika that M. N. Trivedi[7], aptly calls "Grammar of Indian Philosophy", but they make valuable contributions to the study of scientific literature of India. These handbooks state the subject-matter of the system concerned, its dogmas and definitions without examining their correctness or without entering into criticims of other disciplines. In most of these manuals the arrangement of the stuff is, therefore, obviously the same, often with verbal correspondences.

1. Edited with the commentary by A Venis in the Pandit N S, vols. 21, 22 Some other Vaisesika-works that may further be mentioned are: Padārthatattvanirūpana of Raghunātha Śiromani (with a commentary, edited in the Pandit N S vols 25-27, another commentary on it, ibid vols 28, 31, 34) and Kanādasiddhāntacandrikā (edited in TSS No XXV, 1913) of Gangādharasūri who wrote it in the first half of the 17th century A D

2. Taddegon, 27 f

3. Edited in the Bibliotheca Ind 1861 with the text of the sūtras Translated by Nandalal Sinha in Sacred Book of the Hindus, Allahabad 1910-1911.

4 Introduzione p 81 ff Cf Faddegon, ibid p 17

5. Report 1882-1883, p 21 ff

6. So describes Jacobi (WZKM 1, 1887, 76 ff) the union of Nyāya and Vaisesika

7. Tarkakaumudī-edition, p. 7.

The oldest of these handbooks is the Saptapadārthī[1] of Śivāditya, who has been mentioned by Śrīharsa and Gangeśa, and so he must have lived before the 12th century A.D. The work is really a text-book of Vaiśesika and contains also the Nyāya-theory about the means of knowledge. The Bhāsāpariccheda[2], called Kārikāvalī too, the text of the Navadvīpa school, is a manual that is studied all over the whole of India, of Viśvanātha Tarkapañcānana, who in 1634 A.D. wrote also a commentary on the Nyāyasūtra. The work consists of 166 memorial stanzas, that almost every Pandit learns by heart, and it is usually accompanied with the author's own commentary the Siddhāntamuktāvalī. All of its stanzas, however, were not composed by Viśvanātha himself, and some of them are quotations from earlier works[3]. Remarkably small handbooks of Nyāya-Vaiśesika are the Tarkabhāṣā[4] of Keśava Miśra, the Tarkakaumudī[5]

1. Śivādityī Saptapadārthī, primum ed.. . A. Winter, Lipsiae 1893; German translation by the same scholar with notes on the edition published with a commentary in the VizSS VI, 1893, ZDMG 53, 1899, 32 ff It is not certain if Śivāditya is identical with Vyomaśiva, the author of a commentary on the Praśastapādabhāsya, in which case, his time would fall in the 11th century A D., see, Suali, Introduzione, p 88, Keith, Indian Logic, p 37 [Edited with translation and notes by D Gurumūrti, Adyar, 1932 Edition also by V. S Ghate, NSP, Bombay 1919.]

2 Text and commentary, edited and translated by E. Roer Bibl. Ind 1850; commentary translated by A E Gough in the Pandit, VI, 101 f. German by E Hultzsch, in the ZDMG 74, 1920, 145 ff. On the age of the work, see Haraprasād Śāstrī, JASB 6, 1910, 311 ff

3. In Sureśvara's Mānasollāsa (see above p 490, note 1) II, 20-30 is given a short resumé of Vaiśesika of which the first line occurs in the Bhāsāpariccheda too But since the Mānasollāsa is a Vedānta-work, the line has not been taken from it by Viśvanātha, but from some old Vaiśesika text, that had been the source for Sureśvara Cf Vanamālī Vedāntatīrtha, JASB 4, 1908, p 97 ff.

4. [Critical edition by Nārāyāna Nathaji Kulkarnī, Poona, 1953]. Edited with the commentary of Govarddhana by Sh. M. Paranjape, Poona 1894 (2nd ed 1909); with the commentary of Viśvakarman, edited in the Pandit N S vols. 22, 23. Translated into English by Poul Tuxen, An Indian Primer of Philosophy, Copenhagen 1914 (Mémoires de l'Académie, Copenhague, 7. sér Sect de Lett., t. II, no. 3) English translation by G Jhā, in the Indian Thought, vol II, 1911; [Separately printed—Reprint of the Second Revised Edition, Poona 1949] Here it is said that Kesavamiśra lived in between 1344 and 1419 A D in Mithilā. But its oldest commentator Cinnambhaṭṭa wrote his work under King Harihara (end of the 14th century A D), see Aufrecht CC, p 189, V. Venkayya, Ep. Ind 3, 118; Suali, Introduzione 60 ff, Tuxen, ibid p 6 believes that he lived after Udayana, but before Gangeśa, therefore, in the 11th century or 12th century A D. The existence of a large number of commentaries proves popularity of this work.

5. Ed M N Dvivedī in BSS, No 32, 1886, also by K. P.

of Laugākṣi Bhāskara, the Tarkāmṛta[1] of Jagadīśa and the Tarkasaṁgraha[2] of the South Indian scholar Annam Bhatta, that is best known in Europe The last one is a short compendium of the most important principles of "Tarka', that is to say of logic and dialectics It is meant to be learnt by heart and is very clear and intelligible As against this the author himself has written on it a commentary, that is a discussion on difficult problems and controversial questions and that is in no way easily intelligible to Europeans Annam Bhatta was a highly learned person who wrote on Pūrvamīmāṁsā, Vedānta and grammar too. About his fame there goes the adage —"One will not become an Annam Bhatta merely because he goes to Vārānasī." His age is not certain[3].

There is nothing that may go to show the close relationship existing between the philosophical systems and the religious sects in India more significantly than the circumstance in which the obviously secular Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems stand in closest contact with the Śaiva sects We have already seen that Udayana and other Nyāya-authors are zealous defenders of faith in God and Udayana identifies God with Śiva. Uddyotakara is mentioned as a follower of the Śaiva Pāśupata sect There is a story that narrates that Śiva revealed the system to Kaṇāda

Parab, 3rd ed , Bombay, NSP 1907, German by E Hultzsch in he ZDMG 61, 1907, 763 ff (This) Bhāskara is also the author of the Arthasaṁgraha, (see above p 479) and of a commentary on the Nyāyasiddhāntamañjarī of Jānakīnātha (in the Pandit N S , vols 29-34, with the commentary of Yādava), who cited Śivāditya Bhāskara calls himself a son of Mudgala, in case the latter had prepared a summary of Sāyana's Rgvedabhāsya (see Rigveda-Samhitā, ed Max Muller, 2nd Ed , vol I, p XLVIII), he must have lived after the 14th century A D Cf Suali, ibid p 95 ff

1 Published, Calcutta 1880, translated into Italian by L Suali, Pavia 1908 in Rivista Filosofica, Jagadīsa, who wrote also a commentary Tattvacintāmanīdīdhiti, lived in the beginning of the 17th century, see Aufrecht, CC, p 194, 203, Suali, Introduzione, p 94 f, Keith, Indian Logic 38

2. Edited with the author's Dīpikā and Govardhana's Nyāyabodhinī by Y. V Aṭhalye, revised with a Preface and Introd by M Rājārām Bodas, BSS, No 55, 1897 Translated into German (with the Dīpikā) by E Hultzsch, AGGW N F IX, 5, Berlin 1907, Cf Suali, Introduzione, 97 ff

3 Bodas places him in between 1625 and 1700, but he must have been older, since one of the MSS of the Tarkasaṁgraha is dated 1585 A D ; see A Venis, in the Pandit N S , vol 22 (Bibliographical Notice on the edition of the Laksanāvalī

(see above, p. 531, note 2). And lastly there are the Jaina authors Guṇaratna and Rājaśekhara who provide us with most interesting information about the Śaiva ascetics, who call themselves as followers Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika[1].

Very often the manifold correspondences between Indian and Greek philosophies are brought into lime-light. But scholars are divided in their opinion as to whether or not the Indian and Greek philosophies are historically connected. Thus for example the similarity between the teachings of Eleates (Xenophane, and Parmenide) and of Vedānta are brought to our notice. But most of the scholars are inclined to assume here a case of parallel development and not of borrowing[2]. Garbe[3] has shown that probably the Sāmkhya philosophy had exercised some influence on the Greek philosophy. At least this much has to be admitted that even in case the possibility of a parallel development cannot be ruled out, the influence on Heraklit, Empedokles, Anaxagoras, Demokrit and Epikur is probable. As against this Winternitz with Garbe and L. v. Schroeder[4] holds the influence of Sāṁkhya on Pythagoras as doubtless. Likewise Indian influence on the Gnostics and Neoplatonics is as good as certain[5]. But in case one takes into consideration the characteristic peculiarities of the Indian

1. Cf Suali Introduzione p 126 ff and Keith, Indian Logic, p. 262 ff.

2. On the relationship of Platonic theories with Vedānta-ideas see E J. Unwick, The Message of Plato, London 1920 (known to Winternitz only from a discourse in an article "Plato and Indian Thought" in The Athenaeum, Nov. 12, 1920). Apparently superficial is the article "Die Eleaten und das Vedānta" of Josef Kohler in the Archiv fur Rechts— und Wirtschaftsphilosophie X, 1917, 125 ff Macdonell, History of Sanskrit Lit. 421 ff. holds the dependence of the basic principles of Eleaten on the Vedānta as probable. Oldenberg in the "Kultur der Gegenwart" I, V, p 52 ff is inclined more to assume an overall parallel development between Indian and Greek philosophies.

3. Sāmkhya-Philosophie, 113 ff Against this, A B. Keith, The Sāmkhya System, p. 65 ff, outright rejects the hypothesis regarding the influence of Sāmkhya on Greek philosophy.

4. Pythagoras und die Inder, Leipzig 1884; Garbe, ibid 119 ff Weber, Ind Stud. 18, 463 ff. and Keith, ibid and JRAS 1909, 569 refute the hypothesis of dependence of Pythagoras on Indian philosophy.

5. A Weber, Die Griechen in Indien, SBA. 1890, p 925, considers it to be likely that the teachings of the Alexandrian Neo-Platonic and Neo-Pythagorean philosophies as well as of the Alexandrian philosophy appear to be carrying the Indian tension, rather than they were impregnated from the Indians etc. "Cf Garbe, ibid, 127 ff.

philosophial literature, he will hardly assume that the Greek had ever studied the Indian philosophical texts. In the cases where dependence of the Greek philosophy upon the Indian philosophy is rather apparent we have to assume that the exchange of ideas was oral. Scholars have often tried to study into the relationship existing between the logic of India and that of Greece, but up to this time it has not been possible to prove their interdependence. This holds good also for the atom-theory of Vaiśesika and that of Empedokles[1]. Probably we are obliged to admit the possibility of the influence of the Aristotlian principles regarding syllogisms on the later development of Indian logic and of the Greek on the Indian atom-theory.

DHARMAŚĀSTRA[2]

The word Dharmaśāstra is often translated as "law-literature". But the connotation of dharma, the scope of this science, is more extensive than what is denoted by "law", it includes "religion, custom and usage" too[3]. The oldest manuals

1. Cf Max Muller, Six Systems, 386 ff, 446, Vidyābhūsana, JRAS 1918, 369 ff, and Keith, Indian Logic, 17 f The note of W. Jones (Asiat Res IV, 163), that Kallisthenes had found a logic in India and that he conveyed the same to his uncle Aristotle, in support of which he refers to Dabistān, must have been based on some misunderstanding There is nothing in the Dabistān about this and, as far as W could see there is nothing also in the fragments of Kallisthen (as Otto Stein communicated to him) that may support this Schopenhauer (Welt als Wille und Vorstellung I, §9) is right when he does not put any faith in this assumption

2 Particularly G Buhler and J Jolly, in their introductions in the SBE, vols 2, 7, 14, 25 and 33, have the credit of carrying investigations into the Dharmaśāstra literature J Jolly's Recht und Sitte (Grundriss II, 8), Strassburg, 1896, is a short primary work. [A very comprehensive and learned survey of this branch of learning has been made by P. V Kane, History of Dharmaśāstras, Poona 1930—1962]

3. See above, vol I, p 236, trans p 275 The meaning of *dharma* includes also "custom" in the sense of propriety, for example the Dharmaśāstras deal also with the forms of greetings, behaviour of disciples towards their teachers and elders etc Noteworthy is the Āpastambīyadharmasūtra I, 7, 20, 7 *yam ta āryāh kriyamānam prasamsanti sa dharmo yam garhanti sodharmah* what the Āryas approve of is *dharma*, what they disapprove of is *adharma*" J Jolly (Transactions of the 3rd Int Congress of the History of Religions, Oxford II, 30 ff) has described the inseparable manner in which religious and secular duties are connected together in Dharmaśāstra Among the Romans too we find religious and secular writings inseparably placed together The Latin word *lex* means both religious and legal writings The Chinese word *Li*, that means in the widest sense proper attitude in transactions with men, spirits and gods (see Grube, Geschichte der Chinesischen Litteratur, p 63), is covered in a great measure by the Indic *dharma* [For a detailed discussion of the meaning of *dharma*, see P V. Kane, ibid, Vol I, pp 1 ff]

on dharma, the Dharmasūtras, originated in the closest association with the literature of rituals (Vedāṅga-Kalpa). This association with the literature of rituals is still wholly manifest in the Dharmasūtras. Hence they are neither mere collections of rules, nor pure lectures on jurisprudence; but they, with predilection, deal with religious duties of man. They form the constituent elements of religious and Vedic literature. They, exactly as the old manuals, had sprung up in the Vedic schools and were written by Brāhmanas, priests and scholars for the purpose of imparting instruction and were not written as codes for practical use in courts of law. The subject-matter of these books constitutes rules regulating daily usage and duties in respect of devotion to gods, religious purifications and atonements, rules on duties and rights of husbandsmen, Brāhmanas, kings, ascetics and holy men leading a retired life in forests, rules on food as also lectures on cosmology, cosmogony and eschatology; here we find also sections on family laws, on legal proceedings and on civil and criminal laws (*vyavahāra*), since one of the duties of the king is also to take decision in law-suits. As these oldest works were merely text-books of one or the other Vedic school and were meant to be learnt by heart by the adherents of these schools, in course of time they attained a far-reaching importance in the schools concerned. They were considered to have absolute authority in respect of duties and rights of Brāhmaṇas—in secular as well as in religious matters, particularly for the elders, who took their decisions according to these books. So although these books were not written as law-codes, they nevertheless possessed certain force of law.

Therefore, exactly like the Śrauta- and Grhyasūtras, the Dharmasūtras are written in the sūtra-style. However, almost all the Dharmasūtras contain also some verses (written in the anuṣṭubh-śloka metre, many a time also in the triṣṭubh-metre). Some of these works have come down to us as constituent parts of bigger collections of the sūtra-texts of particular schools. In the case of others it remains still to be decided even with tolerable certainty whether they belong to this or to that school.

The Āpastambiya Dharmasūtra[1], i.e.

the Dharmasūtra of the "Āpastambīyas", or "of the school of Āpastamba", forms a constituent part of a big sūtra-work, the Āpastambīya Kalpasūtra[1], belonging to a South Indian school of the Krsnayajurveda. G Buhler has shown that this sūtra-work, on linguistic and factual grounds[2], could not have been compiled later than the 5th or the 4th century B.C That the Dharmasūtra goes relatively back to a higher antiquity is apparent also from the fact that Rsi Śvetaketu, already mentioned in the Śatapatha-Brāhmana and in the Chāndogyopanisad, is referred to herein as one of the rsis born "in a recent age". According to a tradition that is well-founded and is attested by the subject-matter of the book, however, the Āpastambīya school is in any case younger than the school of the Baudhāyanas[3], that belongs to the Krsna-Yajurveda and is settled in South India The Baudhāyana Dharmaśāstra[4] forms a part of a bigger sūtra-work, to which the Śrauta-, Grhya- and Śulbasūtras too belong. But while the Āpastambīya Dharmaśāstra is preserved even in its original form, the same is not the case with the Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra in which certain portions of the text are such as were certainly interpolated in a fairly early later age. [As regards the antiquity of the Dharmasūtras it may be noted that the extant work is later than the Gautamadharmasūtra, since Gautama is mentioned in this work

with the commentary Ujjvalā by Haradatta Miśra and A Chinnasvāmī Śāstri, ChSS, KSS 1932]

1 See above, I, 237, trans p 276.

2 On the style and language of Āpastamba see Bühler, ZDMG 40, 1886, 530 f and SBE, vol 2, p XLIII ff [and P V. Kane, History Dharmaśāstra, Vol I, pp 32 ff]

3 Cf Buhler, SBE, vol 2, p XIX ff and K W Pathak (JBRAS 21, 1904, 19 ff) have, on the basis of a passage occurring in the Tantravārttika, tried to prove that Āpastamba is older than Baudhāyana and Gautama, since both of them possibly have raised a controversy against Āpastamba But Kumārila cannot be our standard of measurement in this case [P V Kane is of the view that the Āpastambīya Dharmasūtra was composed later than the Gautama-Dharmasūtra and the Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra and that before 500 A D and concludes that we shall not be very much wrong in case we assign it to some period in between 600-300 B C Ibid p 44-45]

4 Although it is called Sūtra, it is so entitled "Dharmaśāstra" is the common expression that comprises also the Dharmasūtras It was published by E Hultzsch in the AKM VIII, Leipzig 1884,[Improved edition 1922] Translated into German by G Buhler, SBE, vol 14, 1882 (Published also in ĀnSS and at the Mysore Government Oriental Series 1907 (with the commentary of Govindasvāmin, edited also by Chinnasvāmī Śāstrī ChSS, 1991 [Vikramasamvat=1934 A D]

by name. Buhler considers Baudhāyana older than Āpastamba, but the reason advanced by him in support of the hypothesis is not convincing. Kane has discussed the problem in detail, and he comes to the conclusion that although the age of this Gautama cannot be fixed definitely, in all probability this work was written somewhere between 500-200 B.C.[1] A school younger than that of Āpastamba is of Hiraṇyakeśin, but his Dharmasūtra[2] differs only throughout superficially and insignificantly from the Āpastambīya—Dharmasūtra. [As regards its age P. V. Kaṇe says that it existed long before the 5th century A.D[3]].

In all probability the oldest of all the Dharmasūtras, that have come down to us, is that of Gautama or of the Gautama school, the Gautamīya—Dharmaśāstra[4]. It is preserved rather as a constituent part of the collection of the Vedic sūtras, but it is characterised by its form and subject-matter as being of the same type as the above-mentioned sūtra-texts. Besides it remains to be proved that this Dharmasūtra belongs to a school of the Sāmaveda and actually to the school of the Rāṇāyanīyas. The high antiquity of Gautama is proved from the fact that he is cited as an authority even by Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha. In any case, however, as we find many later interpolations in our Gautamasūtra, it appears to have somehow been retouched. [As regards its antiquity it may be said that it can not be placed later than between 600-400 B.C.[5]] Younger than Gautama is the Vāsiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra[6], that unfortunately has come down to us in a very bad condition, since several of its available MSS are either fragmentary or contain strongly interpolated texts. The ancient tradition mentions as

author of this work one Rsi Vasistha, to whom a large number of hymns of book VII of the Rgveda are too attributed. This position is in accord with the well established tradition, already known to Kumārila, according to which the Vāsistha Dharmasūtra originally belonged to a school of the Rgveda and later became authoritative for all the Brāhmanas In its form and subject-matter it is probably, in any case, an old Dharmasūtra. Apparently it belonged to a North Indian school of the Rgveda. In addition to Gautama, Yama, Prajāpati, Hārīta and Manu have been mentioned in the text as ancient teachers. Of particular importance are, as we have already seen above, the citations from a Dharmasūtra of Manu, that prōbably formed the nucleus of our M a n u-S m r t i. On the other hand, the latter contains a quotation from the Vāsiṣṭha-Dharmaśāstra that, therefore, must be older than our current Manu-Smrti. [We may tentatively assign the Vāsiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra to a period in between 300-100 B C.[1]].

The V a i ṣ n a v a-D h a r m a ś ā s t r a [or the V i ṣ n u-d h a r m a s ū t r a] or the V i ṣ n u-S m r t i[2], as hitherto known, is a copious work. In its introductory section and in the concluding chapters the work is said to be a revelation made by God Visnu, and the entire work is presented in the form of a dialogue between Visnu and the goddess Earth. In any case there are in it ornamentations made by interpolators belonging to one or the other Vaisnava sect. The basic stock of the work is an old Dharmasūtra of the Kāthaka school of the Krsna-Yajurveda. The interpolations made by the Vaisnavas could hardly have originated before the 3rd century A D.[3] As against this the oldest sections of the work must be going back to a very old age, and the text of the Kāṭhaka, with which the Visnu-Smrti is

[1. P. V Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, vol I, p 59]

[2 Edited by J ī v ā n a n d a V i d y ā ṣ ā g a r a in the Dharmaśāstrasamgraha, Part I, Calcutta 1876, Asiatic Soc of Bengal 1881, edited by J o l l y with extracts from the commentary Vaijayantī, and translated into English by J o l l y in the SBE, Vol VII.]

3 It is suggested by the mention of the seven week days in chapter 78 and the indication by the word *jaiva* of Thursday, that goes back to Greek Ζεῦς The passages, in which burning of widows is prescribed, too belong to the age when the work was completed with alterations and additions J o l l y, in the introduction to his translation, has distinguished between the older and younger constituent parts of the work with tolerable accuracy.

associated, belongs to the oldest remnants of Vedic literature.

A very old Dharmasūtra, that belongs to the Maitrāyanīya school of the Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda, is that of Hārīta[1], who is already cited by Apastamba and Baudhāyana. It is an elaborate text (in 30 *adhyāyas*) of the type of Baudhāyana-Dharmaśāstra and of the Visnu-Smrti, in which sūtras alternate with anuṣṭubh and triṣṭubh verses. A purely sūtra-work is the Vaikhānasa-Dharmasūtra[2] that describes in 3 praśnas the castes and the āśramas, the duties of brahmacārins and of house-holders, but especially in detail those of anchorites, ascetics and monks. Perhaps originally it was simply a manual for anchorites and ascetics—a thing that is pointed to by its title, since *vaikhānasa* means "anchorite"—that later became the common text-book on dharma and was attributed to a sage Vikhānasa. Hitherto unpublished is one Uśanas—Smrti[3] in sūtras and verses, that is often quoted; but is different from the Smrti-work bearing this title and printed in verses and with only few prose-passages. The Śankhalikhita-Dharmasūtra[4] belongs to the Vājasaneyins and the Dharmasūtra of Paiṭhīnasi, to the Atharvaveda, the latter

1. J. Jolly (Der Vyavahārādhyāya aus Hārīta's Dharmaśastra nach Citaten zusammengestellt, (ABayA, Bd. 18, Munchen 1889, p. 505 ff.) first of all had compiled a section on proper laws from quotations from nibandhas and he later (OC X, Genève 1894, II, 117 ff.; Ind. Ant 25, 1896, 147 f.) wrote essays on the hitherto-found single manuscript of the work. The *adhyāya* XII (śrāddhakalpa) agrees with the text reproduced by W. Caland, Altindischer Ahnencult, Leiden 1893, p. 90 ff.

2. The Vaikhānasadharmapraśna of Vikhānasa, ed. by T Ganapati Śāstri, TSS, No. XXVIII, 1913. It is present even in a Viena-manuscript that was utilized by Th Bloch in his Über das Gṛhya—und Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasa, Leipzig 1896. According to Bloch this work belongs to one of the youngest schools of the Kṛṣna-Yajurveda and is quite different from the Vaikhānasa-śāstra, that is mentioned in Baudh II, 6, 11, 14 and to which refer also Manu 6, 21 (*vaikhānasamate*) and Gautama 3, 27 (*śrāmanaka*) Cf Bühler, SBE vol 25, p XXVII ff and Barth, RHR 40, 1899, 34 ff. (Oeuvres II, 274 ff). Since the text printed in the TSS in a greater measure deals with the duties of anchorites and ascetics (the second praśna begins, *atha vanasthasya śrāmanakam*), its association with the old "text book for anchorites" appears to Winternitz as unjustifiable.

work being known only from citations There are other Dharmasūtras that are known partly from quotations and are partly incomplete and according to the popular Indian practice they are attributed to sages like Kāśyapa, Atri, Śātātapa, Brhaspati, etc.

Although it is not possible to set down a definite chronology of the Dharmaśāstra literature, it may be assumed with tolerable probability that the age in which the Dharmasūtras belonging to the Vedic schools originated was in the proximity of the period beginning in the 8th and terminating in the 3rd century B C In any case they represent the oldest phase of Dharma literature of which the characteristic is that in it we have more talk about religious duties and manner of worship than about secular duties. Thus for example in the Āpastambīya-Dharmasūtra, the section dealing with pure jurisprudence covers almost only about one-seventeenth part of the whole work So the Dharmasūtras are the precursors of the metrical Dharmaśāstras or Smrtis. However, we must take note of the fact that even in further later ages and down upto the present times Dharma-texts have been written in the sūtra-style In correspondence with the already mentioned usage such texts have been attributed to such sages as are considered authoritative in respect of the old Dharmasūtras. Consequently we have also wholly modern texts that are known as Dharmasūtras of Uśanas, Atri, Kāśyapa, Śankha[1], etc. So when we find such texts in manuscripts or when they are referred to in quotations, it is necessary to examine them very strictly before deciding whether or not we have before us some real old Vedic text or a recently prepared work. The fact that of the old Dharmasūtras much has come down to us in a bad and often in fragmentary forms is associated with the situation described above (p 418) that each of the ancient Vedic schools or Caranas, in which these sūtras were taught, in course of time either fell into disuse or lost their old importance and that they made place for technical schools. This especialisation began in the sphere of Dharma in a fairly earlier age, and we are in possession of evidence that there were special schools for study of dharma in ancient days in which

[1 Published in the ĀnSS. Nos 8, 22, 284, Poona, 1905]

dharma was taught to people of all classes and professions and also to a wider section of society.

In these technical schools of dharma, there originated the metrical Dharmaśāstras or Smrtis. These are no longer text books meant for guidance of strictly limited circles of the followers of some particular Vedic school, but they are works in which religious and worldly duties are taught for all the Āryas for Brāhmanas, Ksatriyas and Vaiśyas. These text-books too have now become very much copious; the presentation of the subject under treatment has become more minute and more detailed. In particular the real law, that in the Dharmasūtras is described just en passant, is treated in these works in far greater detail. The works of this type are not written in the aphoristic sūtra-style, but in a metrical form, in particular in ślokas that for the longest period had been adopted as the natural metre for narration of plain epical stories and which had been closely associated with didactic poetry. This didactical poetry, the gnomic poetry, had been one of the main sources for Dharmaśāstra. The Indian Śāstrins, the teachers of dharma, mention as the sources of dharma, in addition to Śruti and Smrti also *śiṣṭācāra* ("usage of the cultured" i. e. "good manners") and *deśajātikuladharma* ("usage and custom of the regions, castes and families"), that is customary law. The rules of "good conduct" and the laws were set in the customary form of epigrams in ślokas already in an earlier age. Many of such ślokas are found already in the Dharmasūtras too. And as such many old legal dicta, in the form of short gnomic passages, go back to the age of the Dharmasūtras or to a still higher antiquity; it may be that in the dharmaśāstra-treatises of later times certain old epigram-like teachings, and with them many other old lessons have come to be included[1]. A large number of these ślokas, that contain moral lessons or legal doctrines in the form of aphoristic epigrams, are found in epical poems, particularly in the Mahābhārata[2]; it is why the epic (itihāsa) is often

called the fifth source of *dharma*. [*itihāsah purāram ca pañcamo veda iṣyate.*]

These metrical Dharmaśāstras too have now been studied for centuries till modern days by teachers and scholars of dharma in the whole of India and are still referred to as authoritative in legal affairs and are recognised as such [subject to recently enacted laws by the legislatures.] It is claimed in them that the rules and regulations prescribed therein hold good for all castes, although they, like the Dharmasūtras, are primarily written from the point of view of interest of the Brāhmanas. In all events, however, they are concerned much more with the rights and duties of the king, who always is inferior to Brāhmanas, but he is also "a great divinity among men (Manu VII, 8) :

[*bālopi nāvamantavyo manuṣya iti bhūmipah*
mahati devatā hyeṣā nararūpena tiṣṭhati.]

It is just natural that the Brāhmanas for the purpose of securing greater authority for the teachings of their Dharmaśāstra, traced its origin from some god, some divine being or a sage of some hoary antiquity Hence they could be designated also as "S m r t i s" (remembrance i.e "tradition"), since in respect of their authority their place was only next to that of the Ś r u t i, the "revelation", on which was directly based the Veda.

[Thanks to effort of the British administrators and of the westernly-minded rulers of independent India that professes to be secular that now most of the laws concerning the Hindus are against the śāstras and usage that have lost force to a great extent consequent to a number of parliamentary enactments concerning the Hindu society. It is remarkable that the laws governing followers of other religions have not been touched by these laws framed by modern law-makers.]

[Although in the Dharmaśāstras the Brāhmanas are described to possess the highest status, it is not true to say that it was written from the point of view of Brāhmana's interest. For a society every member is equally important. We need not only intellectuals and warriors, but also manual workers and traders. Each member of every caste had his own rights and obligations, by performance of one's proper duties, as prescribed, every such body would attain the same status ultimately A Śūdra, through performance of his own duties, could become a

Brāhmana and attain salvation, mukti, nirvāna, svarga, etc. like any Brāhmana practising severe austerity. Any person, to whatever caste or sex he may belong, does not bother about his present life alone, but he has before him always the idea of rebirth. One attains a higher and higher status in subsequent births by purity acquired as a consequence of performance of his duty. In case the Brāhmanas had certain privileges, that others did not enjoy, the former were deprived of pleasures of life. They worked for the society and the society maintained them. Scholars, who by faith, do not believe in the theory of rebirth cannot appreciate the merit of the Dharmaśāstra that is universal and prescribes duties for every *mānava*, human being.]

There is no work that has had such a great fame and has for centuries been considered to be so authoritative as the Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra or the Manusmrti, the code of Manu[1]. Ths popularity and fame the work, that is attributed to Manu, has enjoyed become evident from the fact that since very old days Manu has been considered not only to have been the progenitor of mankind but also as the founder of all social orders and customs, and important principles of law are directly put into his mouth. It is already stated in the Veda[2] that "all that Manu has said is medicine". *manuravadat tadbheṣa-jam* Yāska refers to Manu as authority in respect of law of succession[3]. There are large number of passages in the Gṛhya and

1. The Manusmrti has been printed in India several times, usually with the commentary of Kullūka Commendable is the NSP edition of Bombay. Of great value is the edition of Pandit V N Mandalik (Bombay 1886) that is provided with seven commentaries on the whole work. The best critical edition is that by J Jolly, London 1887. The first English translation is that of William Jones, Calcutta 1794 (translated from English into German by J. Chr. Hüttner, Weimar 1797) In the monument raised in the memory of Sir William Jones in the Paul's Church of London, this text of Manu is held in his hand. A more recent translation is by A C. Burnell and E W Hopkins (London 1884) and the most valuable one is that of G Bühler in SBE, Vol 25 A recent French translation is the one by G S Strehly in the Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibl d'étudest. II, 1, Paris 1893 [The following are some important translations —Mānava-dharmaśāstra, Lois de Manou traduites par Loiseleur Deslongechamps, Paris 1850 The Dharmmasattham of the laws of Menu, translated from the Burmese by D Richardson, Moulmain 1847. Leis de Manu ... versificadas em portuguez de ordem e stylo francez .. by Mr · G Paulhier, Goa, 18]

Dharmaśāstras as well as in the Mahābhārata, in which legal principles are cited as based on Manu, where, however, it is explicated by "so spoke Manu" (*menvabravīt*). But the principles thus quoted are not to be found in any of the books attributed to Manu, but they just follow the objective of emphasising that a teaching is primitively old, permanently holding good and revered able[1]. Our Mānavadharmaśāstra too is said to have a divine origin. In its first chapter it is said that this code of law is a work of Brahman, the creator himself. Brahman revealed it to his son Manu, the originator of mankind. The latter then fashioned this work and first of all explained it to wise men and at last entrusted to Bhṛgu, one of his sons, the task of explaining it to the mortals. So according to the Indian view point our Manusmṛti contains also the laws revealed by the creator to Manu in the form in which Bhṛgu has communicated them to mankind[2].

Even in Europe the scholars of early ages who had been familiar with the Manusmṛti had made considerably fantastical presentations regarding the antiquity and origin of this work[3],

The first scholar, who posited a plausible hypothesis about the origin and age of the Manusmrti was Max Müller, who held that the metrical dharmaśāstras were possibly not different from adaptations and elaborations of older Dharmasūtras. But G. Buhler, on the basis of a large number of evidences, has scientifically proved the fact that Max Muller had been able just to conjecture, in respect of the Manusmrti, since he has discovered that there actually existed one Mānavadharmasūtra. In the Vāśistha-Dharmaśāstra (chap. IV), in particular, we find a long quotation that ends with the words :

atraiva ca paśuṁ hiṁsyānnānyathetyabravīnmanuh.

"This is the *mānavam*". This prosaic passage, that is partly metrical, is written wholly in the style of old Dharmasūtras and could have been taken only from a Mānava-Dharmasūtra. The text of this quotation is partly in accord with a passage found in our Manu-Smrti, hence it may be assumed that the basis of the modern Mānava-Dharmaśāstra was the work quoted by the Vāśiṣṭha. But in any case it has not been proved, but it is just probable that the old Mānava-Dharmasūtra belonged to the Mānava-school of the Maitrāyanīyas[1]. In the style of the Manu-Smṛti, we often find further recognisable traces of the old Sūtra-work, from which it had sprung up, there are in particular several hardly intelligible stanzas that are interpreted even by Indian commentators in different ways and of which the obscurity is due to the fact that they are merely versifications of the old sūtras. It is very much probable that the Manu-Smrti represents one of the earliest attempts made towards transformation of an old Dharmasūtra into a metrical Dharmaśāstra. However, up to present time, all that can be said about its origin within tolerably widely separated limits is this that possibly it took place between the 2nd century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D.[2]

these additions must have been made long before the 3rd century A.D. as the quotations from Brhaspati and others show History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. I, pp 148-149.]

1. Cf Buhler, SBE, vol. 25, p XXXI, ff; P v Bradke, Über das Mānava-Grhya-Sūtra, Leipzig (Diss.) 1882, p. 1 ff (also in the ZDMG 36, 417 ff, 433 ff) and G B Beaman, On the Sources of the Dharma-Sūtras of Manu and Yājñavalkya, Leipzig (Diss.) 1895, Jolly, Recht und Sitte, p 17f; K P. Jayaswal Manu and Yājñavalkya

2 So according to Buhler, SBE., vol 25, XCIX ff, CVI ff In the Tantravārttika III, 58, there is a stanza of Manu, quoted from the

The relationship of the Manū-Smrti with the Mahābhārata is not without importance in regard to the antiquity of the former work. In the latest sections of the Mahābhārata, in particular in book XIII, certain passages have been cited from a Dharmaśāstra of Manu, that are actually found in our Manu-Smrti. On the other hand there are very many stanzas that are identical in the Mahābhārata and in the Manu-Smrti, although they are not marked out as quotations[1]. And in fact the variations are of the type that many a time the Mahābhārata or many a time Manu presents better readings. Thence it may be concluded that in these cases either Manu had quoted them from the Mahābhārata or that the latter had borrowed them from the Manu-Smrti; or that such stanzas in both the texts have been fashioned out of some aphoristical poems, that we have recognised above (p 544.) as the main source of the metrical Dharmaśāstras, and they became so much common among the cultured people that the places, where this or that

"Dharmaśāstra", that appears to be a free rendering of the stanza Manu-Smṛti VIII, 262 The possibility of Kālidāsa having been familiar with the law-book of Manu is suggested by the Raghuvamsa 14, 67, see K T Telang, JBRAS 18, 1891, 148 note R G Bhandarkar (A Peep into the Early History of India, JBRAS 1900, Reprint, p 46 f) believes in the light of Manu X, 43 f that the Manu-Smrti first originated when the foreign rulers (Yavanas, Śakas etc) were vanquished by the Guptas and the Brāhmanas regained their supremacy, therefore, first in the 4th century A D The relevant lines read —

sanakaistu kriyālopādimāh kṣatriyajātayah l
vrṣalatvam gatā loke brahmanādarśanena ca ll
paundrakāścaudradravidāh kambojāh yavanāh khagāh l
pāradāh pallavāścīnāh kirātā daradān khasāh ll

Haraprasād Śāstrī (JASB 6, 1910, 307) places the Manusmrti in the first century B C, because in those days the Brāhmanas already enjoyed supremacy in the society This entire argumentation is not of much help, and although in Manu and in other Dharmasāstras the allusions extolling Brāhmanas are very many, they do not in any way prove that they were actually so recognised by the kings during the period in which they were composed [P V Kane, in volume I of the History of Dharmasāstra, p 155, has the following remark —Long before the 4th century B C there was a work on Dharmasāstra composed by or attributed to Svāyambhuva Manu This work was most probably in verses There was also another work on Rājadharma attributed to Prācetasa Manu, which also existed prior to the 4th century B C It is not unlikely that instead of there being two works there was one comprehensive work embodying rules on *dharma* as well as on politics Then between the 2nd century B C and the 2nd century A D the Manusmrti was finally recast, probably by Bhrgu etc]

1. According to Buhler's researches not less than 260 such verses, nearly one-tenth of the Manu-Smrti, are found only in the books III XII and XVI of the Mahābhārata

passage was mentioned for the first time, were forgotten[1]. In addition we assume that the Manu-Smrti contains repeated allusions to heroes of the Mahābhārata, presupposing an accurate knowledge of the main story and of the legends of the epic and, so in the opinion of Winternitz :—(1) there is no doubt that the earliest part of the Mahābhārata is older than the Manu-Smṛti, (2) that the authors of the didactical portions of the Mahābhārata and that of the Manu-Smrti had refashioned them from some common old inherited epigrammatical stuff and (3) that in the latest section of the Mahābhārata a work is already mentioned that is essentially not different from our Manu-Smṛti[2]. These hypotheses are in accord with the wide limits that we are obliged to assume with regard to the date of origin of the Mahābhārata[3]. In the present condition of our knowledge, in the opinion of this illustrious scholar, there is no possibility narrowing these limits further down.

A survey of the contents of the Manu-Smṛti would demonstrate that the interval of time between the oldest, not of the later fashioned Dharmasūtras (e.g. Āpastambīya-Dharmasūtra), and the metrical Dharmaśāstras must have been considerable.

"The Mānavadharmaśāstra pronounced by Bhrgu", [in the expression *mānave dharmaśāstre bhṛguproktāyāṁ saṁhitāyām*], (so the work speaks about its ownself) consists of twelve sections (adhyāyas). The first chapter contains an introduction in the style of the Mahābhārata and of the purānas. The great sages approach Manu and request him to reveal to them the holy laws of different castes. Manu agrees and begins with a discourse on the creation. This tolerably intricate discourse on the creation,

1. The fact that many of the stanzas, that are found in our Manu-Smṛti, already occur also in the Dharmasūtras (e.g. in the Vāsiṣṭha-Dharmasūtra 30 and in the Viṣnu-Smṛti 160 stanzas) can likewise be explained by assuming that the aphoristical discipline was the common source of all these works.

2. The above-mentioned statement (p 546 f.) holds good for the passages of the Mahābhārata in which injunctions are referred to by the expression "*Manur abravīt*, so spoke Manu"; but they are not to be found in the Manu-Smṛti. Bühler, SBE, vol 25, pp LXXIV ff, XCVII f, and Hopkins, The Great Epic of India, p 18 ff. deals with the problem of the philological relationship of the Mahābhārata with Manu. H Lüders, Über die Gaṇapāṭha-rezension des Mahābhārata (AGGW N. F. IV, 6, Berlin 1901), p 67 ff.

3. See above I, 396, 403; transl. p. 465, 474.

that is begun by Manu and continued by Bhrgu, rests partly on Vedic sources and is strongly mixed up with the Sāṅkhya teachings[1]. The sections I-V, after a short introduction on the sources of dharma, among which the Veda is the foremost, describe the consecrations (samskāras) that every member of the three higher castes must perform, in particular on the occasion of a student's going to a school for the first time (*upanayana*), the life and conduct of the student of the Veda (brahmacārin), the duties of husbandsman, the marriage and every-day ceremonies, the śrāddhas, the rules for the snātaka, i e. the young man who has completed his study as a student of the Veda and still continues to live with his teacher and studies a kind of code of usage and custom, regulations regarding Vedic studies, rules regarding permitted and forbidden food, about religious impurities and purification-ceremonies and all sorts of rules useful to women. The chapter VI speaks about anchorites and ascetics, the chapter VII about the duties of the kings This last named chapter contains also rules about administration and politics (*nīti*).

The chapters VIII and IX speak about civil and criminal laws (vyavahāra) beside legal processes (evidence, ordeal, etc.)[2]. In fact here laws are divided under 18 topics. In the Dharmasūtras we do not find traces of such a division. [Actually disputes are classified under eighteen heads *i. e. aṣṭādaśamārgeṣu nibaddhāni* (*vyavāhāra-*)*kāryāni*]. These 18 topics are the following[3] :—(1) laws regarding debt, (2) pledges and deposits, (3) sale without ownership, (4) dispute about joint companies, (5) nullification

1. Cf F Johäntgen, Über das Gesetzbuch des Manu, Berlin, 1863; W Jahn, Über die kosmogonischen Grundanschauungen im Mānava-Dharmaśāstram, Leipzig 1904, Diss.; Garbe, Sāmkhya Philosophie, p 52 f

2 This section had been translated into German, following the commentary, in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, 3, 1882, 232 ff by Jolly.

3 [*teṣāmādyamṛnādānam nikṣepoasvāmivikrayaḥ* 1
sambhūya ca samutthānam dattasyānapakarma ca 11
vetanasyaiva cādānam samvidaśca vyatikramaḥ 1
krayavikrayānuśayo vivādaḥ sīmāpālayoḥ 1
sīmāvivādadharmaśca pāruṣye daṇḍavācike 11
steyam ca sāhasam caiva strīgrahaṇameva ca 1
padānyaṣṭādaśaitāni vyavahārasthitāviha 11] 1

of gifts, (6) non-clearance of wages and emoluments, (7) breach of contracts, (8) investigations in cases of sales and purchases, (9) disputes between a master and his servant, (10) boundary disputes, (11) real injury, (12) verbal injury, (13) theft, (14) violence (robbery etc), (15) sex-offences, (16) marriage-rules (duties of husband and wife), (17) laws of partition and inheritance, and (18) gambling and betting. The chapter IX ends with a brief recapitulation of the duties of the kings and contains some remarks on those of the Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The chapter X deals with mixed castes and describes the usual professions of the three castes and emergency laws (*āpaddharma*) The chapter XI deals with purifications (*prāyaścitta*) regarding ritualistic and other omissions; in addition there are some rules about gifts and sacrifices and a classification of sins, omissions and commissions.

The chapter XII is on the consequences in future life, of noble and ignoble acts in respect of future rebirth. This is followed by the concluding stanzas containing philosophical reflections on the journey of the soul and on the means of attainment of the supreme bliss (*mokṣa*). So like the chapter I, the chapter XII too is strongly influenced by the Sāmkhya principles that is here mixed with the teachings of Yoga and Vedānta.

We see that in Manu as well, the same is the case with other metrical Dharmaśāstras, that the rules regarding religious instructions occupy an overwhelmingly greater portion of the work. In any case the purely juristical parts of the Manu-Smrti covers approximately more than one-fourth of the entire work. After what we have said about epigrammatic poetry as the source of Dharmaśāstra, there should be no wonder that a great portion of the Manu-Smrti reads more like a didactic poem rather than a dull text book. Even in the purely technical sections we often find pictures and similes and a highly polished language. That proves that the author's objective was to write a book that would be valuable from the literary point of view[1] as well.

[1] Friedrich Nietzsche (in the Antichrist § 56, Wille zur Macht § 104, Nachgelassene Werke, 2 Abt. Bd XIV, p. 117 f.) speaks with great enthusiasm about Manu's book of law, but with little practical knowledge. He called it "an incomparably inspiring and meditative work of such value that it would be a sin against the spirit to mention it and the Bible

Some probes may possibly show that this is the case throughout the whole work, hence a few quotations are furnished here from its different sections :— II, 238-240 :

śraddadhānah śubhām vidyāmādadītāvarādapi |
antyādapi param dharmam strīratnam duṣkulādapi ||
viṣādapyamrtam grāhyam bālādapi subhāṣitam |
amitrādapi sadvrttam amedhyādapi kāñcanam ||
strīyo ratnānyatho vidyā dharmah śaucam subhāṣitam |
vividhāni ca śilpāni samādheyani sarvatah ||

"Full of devotion, one should accept supreme knowledge even from the mean, learn duty even from the lowest and (accept) woman-jewel even from a lowly family."

"One should collect nectar even from poison, a noble instruction even from a child, learn good conduct even from an enemy and gather gold even from one that is not pure".

"From all (sources) one should acquire, jewels, knowledge, morality, purity, noble words and various arts "

IV, 135-137

kṣatriyam caiva sarpam ca brāhmaṇam ca bahuśrutam |
nāvamanyeta vai bhūṣnuh krśānapi kadācana ||
etattrayam hi puruṣam nirdahedavamānitam |
tasmādetattrayam nityam nāvamanyeta buddhimān ||
nātmānamavamanyeta pūrvābhirasamṛddhibhih |
āmrtyoh śriyamanvicchennainām manyeta durlabhām ||

"He who wants to be happy should never disregard a Ksatriya, a snake or a highly learned Brāhmana, although they be weak "

"These three, if disregarded, will certainly burn a man : therefore, a wise man must never insult these three "

"One must not insult onself on account of his previous niggardlyness : he should try to be happy till death and should never think (of happiness) as unattainable."

The section on the rights and duties of the king begins with the following verses (VII, 3-9)

in the same breath Contrary to Nietzsche's enthusiasm for Manu, the aesthetical and critical discussion on the law-book of Oldenberg (LAI, p. 177 ff) is tolerably refreshing In case Nietzsche, on account of his ignorance of the contents of Manu's work, has taken a long jump, it may be said that Oldenberg, always with his Western vision is in no way right in his remarks in respect of the Indian work.

arājake hi lokesmin sarvato vidrute bhayāt l
rakṣārthamasya sarvasya rājānamasrjat prabhuh ll

"When there was no king in this world and on account of fear everywhere there was disturbance, for the protection of this whole world the Lord created the king."

indrānilayamārkānāmagneśca varunasya ca l
candravitteśayoścaiva mātrā nirhṛatya śāśvatīh ll

(He created the king) "with the eternal elements taken out of Indra, Wind, Yama, Sun, Fire, Varuṇa, Moon, and (Kubera), the god of riches."

yasmādeṣām surendrānām mātrābhyo nirmito nṛpaḥ l
tasmādabhibhavatyeṣa sarvabhūtāni tejasā ll

"Since the king was created with the elements of these divine rulers, he excels all beings with his brilliance."

tapatyādityavaccaiṣa cakṣūmṣi ca manāmsi ca l
na cainaṁ bhuvi śaknoti kaścidapyabhivīkṣitum ll

"Like the sun he burns the eyes and the mind : nobody on the earth can look at him face to face."

sognirbhavati vāyuśca sorkah somah sa dharmarāt l
sa kuberah sa varunah sa mahendrah prabhāvataḥ ll

"He is Fire, he is Wind, the Sun, the Moon, the Lord of law (Yama), he is Kubera, he is great Indra—on account of his power."

bālopi nāvamantavyo manusya iti bhūmipah l
mahatī devatā hyeṣā nararūpeṇa tiṣthati ll

"Although a child, one must not show disrespect to a king (on the ground) that he is a man: he remains a great god in the form of a man."

ekameva dahatyagnirnaraṁ durupasarpiṇam l
kulaṁ dahati rājāgniḥ sapaśudravyasamcayam ll

"Fire burns only one man, who approaches him carelessly, but the king-fire burns (his) family with the herd of cattle and treasure."

On the necessity of punishment, that is personified also as Danda ("Staff") he (VII, 18-25) says :—

daṇḍah śāsti prajāh sarvā daṇḍa evābhirakṣati ll
daṇḍah supteṣu jāgarti daṇḍaṁ dharmam vidurbudhāḥ ll

"Danda rules over the subject; Danda protects all; Danda remains awake (when others) are sleeping: the learned have recognised Danda as justice (Dharma)".

samīkṣya sa dhṛtaḥ samyak sarvā rañjayati prajāḥ 1
asamīkṣya praṇītastu vināśayati sarvataḥ 11

"Held properly, after necessary reflection, punishment pleases everybody, but carried without proper reflection, it raises all to the ground"

yadi na pranayedrājā daṇḍam daṇḍyeṣvatandritaḥ 1
śūle matsyānivāpakṣyandurbalān balavattarāḥ 11
adyātkākaḥ purodāśam śvā ca lihyāddhaviḥstathā 1
svāmyam ca na syāt kasmiṁścit pravarteṭādharottaram 11

"In case the king, without being inactive, does not award punishment to the culprit, the stronger ones would look at the weak like fish on a spear" :

"A crow would eat the sacrificial cake and a dog would taste the offering, nobody would possess anything, and everybody would go up and down"

sarvo dandajito loko durlabho hi śucirnaraḥ 1
dandasya hi bhayāt sarvam jagadbhogāya kalpate 11

"This whole world is upheld by punishment, a righteous man is rarely to be met with, it is only on account of fear of punishment that everybeing helps the other."

devadānavagandharvā rakṣāmsi patagoragāḥ 1
tepi bhogāya kalpante daṇḍenaiva nipīḍitāḥ 11

"Even gods, demons, Gandharvas, Rākṣasas, birds and reptiles, having been subdued by punishment, serve the purpose."

duṣyeyuḥ sarvavarnāśca bhidyeran sarvasetavaḥ 1
sarvalokaprakopaśca bhaveddandasya vibhramāt 11

"All castes would get polluted, all bonds would break; there would be trouble everywhere in case of want of (there was no fear of) punishment'

yatra śyāmo lohitākṣo daṇḍaścarati pāpahā 1
prajāstatra na muhyanti netā cetsādhu paśyati 11

"Where black-red-eyed punishment, the destroyer of evil, moves about, there is no trouble among the people—when the bearer (of punishment) correctly has taken the decision"

VIII, 44.

yathā nayatyasṛkpātairmṛgasya mṛgayuḥ padam 1
nayettathānumānena dharmasya nṛpatiḥ padam 11

"As a hunter follows the track of the (wounded) wild

animal along the line of dripping blood, so a king should follow the track of justice through correct inference."

VIII, 91 :

ekohamasmītyātmānaṁ yattvam kalyāṇa manyase ।
nityaṁ sthitaste hrdyeṣah punyapāpekṣitā muniḥ ॥

'My dear, that you believe that you are all alone (is not true, since) there is always present in your heart the sage, the seer of noble and evil acts"

The section on marriage-laws ends with the stanza (IX, 101 f) :

anyonyasyāvyabhīcāro bhavedāmaraṇāntikah ।
eṣa dharmaḥ samāsena jñeyah strīpumsayoḥ paraḥ ॥

"In brief the supreme rule for husband and wife is this : there should be mutual fidelity till death ."

tathā nityam yateyātām strīpumsau tu krtakriyau ।
yathā nābhicaretāṁ tau viyuktāvitaretaram ॥

"So should the husband and wife, performing their duties, always so try that they are never separated and are not faithless to each-other."

The large number of commentaries[1] on the Manu-Smṛti that have been written in the different regions of India prove the high reputation and honour that this work has enjoyed in the whole of the country. The oldest of the commentaries is [the Manubhāsya] that of Medhātithi[2], who probably wrote it in the 9th century A. D. [As Medhātithi names Asahāya and Kumārila and most probably quotes the views of Śaṅkara, he is later than 820 A.D. And as the Mitāksarā considers Medhātithi as an authoritative writer, he must be earlier than 1050. Most probably he flourished in between 823 and 900 A.D.[3]] Perhaps he was an inhabitant of Kashmir. He has been quoted early in South Indian works. Medhātithi repeatedly refers to commentators, some of whom were of earlier and others of still earlier ages (*cirantana*). Therefore, it is certain that long before his age this law-book must have enjoyed

[1. P. V. Kane, Ibid, Appendix I to Vol. I, p 660 gives a list of 18 commentaries on this work.]

[2. Ed. by Gangānātha Jhā, Bib. Ind., No 516, Calcutta 1932; English translation by the same in 5 vols Calcutta 1920-26.]

[3. P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I, p 275.]

high esteem. The commentary, that is characterised by high accuracy and is important for explanations of difficult passsages, is that of Govindarāja[1], who might have written it in the 12th century A D. The more famous and the most frequently printed is the commentary written in the 15th century at Vārāṇasī by Kullūka, who essentially was just a plagiat of the old work of Govindarāja.

The fame and importance of the law-book of Manu has reached even beyond India. The Buddhist law-books of Burma are strongly influenced by the Indian work and most of them are called also Manu-Dhammasaṭṭham, i e. Manu-Dharmaśāstra The most important of these law-books is the Dhammasattham[2] attributed to King Wagaru (1281-1306) This law-book is based on Indian law, as found in Manu and other Smṛtis, but with the exclusion of the Vedic and Brāhmanical elements, so far as they relate to sacrifices, sacraments and expiations Their law of punishment is built wholly on the theory of karman The law-books of Siam too are associated with the tradition of a law-giver Manu and are influenced by the Indian law. In the Java Island too is found actually Mānavadharmaśāstra[3] that is till today the law-book in the Bali Island.

But the age of the Manu-Smrti must be considered to have been anterior to that of the coming into existence of the Dharmaśāstras ascribed to Nārada and Brhaspati.

The Nārada-Smrti[4], in its prose introductory foreword, claims itself to be the ninth chapter, dealing with proper law,

[1 Edited with notes by Viśvanātha Nārāvana Mandlik, Bombay 1886]

2 King Wagaru's Manu Dhammasattham, Text, Translation and Notes (preface by John Jardine), Rangoon 1892 (Text and Translation by E Forchammer) Cf Jolly, Recht und Sitte § 13 and M H Bode, The Pali Literature of Burma, 1909, pp 33, 85 ff See R Rost, Ind Stud I, 315 ff on a Burmese law book in Pāli under the title Manusāra, that probably differs little from our Manu-Smrti: On the Burmese law see also J Kohler, Zeitschrift fur vergl Rechtswissenschaft 6, 1886, p 161 ff

3 Edited and translated by E C G Jonker, cf Jolly, ibid p 43 and D van H Labberton, JRAS 1913, p 3. [A Bergaigne's Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā et du Combodge (p 423) has an inscription in which occur verses, one of which verbally is identical with Manu, II, 136

vittam bandhurvayah karma vidyā bhavati pañcamī I
etāni mānyasthānāni garīyo yadhuttaram II

4 There is a bigger as well as a smaller recension of the text Jolly holds the bigger one to be the original and he has edited it in the Bibl Ind 1885 and has translated it into a English in the SBE, vol 33, p XII.

of a selection made by the divine sage Nārada from an ancient and exhaustive recension of the Manu-Smrti. It is questionable whether this prose foreword actually goes back to the author of the metrical Smṛti and it is still more questionable if the mythical "story of the text" that is narrated here is at all historical[1]. In no case it is possible that the Nārada-Smṛti is derived from a recension of the Manu-Smrti, older than that of Bhṛgu. The tradition, maintained in the Purāṇas, in which Bhrgu, Nārada, Bṛhaspati, and Aṅgiras are enumerated as the successive redactors of the Manu-Smrti, corresponds to a great measure with the actual condition. Thence it is certain that the Nārada-Smrti is younger than the Manu-Smrti. It presents a very advanced stage of development in the treatment of law. It recognises 132 sub-divisions[2] of topics of disputes (*evameṣāṁ prabhedānām dvātriṁśacchatameva vai*). In lieu of the 18 topics of disputes (*aṣṭādaśa vyavahārapadāni*) of Manu, he has 15 types of slavery, 21 types of professions, 11 types of witnesses, 5 types of ordeals; and in respect of the process of written proceedings and documentary evidences he mentions things that make this work clearly appear younger than the Manu-Smrti. The word *dināra*=denarius, meaning a gold-coin, found in the Nārada-Smrti, shows that in no case it was written before the 2nd century B.C and probably not before the 4th century A.D.[3] In Bāna's Kādambarī (7th century

1. Cf. Bühler, SBE, vol 25, p XCV f, Jolly, SBE, vol 33, p XI ff and Recht und Sitte, p 21 f It is important that in an old Nepal manuscript the work is actually called as the "Mānava-Dharmaśāstra in the recension (*saṁhitā*) revealed by Nārada" (SBE, vol 33, p. XII)

[2 According to a quotation in the Mitāksarā on Yājñavalkya, II, 5, there are 108 subdivisions thereof. *eṣāmeva prabhedānyaḥ satamaṣṭottaram bhaved*]

3 The wavering between e and i is a peculiarity of Hellenic Greek, that begins firstly not in the 2nd century A D (see J. Jolly, Recht und Sitte, p 23), but much earlier (see K Brugg mann, Griechische Grammatik, 4th ed, published by A Thumb, Munich 1913,. §§ 9 and 11, Keith, JRAS 1915, 504 f Even in case Roman gold coins came absolutely into India in between the age of Augustus and that of Nero and were quite common there already in the first century A D (see E J Rapson, Indian coins, Grundriss II, 3 B, 1898, pp 4, 17 ff, 25, 35, R. Sewell, JRAS 1904, 591 ff.), the Indian word *dināra* is met with first in the Gupta inscriptions of the 4th century A.D. (see Sewell ibid, p 616) [P V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol I p 204 f., has discussed the question of the age of the Nārada-smṛti and says—"there is nothing to prevent us from holding that Nārada flourished in the first centuries of the Christian era, i.e. between [illegible] A D K P. Jayaswal, however, assigns him to the 4th century A D and that after the Mṛcchakaṭika (ibid) But Nārada is a [illegible] and is considered to be mythical Hence this statement [illegible] valid only with regard to the age of the extant Nārada-[illegible] of the great Bhakta sage Nārada]

A D) we find an allusion to a law-book of Nārada[1] and in the 8th century A D. Asahāya wrote a commentary on the Nārada-Smrti

There are some passages found in the Nārada-Smrti too that were taken from some older epigrammatic poetry. In an elevated language and with poetic ardour the witnesses are reminded about truthfulness in the court of justice There it is said (I, 210 ff) —

ekamevādvitīyam tatprāhuh pāvanamātmanah l
satyam svargasya sopānam pārāvārasya nauriva ll
aśvamedhasahasram ca satyam ca tulayā dhrtam l
aśvamedhasahasrāttu satyameva viśīṣyate ll
bhūrdhārayati satyena satyenodeti bhāskarah l
satyena vāyuh plavate satyenāpah sravanti ca ll
satyameva param dānam satyameva param tapah l
satyameva paro dharmo lokānāmiti nah śrutam ll
pitarastvavalambante tvayi sākṣitvamāgate l
tārayiṣyati kintvasmān kim cāyam pātayiṣyati ll
satyamātmā manuṣyasya satye sarvam pratiṣthitam l
satyamuktvātmanātmānam śreyasā samniyojaya ll

"It is said that truth is a single means for attaining purity of the soul, truth is the carrier to the heaven, like boat that takes us from one bank to another Thousand-horse-sacrifices and truth were weighed on a balance and truth weighed heavier than thousand horse-sacrifices" ."With truth the earth upholds (all being), with truth moves the sun, through truth blows the wind and through truth flows water" "Truth is the highest gift, truth is the highest asceticism, truth is the supreme duty of man—this we have already heard." "The fathers want that you must not depose as a witness. They ask—Will he so try that we may attain a better status or we go down into the hell? [Properly When you come to depose as a witness, the fathers are anxious as to whether he will carry us across anyhow, or if he will drop us down.] Truth is the Soul Itself of man, everything is based on truth therefore, you must speak the truth and lead yourself to the supreme heaven through truth. [Properly —connect yourself with the highest bliss through truth]

1. Buhler, SBE, vol 25, p, CVII, note

More closely associated with the Manū-Smṛti, than the Nārada-Smṛti, is the Bṛhaspati-Smṛti, that is preserved in fragments[1] and in quotations in medieval Indian jurists. Brhaspati always begins with the teachings of Manu, that he completes or enlarges or upon which he comments. The Bṛhaspati-Smṛti is in fact a kind of "Vārttika" on the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra[2]. It passingly speaks about legal documents and prohibits burning of widows, a thing that is not seen in older law-books. Brhaspati, however, stands at several points on a more elevated ground than that on which stands Nārada and, therefore, must be a century or two younger than the latter. In the treatises on law, from the 9th century onwards, he is mentioned as an ancient ṛsi. [But since Kātyāyana looks upon Brhaspati as an authority, he must, therefore, have flourished several centuries before him. Hence, Bṛhaspati cannot be placed later than the 4th century A D. As he knew the extant Manu-Smṛti, he was later than Yājñavalkya and probably later than Nārada too, so Brhaspati must have flourished between 200 and 400 A D.[3]).

Probably Nārada as well as Brhaspati is younger than the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti, the Dharmaśāstra of Yājñavalkya[4], that in respect of antiquity, importance and authority stands next to the Manu-Smṛti. This work too begins in the style of the Manu-Smṛti: the sages approach Ṛsi Yājñavalkya to make inquiries about dharma, and then he presents to them his book on law. This Ṛsi Yājñavalkya, to whom is attributed the authorship of this Dharmaśāstra, is most closely associated with the Śukla-Yajurveda, where he is very often mentioned with his patron Janaka Videha[5]. Obviously it is assumed that the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti belonged to the Śukla

Yajurveda and is based on a Dharmasūtra, that is no more available to us and belongs to Eastern India. [Actually Yājñavalkya is mentioned to be an inhabitant of Mithilā.] This hypothesis receives its confirmation from the proved correspondence between the Yājñavalkya-Smrti and the Pāraskara Grhyasūtra[1]. [Although there are some mantras[2] quoted in this Smrti that are found only in the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, in the opinion of a scholar like P. V. Kane "No such conclusion that there was a dharmaśāstra of the White Yajurveda and that the Yājñavalkya-Smrti was based thereon are warranted by the facts so far furnished"[3].]

It can not be denied that Yājñavalkya's views are more modern and more advanced than those of Manu. The arrangement of the subject-matter is more concise, clearer and more systematic. The work treats in approximately three equally long sections customs (*ācāra*), laws (*vyavahāra*) and expiations (*prāyaścitta*) In the section on law (Vyavahārādhyāya) the 18 topics of dispute of Manu are not expressly mentioned, but we can infer that Yājñavalkya too had recognised this division[4], but there occurs the 19th topic regarding conditions of service, and the 20th section deals with "miscellanea" (*prakīrnaka*). Whilst Manu prescribes recording of the witnesses and ordeals with fire and water only as admissible evidences, Yājñavalkya speaks in detail about drafting and examination of written documents and he describes five types of ordeals. The occurrence of the word *nānaka* for coin (II, 240) and some passages that reveal his acquaintance with Greek astrology go to prove that the Yājñavalkya-Smrti could not have been written earlier than the 3rd or 4th century A D.

[P. V Kane has examined this view elaborately and he is of the opinion that since the Yājñavalkya-Smrti mentions the arrangement of the naksatras from the Krttikā to the Bharanī

1 Other references with regard to the Śukla-Yajurveda, so in respect of the *mantras*, are, however, doubtful, P v Bradke Über das Mānva Grhva-Sūtra, p 7 ff, shows correspondences with the Mānava-Grhyasūtra According to Beaman, On the Sources of the Dharmaśāstra of Manu and Yājñavalkya, Yājñavalkya had at times utilized the then existing Dharma—and Grhyasūtras more than the Manu-Smrti had done

[2 For example *yavosi* (Vāj S 5, 26=Yāj Smṛti I, 230), *ye samānā* (Vāj S 19, 45=Yāj Smṛti I, 254, etc]

3 History of Dharmaśāstra, vol I, p. 183)

[4 Yāj Sm II, 240-241.]

Winternitz, Vol III, 37.

and not from the Āśvinī to the Revatī as settled in the time of Varāhamihira in the 5th century A.D., the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti can not be of a period so late as the 4th century A.D. It appears that Yājñavalkya did not know of astrology anything more than what was current in days of the Brāhmaṇas and Grhya-sūtras. Further Yājñavalkya prescribes fines for persons who counterfeited *nānakas*. Now this *nānaka* is a gold coin bearing the picture of the goddess Nannaiā of the Kushan kings[1], who did not rise to power before 78 A.D. This would place Yājñavalkya after 100 A D Concluding P. V. K a n e says that there is nothing to prevent us from holding that the extant Smṛti was composed in the first two centuries of the Christain era or even a century earlier[2].]

In respect of language, style and subject-matter the Dharmaśāstra of Yājñavalkya, like that of Manu, shows points of contact with gnomic poetry. There are again several passages in which the language of the text-book goes over to that of gnomic poetry; but their number in Yājñavalkya is not so large as in Manu.

For example, the stanza (I, 348) on destiny and man's action belongs to gnomic poetry.[3] In respect of the Brāhmana's position of superiority and in regard to the relationship of the priest and the king, Yājñavalkya is in agreement with Manu. So in I, 199 he says:

sarvasya prabhavo viprāh śrutādhyayanaśīlinah ।
tebhyah kriyāparāh śresthāstebhyopyadhyātmavittamāh ॥

"Of all the masters are the Brāhmanas, who are devoted to the study of the Veda; superior to them are those who have offered sacrifices; and those who know the soul are further superior."

I, 322 § :—

nātah parataro dharmo nrpānām yadranārjitam ।
viprebhyo dīyate draviyam prajābhyaścābhayam sadā ॥

"There is no higher duty for kings than making gift to Brāhmanas the wealth gained in fight and (the gift of)

perpetual fearlessness to the people" And so as in the Manu-Smrti, so also in the Yājñavalkya-Smrti, there are philosophical sections. In the chapters on the duties of anchorites (III, 45 ff.) and of ascetics (III, 56 ff) occur also the teachings of Sāmkhya and Yoga and general ascetic morals In III, 66 is described dharma :

satyamasteyamakrodho hrīh śaucam dhīrdhrtirdamah l
samyagindriyatā vidyā dharmah sarva udāhrtah ll

"Truthfulness, abstaining from theft and anger, modesty, purity, patience, self-control, subduing the senses, sciences, the dharma is comprehended in its entirety in these." In III 67 the teachings about multiplicity of the soul is illustrated with a loving picture .

nissaranti yathā lohapindāttaptāt sphulingakāh l
sahāśādātmanastadvadātmānah prabhavanti hi ll

"As sparkles spring up from a glowing clump of iron, so from *ātman* spring up the *ātmans* (i e the individual souls from the universal soul.")

Here we find also (III, 72) a wholly embryological and anatomical section in which *inter alia* are accurately enumerated the nerves, the muscles, veins and hairs of the body —

dvāsaptatisahasrāni hrdayādabhinihsrtāh l
hitāhitā nāma nādyastāsām madhye śaśiprabham ll
mandalam tasya madhyastha ātmā dīpa ivācalah l
sa jñeyastam viditveha punarājāyate na tu ll

"There are seventy two thousand veins, called "good" and "bad", that come out of the heart, in the middle of these shining like the moon there is a circle, in the centre of it stands Ātmā like a motionless lamp· one should know Him, having known Him one is not reborn". (III, 108 f)

In the verse that follows Yājñavalkya says —

jñeyam cāranyakamaham yadādityādavāptavān l
yogaśāstram ca matprāptam jñeyam yogamabhīpsatā ll

"One should know the Āranyaka, what I have known from the Sun, and the Science of Yoga, that has been revealed by me, one who wants to know Yoga should know it [1]"

1 Probably we are to understand by this the Yājñavalkya-Janaka-Samvāda of the Mahābhārata XII, 310-318, in which the teachings of Sāmkhya have been explained.

Associated with the creation of man (III, 118 ff.) is the theory of rebirth and its dependence upon noble and evil deeds (III, 131 ff.). Here we find also the well-known comparison of the soul with an actor as in Sāṁkhya :

yathā hi bharato varṇairvarṇayatyātmanastanum l
nānārūpāni kurvānastathātmā karmajāstanūḥ ll

"As an actor paints his body with colours, whilst he assumes different forms, so does Ātman assume (different) bodies begot by His own activities (III, 162)".

On the Dharmaśāstra of Yājñavalkya too there are many commentaries The most famous one is the one composed by the beggar-monk Vijñāneśvara, the Mitāksarā. This Mitāksarā is more than a commentary : it is a juristical treatise that is based on the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti. Vijñāneśvara was a South Indian who lived in the second half of the 11th century A.D. His work was held in esteem early in the South and also in Vārānasī and in a large part of North India, and under the British rule too its section on laws of inheritance[1], for the purpose of modern legality as well, has been of importance through Colebrooke's translation. On the Mitāksarā too there are very many commentaries[2].

[In addition to this Yājñavalkya, we find mention of Vrddha Yājñavalkya, Yoga Yājñavalkya and Bṛhad Yājñavalkya as Smṛti-writers. The Mitāksarā and Apatāṅka frequently quote from Vrddhayājñavalkya, who was a writer on Vyavahāra and Prāyaścitta. Further the Mitāksarā cites Brhadyājñavalkya on Prāyaścitta. So Vṛddha Yājñavalkya and Brhadyājñavalkya must have flourished before 800 A.D.

Yoga-Yājñavalkya existed in a period earlier than 800 A.D., since he is quoted by Vācaspatimiśra, who wrote his Nyāyasūcīnibandha in the year 898 of the Vikrama era, i.e. in 841-42 A.D.[1]]

One of the famous teachers of the Śukla-Yajurveda is Kātyāyana, of whose Smṛti[2] we find only fragments through quotations in later-day jurists. So far as we are able to conclude from the available citations it appears that possibly the Kātyāyana-Smṛti may have been very similar to the Smṛti of Bṛhaspati in respect of the contents and that probably it was written in about the same age. [But since Kātyāyana often quotes the view of Bṛhaspati, the former must have been a few centuries younger than the latter. This upper age limit is the 3rd or the 4th century A.D. Further Kātyāyana is quoted by Viśvarūpa. Hence the age of Kātyāyana may be said to be in between the 4th and 5th century A.D.[3]] Of the large number of Dharmaśāstras, that are known only from quotations, may be mentioned the one ascribed to Vyāsa[4] that is in agreement at many places with Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana and another that of Pitāmaha[5], who is quoted as an authority in Bṛhaspati. From Hārīta too are quoted over 50 stanzas on juristic topics that are not found in the above-mentioned Dharmaśāstra of Hārīta, and, therefore, have been quoted from some younger Hārīta-Smṛti

There must have been a large number of Smṛtis[6], younger than these and other Smṛtis, out of which have sprung up some Smṛtis that are preserved in manuscripts and have been brought

[1. P V Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, vol I, p 188]

[2 Kātyāyanamatasamgraha or a collection of the legal fragments of Kātyāyana, By Narayan Chandra Bandyopadhyaya, Calcutta 1927 and Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroddhārah or Kātyāyana-smṛti on Vyavahāra (laws and procedure) Text (reconstructed), translation notes and introduction by P V Kane, Bombay 1933]

[3. P. V Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, vol I, p 217 f]

4 In the deeds of gift we often find cited certain verses in which great religious merit is accorded for gift and which are attributed to Vyāsa Many of these verses are taken from the Mahābhārata and many from the Vyāsa-Smṛti, see Jolly, JRAS 1913, 674 ff (Editions ĀnSS 1905 and Jīvananda Vidyasāgara, Calcutta)

5 K Scriba, Die Fragmente des Pitāmaha, Text und Übersetzung, Leipzig 1902 (Wurzburger Diss)

6 Yājñavalkya I, 4f, enumerates 20 authors of Dharmaśāstras These very names (in another order) occur also in the Agni-Purāna 162 In the Vīramitrodaya 57 and in the Nirnayasindhu 131 Smṛtis are cited; Shamrao Vithal, JBRAS 22, 335

out in verse. They do not treat dharma as a whole, but only in parts. All these works are attributed to different gods and ṛṣis, most of whom are such as are elsewhere too well known as authors of Dharmaśāstras Frequently many works are attributed to one and the same author and they are distinguished by use of the expressions L a g h u ("small"), B ṛ h a d ("big"). V ṛ d d h a ("old") from one another. Thus one of the collections contains 28 Smṛtis[1], and among them there is one Laghu-Atri-Saṁhitā, an Atri-Saṁhitā, a Vṛddha-Atri-Saṁhitā, a Laghu-Hārīta-Smṛti and a Vṛddha-Hārīta-Smṛti, an Auśanasam Dharmaśāstram of 51 ślokas and only one Auśanasa-Smṛti in 9 adhyāyas, an Āṅgirasa-Smṛti, one Yama-Smṛti, one Āpastamba-Smṛti, etc. To them belong also the Bṛhat-Manu-Smṛti and one Vṛddha-Manu-Smṛti, that are not identical with the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra, but they are much younger works[2]. In the Mahābhārata and in the Purānas, there are many pieces that are not different from such Smṛtis[3]. The proper law is treated in none of these texts, but only customs and religious usages (*ācāra*) and expiations (*prāyaścitta*). We do not know even the approximate age of any of these works One of the more important and relatively older of these works is the P a r ā ś a r a-S m ṛ t i[4], on which Mādhava wrote a commentary in the 14th century A.D. The author of this Smṛti, in his introduction, calls himself a "modern" and states that he is prescribing rules for

the modern Kali-Age, whilst Manu, Gautama and Samkhalikhita have codified rules for the former ages :

[*krte tu mānavā dharmāstretāyām gautamāh smrtāh*]
dvāpare śamkhalikhitāh kalau pārāśarāh smrtāh ll]

Since Yājñavalkya names one Parāśara as an authority on *dharma*, it is not certain that Parāśara quoted by Medhātithi [in the 9th century A D] is identical with the author of our Smrti. [We may, however, with P. V Kane, assign him to some period between the first and the fifth century A D [1]] A much younger work is, however, the Brhat-Parāśara-Smrti, "the great Parāśara-Smrti", that in fact is approximately five times as big as the Parāśara-Smrti.

More important than these modern Smrtis are the Dharmanibandhas. They are systematic and partly very voluminous treatises on *dharma*. These began to be written approximately in about the eleventh century A D and they have continued to be written down upto the recent days. Many of these works are important on account of a large number of quotations contained in them that were taken from earlier works that are now lost to us. They unlike Smrtis, were not written in the schools of *dharma*, but were usually written by ministers, jurists and similar other personalities under orders of the kings. One of the oldest of these works is the Smrtikalpataru, also called Smrtikalpadruma or Krtyakalpataru[2], of Laksmīdhara, foreign minister of one King Govindacandra, who is probably identical with King Govindacandra of Kannauja, who ruled between 1105 and 1143 A D The work speaks about all the parts of religious *dharma*, about the rights of the king and about legal proceedings In the 12th century Halāyudha, the Chief Justice of King Laksmanasena of Bengal, wrote one Brāhmanasarvasva[3] on the daily duties of the Brāhmanas. Important is the Smrticandrikā of Devannabhatta [4] This work, that was probably written in about 1200 A D , is divided into several sections, of which only one, namely that dealing with the law of inheritance (*dāyabhāga*) has been printed. In between 1260 and 1309 Hemādri wrote his

[1 History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol I, p 195]
[2 Published, in 11 vols in GOS, 1943-1955]
[3 Published (2nd Edition), Calcutta 1839 New edition, Calcutta 1960, Published also lithographically in samvat 1943]
[4 Edited and Published in 6 parts, Govt Oriental library, Mysore 1914-1921]

voluminous work the Caturvargacintāmaṇi[1], that in 5 big chapters deals with vows, gifts, places of pilgrimage, redemption, śrāddha and sacrificial calender and is replete with quotations from the Purāṇas and Smṛtis. Hemādri was a minister and record-keeper of two mighty rulers of the Yādava-dynasty. In the 14th century Caṇḍeśvara [of Mithilā], son of a minister and himself a minister of King Harasimhadeva (about 1325 A. D.) wrote a voluminous compendium Smṛtiratnākara[2] and a small work, the Kṛtyacintāmaṇi, that deals with religious duties. In about 1475 lived in the court of King Harināràyana in Mithilā the jurist Vāraspatimiśra who wrote different Cintāmaṇis (wish-jewels) on several branches of *dharma*[3]. The Madanapārijāta[4] of Viśveśvara, whose patron was king Madanapāla (about 1360-1370 A.D.), treats religious usages and also laws of inheritance and expiations. This work too is extraordinarily rich in quotations from Smṛtis, such as Manu, Vṛddha-Manu, Bṛhad-Manu, Atri, Viṣnu, Vṛddha-Viṣnu, Bṛhad-Viṣnu, Yājñavalkya, Yogi-Yājñavalkya, Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya, etc. and also from other dharma nibandhas as well as from 21 different Purāṇas.

Whilst these works mainly deal with religious duties and usages, there are other compendia that deal with real laws (*vyavahāra*). Probably in the 15th century Jīmūtavāhana wrote his Dharmaratna. The section dealing with the laws of inheritance, the Dāyabhāga[5], is the chief work of the Bengal school of law. Raghunandana, in the 16th

century, wrote his voluminous Smṛtitattva[1] in 28 sections, among which of particular importance are those on the supernatural ordeals, laws of inheritance and jurisprudence In the 17th century Nīlakantha wrote the Bhagavantabhāskara[2] in 12 rays (Mayūkhas), and Kamalākara, a cousin of Nilakantha, brought out a voluminous literary production the Nirnayasindhu[3], that even now is considered authoritative for religious practices in Mahārāstra. Apart from his bigger work the Dharmatattva is the Śūdradharmatattva, called also Śūdrakamalākara[4] that describes the rights and duties of the Śūdras Mitramiśra, the commentator of the Mitāksarā, is also the author of the Vīramitrodaya[5], a voluminous encyclopaedia, that treats not law exclusively, but contains also sections on Medicine, Astrology, Bhakti and Moksa In the 18th century many Dharmanibandhas were compiled by native panditas at the behest of English officers

Lastly it may be mentioned that in recent years scholars have written special works on different topics of law. Thus for example there is extant a complete literature on adoption, such as the Dattakamīmāmsā of Nandapandita (of Vārānasi) written in the 17th century and the Dattārka or Dattaputrārka of Dādā Kharagjī Koneri written in the year 1769[6] A.D.

1 Several times printed in India

2 That is to say "Sun of Bhagavanta", so called because the work was written at the command of the Rajput prince Bhagavantadeva (in about 1640 A D) The "rav" dealing with real jurisprudence (vyavahāra) has been repeatedly printed in India, so Bombay 1826 by Borradaile, who has also translated the work into English (Surat 1827).

3 Bombay 1868 and several times printed in India

4 Editions published in Bombay 1862, 1877, 1880

5 It should not be confused with the Mitāksarā commentary that too has the same title, that means "rise (i e rise of the moon of law), written by Mitra misra in honour of Vīrasimha". His patron was the same Vīrasimha who in the year 1602 was assassinated by Abul Fazl The work has been published in the ChSS 1906 ff The portions treating law has been published with an English translation by G Sarkar Several other compendia, see in Jolly, Recht und Sitte, p 12 Cf also Jolly, ZDMG 46, 1892, p 269, Haraprasād Report II, 3 ff

6 The Dattakamīmāmsā has been printed several times in India JCC Sutherland (Calcutta 1821, 2nd ed 1834), too has translated English this work along with the Dattakacandrikā See also J Jolly, Über eine Handschrift des Dattārka, S BayA 1908, und Die Adoption in Indien, Würzburg 1910, p 6.

ARTHAŚĀSTRA (NĪTIŚĀSTRA)

The Indians understand by the term Arthaśāstra all the theories and manuals taken together that deal with practical life—Technique, Domestic Economy, Administration and in particular Politics. The most important branch of Arthaśāstra is Politics that is mentioned also as the independent science of Nītiśāstra, the science of "guidance" or of "government". In particular knowledge is necessary for the king for the purpose of domestic affairs and for administration. It constitutes a section of "Politics", so much so that sometimes the term Arthaśāstra and Nītiśāstra are used as synonyms. Since the Indians could not conceive of any form of administration, other than monarchial, this science is called also Rājanīti, "King's Politics", and since the most important instrument of administration was the power of punishment, it was called also Dandanīti, "Punishment Politics."

The development of Arthaśāstra is associated with the three aims of life (*trivarga*), and so it offers three aims to human being: dharma (performance of religious and customary duties, artha (useful acquisition and possession of property and gold) and kāma (enjoyment of sexual pleasure). Patañjali[1] was already familiar with this discipline, Aśvaghoṣa knew it and it has several times been referred to in the Mahābhārata[2], in the Manu-Smrti and in the Tantrākhyāyika. We are not in a position to state the time since when these separate sciences came to stand for each of the three constituent parts of the *trivarga*. In the Caraṇavyūha, belonging to the Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭas, about whose antiquity we know nothing beyond this that Arthaśāstra is mentioned as an Upaveda or a "subsidiary Veda" of the Rgveda. But is is the product of a purely Brāhmanical effort to attribute all knowledge, including even the most secular sciences, as connected with the Vedas. Bhāsa knew the Arthaśāstra[3].

1 Mahābhāsya on Pānini 2, 2, 34, Vārttika 9 In the Hiranyakeśi-Grhyasūtra II, 19, 6 Dharma, Artha and Kāma are personified In the Visnu-Smrti 59, 30 the pursuit for attainment of three objectives of life are mentioned among the preliminary duties of house-holder

2 The Mahābhārata (1, 2, 381) claims to be an Arthaśāstra, a Dharmaśāstra and a Kāmaśāstra, see above I, 272, trans p. 326

3. It is mentioned in the Pratijñāyaugandharāyana (act II, verse 13), without naming it as such, that the entire drama is a glorification of Niti, so in the Pratimānātaka [The translator is unable to read in the

In the Lalitavistara[1] it is included among the sciences that were learnt by Siddhārtha In the Mahābhārata (XII, 58, 1 ff) the gods and Wise Brhaspati, Viśālāksa, Uśanas, the thousand-eyed Mahendra, [Sahasrāksa Mahendra], Manu, son of Praceetas, Bhāradvāja and Gauraśiras are named as the "originator of the king's science" (*rājaśāstrapraṇetārah*). Elsewhere as well there appear partly the same teachers who are named as authors of Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra From this probably we may conclude that in course of time Arthaśāstra branched off from Dharmasāstra or that in the beginning, before proper the Arthaśāstra schools originated, both the sciences were taught in the same school as "king's duties[2]" [*rājadharma*] Indeed there have always existed topics that have been common to both the sciences Already in the old Dharmasūtras[3] there were treated topics that fell within the jurisdiction of Arthasāstra, so for example the lay-out of cities and palaces, the appointment of officers, the types of tariffs and taxes and the organisation of the army The metrical Dharmaśāstras that we possess already presuppose the existence of Arthaśāstra as an independent discipline[4] Yājñavalkya (II, 21)[5] and Nārada (I, 39) have expressly laid down as firmly standing the rule that in case there is opposition between Dharmaśāstra and Arthasāstra, the former prevails over the latter·

[*yatra vipratipattih syāddharmaśāstrārthaśāstrayoh* l
arthaśāstroktamutsrjya dharmaśāstroktamācaret ll]

There are fundamental differences existing in respect of the mode of administration prescribed in the two sciences. Arthaśāstra deals more with actual conditions, whilst Dharma-

verse 13 of Act II of the Pratijñāyaugandharāyana the meaning given by W The stanza reads —

arthasāstragunagrāhī jyeṣtho gopālakah sutah l
gandharvadiṣī vyāyāmasālī cāpyanupālakah ll]

This may be translated as —

"The eldest son Gopālaka is an expert in arthaśāstra and even the younger brother of Gopāla is later of Gandharvas and he is expert in wrestling."

1 Ed Lefmann, p 156

2 Jacobi (SBL 1912, p 838 f) considers it doubtful whether there was any real school of Arthasāstra Cf Jolly ZDMG, 67, 1913, p 95 Hillebrandt, ZDMG 69, 1915, p 360 ff, rightly assumes the distinction between the schools

3 So in the Āpastambīya-Dharmasūtra II, 10, 25 and 26

4 The same holds good also for the chapters 3 and 4 in the Visnusmrti Passages like Manu 7, 155 ff, Yājñavalkya I, 344 ff, Visnu 3 38 f etc presuppose a terminology known from the Arthaśāstra

5 [*arthasāstrāttu balavaddharmaśāstramiti sthitih* l]

śāstra often lays down only the ideal requirements. What for one science appears to be particularly essential is considered by the other as subsidiary and is passed over. Thus in Arthaśāstra they teach torture in matter of legal proceedings and ordeal is passed over, whilst Dharmaśāstra speaks only about the latter, in case both of them are feasible[1]. Besides the axioms too of the two sciences are different : Dharmaśāstra prescribes duties, that are based on the revelation, the *Śruti*, whilst Arthaśāstra on the contrary prescribes standard rules for attainment of particular material objectives, without taking into consideration either religion or morality[2]. It is on this account that the Buddhists too are wholly opposed to Arthaśāstra. In the Jātakamālā[3] the principle of the king's science (Rājaśāstra) that morality (*dharma*) prevails only so long as it is not opposed to gain (*artha*) is expressly refuted and Nīti is said to be on the same level as falsehood :

tataḥ sa vidvānapi rājaśāstramarthānuvṛttyā gatadharmamārgam |
dharmānurāgeṇa dadau gajendram nītivyatīkena na saṁcakampe |
mukto mayā nāma sametya geham samantato rājyavibhūtirmamyam |
yanmatsamīpam punrāgatastvaṁ na nītimārge kuśalosi tasmāt ||

Exactly like legal aphorisms, the counsels for the conduct of the king, the oldest teachings on artha and nīti, must have for a long time been in circulation either in the form of memorial verses or in that of epigrams before proper schools and śāstras came into being. It is why we find in the Mahābhārata, at many places, dharma—and nīti-epigrams placed promiscuously[4]. Many sections in the Mahābhārata are directly short Nītiśāstras or extracts from them[5]. The existence of an

1. Cf Jolly, ZDMG 67, p 49 ff, 94 f

2 Māgha in the Śiśupālavadha II, 30 says "One's own prosperity and defeat of the enemy—these are the two things that go to make all *nīti*, See also above p. 316

ātmodayah parajyānirdvayam nītiritīyate |
tadūrīkrtya krtibhirācaspatyam pratāyate ||

3 IX, 10, XXXI, 52 f.

4 So in the dialogue of Vidura in the book V, in particular in the chapters 33, 36, 37 and 39 Full of *nīti*-stanzas is also the book XII and in particular its chapters 80 ff, 93 ff., 103 ff, 112, 114 f., 118 f, 168

5 Passages like the Mahābhārata I, 140, where Minister Kanika advises King Dhrtarāṣtra as to how a king should struggle unscrupulously for annihilation of his enemy or those like IV, 4, where directions are given for the conduct of courtiers, a kind of "kniga" for dealings with kings As against this the chapter XV, 5-7, might have been borrowed from an actual Nītiśāstra.

Arthaśāstra is definitely hinted at in book XII of the Mahābhārata. It is narrated here that Creator Brahman himself wrote a huge book in 100,000 sections, in which the whole of trivarga had been explained. With the intention of making the world prosperous and for establishment of trivarga he has created the science of Dandanīti. This is followed by a table of contents of this manual that apparently corresponds closely to that of an Arthaśāstra. It is further said that this manual of nīti was learnt first of all by sublime Śiva, the Great-Eyed (Viśālākṣa), and it was abridged in view of the shortness of human-life. This abridgement (in only 10000 sections) was learnt by God Indra and he abridged it further into 5000 sections. This newly abridged version called Bāhudantaka (of Bāhudantin, a courtier of Indra) was further abridged into 3000 sections by Brhaspati and was named Bārhaspatya Finally it was abridged into 1000 sections by Kāvya (i e. Uśanas)[1].

The Indian ornate poets show much familiarity with Nītiśāstra. Study of this discipline is prescribed as compulsory for poets and eminent poets are seen to attach great importantce to parade their knowledge of this science. Thus Kālidāsa demonstrates his knowledge of Nītiśāstra in the Raghuvaṁśa (XI, 55, XII, 69; XVII, 45 etc.), Bhāravi in the Kirātārjunīya (I and II) and Māgha in the whole of the canto II of the Śiśupālavadha. Somodeva in his Kathāsaritsāgara demonstrates his knowledge of Nītiśāstra. The principles of Nītiśāstra that Kalhana in the Rājatangiṇī (4, 344 ff,) puts into the mouth of King Lalitāditya point to the affiliation of this science to Kashmir.

The oldest works on Arthaśāstra have not come down to us It follows from the above referred to Mahābhārata-passages that Indian tradition considered Brhaspati to be the founder of Arthaśāstra[2]. At another place in the Mahābhārata (III, 32, 60 f.) Draupadī says that she has heard the nīti-theories

1 Mahābh XII, 59, 28 ff, 76 ff In the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra Viśālākṣa, Bāhudantiputra, Brhaspati and Usanas are mentioned as authors of Artha Cf also Kamasūtra, p 3 f where it is said that from the creator's great work on trivarga Manu separated the part dealing with dharma, Brhaspati, that dealing with artha, and Nandin, Śiva's attendant, that on kāma

2 Brhaspati was at the same time the teacher of Lokāyata See Hillebrandt in the Festschrift Kuhn, p 20 on the connection of Lokāyata and Arthaśāstra

propounded by Brhaspati when a Brāhmaṇa-scholar was conveying her to her brothers :

[brāhmanam me pitā pūrvam vāsayāmāsa panditam ‖
sopi sarvāmimām prāha pitre me bharatarṣabha ‖]

In Bhāsa's Pratimānāṭaka (p. 79) Rāvana says that he has studied the Bārhaspatya-Arthaśāstra. But unfortunately of this Arthaśāstra of Brhaspati we possess a version that is very much altered and replete with modern elements[1]. In particular in adhyāyas II and III the text that has come down to us *inter alia* carries against heretics tirades that certainly do not stand in any ancient Arthaśāstra The position that it is not possible to verify the observations of the Bārhaspatyas quoted at several places in the Kautilīya-Arthaśāstra goes to prove that only a small portion of the little extensive work should have belonged to the old Arthaśāstra of Brhaspati.

By far the most important work of the Arthaśāstra literature is the Kautilīya-Arthaśāstra, i.e. the text-book of the art of administration and government, that is attributed to Kautilya (or Cānakya or Viṣṇugupta), the minister of King Chandragupta of the Maurya dynasty. No other work of Indian literature provides us with so rich amount of information about ancient Indian political and social conditions as does this book, of which the existence has been known to us since long ago[2], although its text came to be known for the first time in 1909[3].

1 It has been edited by F W Thomas in Le Muséon, p 3, t 1, No 2, March 1916 An (unauthorised) reprint is No. I of the Panjab Sanskrit Series, Brihaspati-Sūtra or the Science of Politics according to the school of Brhaspati ed by F.W Thomas, with Introductory Remarks and Indexes by Bhagavad Datta, Lahore 1921.

2. Cf Th. Aufrecht, ZDMG 28, 1874, 104, Th Zachariae, Beitrage zur indischen Lexikographie (1883), p 43, and WZKM 20, 306, A Hillebrandt, Uber das Kautilīyaśāstra und Verwandtes, Breslau 1908 [Some other important publications are —Hindu Political Thought and Its Metaphysical Foundation by Vishwanath Prasad Varma, 2nd edn, Patna 1959; Some Aspects of Hindu Polity—D R Bhandarkar, Benares 1929, Substance of Hindu Polity—Chandra Prakash Bhambhri, Meerut 1959, Rājadharma by K V Rangaswami Aiyargar, Adyar 1941. Narendra Nath Law, Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, London, 2nd Edn 1960] By far the most important work is K P. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity Second Edition, Bangalore, 1943]

On Kauṭilya see also Kautilya by Narayan Chandra Bandyopadhyaya Calcutta 1927. On Mauryan Polity, see V R Ramachandra Dikshitar, Madras 1932, and also A S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, Madras 1951]

3. Through the edition of R Shama Śastri, Mysore 1909, 2nd ed. revised, 1919 [Winternitz quotes from the latter edition], a complete translation of the same work by the same author was published from Bangalore in 1915; (its several parts with a translation had come out

The work is written in prose and is composed in admixture of the sūtra and bhāsya-styles[1]. Sometimes epigrammatic stanzas

already earlier, Ind Ant 31, 38 and 39) On the textual criticism of the Kaut we have the important essays of J Jolly, ZDMG 68, 1914, 345 ff, 69, 1915, 369 ff, 71, 1917, 414 ff, and J J Sorabji, Some Notes on the Adhyakṣha-Prachāra, Book II of the Kautilīyam Arthasāstram, Diss (Wurzburg) 1914 Book I has been translated into Italian by M Vallauri in the Rivista degli Studi Or VI, 1317 ff, Roma 1915 and into German by Jolly, ZDMG 74, 1920, 321 ff Several passages have been translated by Otto Stein, Megasthenes und Kautilya, Wien 1921, SWA Cf also Jolly, ein altindisches Lehrbuch der Politik in den verhandlungen der I Hauptversammlung der Internat Vereinigung für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft und Volkwirtschaftslehre 1911, Berlin 1912, p 181 ff Narendra Nath Law, Studies in Ancient Indian Polity, London 1914 is based on the first part of this work and the same author's Inter-State Relations in India, Part I, Calcutta and London 1920, is based on its second part [that W knew only from the discussions in the JRAS 1921, 614 ff] [N N Law, Inter State Relations in Ancient India also in the Ind Ant 49, 1920, 129 ff, 148 ff, 176 f]

1 It is hardly possible to separate the sūtras from the commentary (*bhāsya*) clearly Shama Sastri (Translation, p XXIII) believes that the catch-words standing at the end of the 150th chapter are composed as sūtras, but he himself adds to it that the "commentary" at many places is not very much different, in respect of the style, from the sūtras, whilst at several places the language is akin to that of the Upanisads and of the Brāhmanas of later ages Thomas, JRAS 1910, 971 f, compares the style of the Kaut with that of Patañjali and Jacobi too (SBA 1912, p 842) places Kaut in a line with the works like Yāska's Nirukta and Patañjali's Mahābhāsya But the prose of the latter appears to W to be more elegant The Cānakyasūtrāni, printed in the appendix to the second edition of Shama Sastri, have little in common with the sūtras The 571 small sentences, that are more like prose epigrams (of the type of Cānakya's epigrams in verses) than like sūtras Only a few of them occur also in the Kaut [Some other important publications are —Arthasāstravyākhyā Jayamangalā, ed with Introduction in G Harihara Śāstrī, Madras 1958 Cānakyasūtrāni with Hindi translation and commentary by Rāmāvatāra Vidyābhāskara, Svādhyāya Mandala, Paradi, 1959, Canakyasūtram with the commentary Sārārthabodhinī, edited by Rajendrakumāra Bhattāchārya, Calcutta 1932, Kautilīya-Arthaśāstra with a Hindi Commentary, Vārānasi, Sam 2016, Hindi translation by Prānanātha Vidyālankāra, Lahore 1923 also by Udayavīra Śāstrī, Lahore 1925 The Arthasāstra of Kautilīya with the commentary Śrīmūla of T Ganapati Śāstrī, edited by the commentator in three volumes, Trivendrum 1921, 1924, 1925, TSS 79, 80 and 82, Arthaśāstra of Kautilya, a new edition by J Jolly and R Schmidt, with the commentary Nayacandrikā of Mādhava Yajvan, Lahore, 1924 Bhattasvāmin's commentary on Kautilya's Arthasāstra, ed K P Jayaswal and A Banerji Śāstrī, JBORS, Supplement to vols 11 and 12 1925 26 Altindische Buch vom Welt und Staatsleben, das Arthasāstra des Kautilya aus dem Sanskrit Übersetzt und mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen versehen von Johann Jakob Meyer, Leipzig 1926 German translation by J Jolly, ZDMG 74 1920

A different work wholly in verses is the Canakyarājanīti-śāstram, ed by Isvaracandra Śāstrī, Calcutta 1919 The colophon reads —

cānakyarājanīkyamidam kanthe bibhrati ye budhāh 1
prahitam bhojarājena bhuvi kim prāpyate na taih 11

and memorial verses are interpolated, mostly in ślokas and a few and in the upajāti metre. In particular each chapter (adhyāya) ends in one or more verses that generally supplement the ideas expressed in the preceding prose passages.

The work begins with an exposition that this Arthaśāstra is on the whole just a small collection of earlier teachings of well known Arthaśāstras[1]. It is followed by a table of contents, in which the titles of 15 main chapters (adhikaranas) and 180 topics (prakaraṇas) are enumerated[2].

The first main section, according to the headline, contains "instructions" regarding the mode of training" (*vinaya*) for rulers (*rājavṛttiḥ*). The sciences that the princes must learn are enumerated : Philosophy (*ānvīṣikī*)[3], knowledge of the Veda (*trayī*), Economics (*vārtā*), and administration (*daṇḍanīti*). Philosophy constitues the basis for all other sciences : it sharpens the intellect for all eventualities and lends dexterity to thought, conversation and conduct[4]. The

This work has almost none of the characteristics of the Kautilīya and is full of didactical stanzas and of those on daily life of man A few probes will make a presentation of its style —

jāteti cintām mahatīm prasūte
deyātra no veti vicāraduhkham l
dattā sukham tisthati vā na veti
kanyāpitṛtvam hyatikastameva ll

"When (a daughter) is born, (parents) are very much unhappy; one is tormented by the anxiety as to whom she should be given then after she is given, (the anxiety) is whether she is happy or not to become a girl's father is simply painful"

rahasyabhedam paiśunyam paradoṣānukīrtanam l
kalaham paranindām ca dūratah parivarjayet ll

"One should avoid from off (the habit of) disclosing secrets, wickedness, strife and speaking ill of others"

Speaking about the duty of the king he says .—

puṣpam puṣpam vicinvīta mūlocchedam na kārayet l
mālākāra ivārāme na yathāngārakārakah ll

"As a garlander in a garden collects flowers from different plants, so one should not uproot a tree like a fire-brand."

1. [*pṛthivyāh lābhe pālane ca yāvantyarthaśāstrāṇi pūrvācāryaih prasthāpitāni prāyasastāni samgṛhya ekamidam arthaśāstram kṛtam*]

2 In the book itself each main section is divided into a number of chapters (adhyāyas), that are just partly associated with the prakaranas. It appears that this adhyāya- division is the work of a later redaction.

3. Ānvīksikī, see above p 466 f and S u a l i, Introduzione 110 ff., J a c o b i, SBA 1911, p 733 ff and GGA 1919, p 22 ff. On this very important chapter for the history of Indian Literature see J a c o b i, SBA 1911, 954; ff and H e r t e l, Das Pañcatantra, p 1 ff.

[The different schools of philosophy are .—Sānkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata]

4. *pradipah sarvavidyānām upāyah sarvakarmanām* l
aśrayah sarvadharmāṇāṇ śaśvad ānvīksikī matā ll

knowledge of the three Vedas and the Vedāngas contributes towards determination of the duties of the different castes and stages of life. In respect of these instructions about duties Arthaśāstra wholly stands on the soil of Brāhmanical religion and prescribes, exactly as Smrtis, in particular the duties of all castes and for all stages of life (*varnas* and *āśramas*) In respect of Economics (Agriculture, Cattle-breeding, Trade and Profession), the prince should be trained by his officers, in the Science of Administration (Dandanīti, polity of exercise of authority) by theoretical and practical politicians. For completion of his training he should always be in contact with senior and experienced people. He should devote the forenoon to military training and in the afternoon he should listen to stories[1] For the rulers, it is of great importance that he keeps the mind under his control and defeats the six enemies[2]—desire, anger, greed, pride, power-intoxication and excessive pleasure But even the best ruler cannot become successful unless he has real friends and faithful attendants Therefore, the Arthaśāstra devotes several chapters to the subject of selection of officers and ministers. Here the author describes the qualities that are most important for a king's servant and the extent to which a king should depend upon his ministers Spies, secret agents and agent-provocators are indispensable for these purposes Above all they are indispensable for rulers in campaigns against internal and external enemies. In this Arthaśāstra the enumerations and descriptions of the different types of spies and secret

1 The term "story" (*itihāsa*), according to 1, 5 (p 10), means legends (*purāna*), historical narratives (*itivrtta*), imaginary anecdotes and stories (*ākhyāyikā*), examples (*udāharana*) and instructive passages for impressing upon mind the teachings of Dharmaśāstra and Arthasāstra Cf Jacobi SBA 1911, p 969 [The relevant lines read as —*pūrvamaharbhāgam hastyaśvarathapraharanavidyāsu vinayam gacchet* | *paścimamitihāsaśravane purānamitivrttākhyāyikodāharanam dharmaśāstramarthaśāstram cetihāsah* Naturally W.'s statement is not accurate The passage will mean he should devote the forenoon to training for knowledge about elephants, horses, chariots, and wars and he should devote the afternoon to listening of *itihāsa*, *purāna*, *itivrtta*, *ākhyāyikā*, *udāharana*, *dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra*, these constitute the *itihāsa*]

2 [The passage reads — *vidyāvinayahetuh indriyajayah kāmakrodhalobhamānamadaharsatyāgāt kāryah*]

agents and their methods occupy much space[1]. They appear in the garb of students, ascetics, farmers and traders. The beggar and the nuns are popular. A particular class of secret agents is that of desperadoes (*tīkṣna* "sharp") and of the poisoners who are ready all the time even for violent dealings with traitors and enemies. Cooks, barbers, valets, bath-room attendants, humpbacked, dwarfs, *dumb*, nuns, singers, dancers, actors, and touring players are particularly suitable for obtaining information about the private life of officers. A big net of spies, provided with insignias, secret codes etc., is organised for the purpose of supplying the king information about all internal and external enemies. The services of the same organisation are utilized also for the purpose of finding out in the city and in the countrysides the persons who are loyal or disloyal to the king. The former accordingly get rewards and distinctions and the latter are either made innocuous or are done away with. Spies are employed also for winning over of the followers of an unfriendly neighbour and for creation of disorders and unrest.

A chapter is devoted to the holding of consultations and to the means of keeping the proved pieces of information secret : [chapter XV *kartavyakāryārambheṣu mantrālocanatadgopanayoh āvaśyakatā*]. Another chapter is on the duties of emassaries (*dūtapraṇidhiḥ*), who will not only carry messages, but also reconnaissance in unfriendly states and will maintain close contact with the spying organisation. A sad chapter is the one on the "*vigilance* over princes" (*rājaputtrarakṣanam*). The legitimate sons mean constant danger to the ruler. "He should be vigilant about the princes from the time of their birth, since the princes are like crabs, that feed upon their own generator · [*janmaprabhṛti rājaputrān rakṣet | karkatasadharmāno hi janakabhakṣāh rājaputrāḥ.*]

The chapter, in which the daily duties of the king are so enlisted that one will begin to think that nobody leads a hard and tiresome life like that of a ruler, shows points of contact with Dharmaśāstra. The stanzas that stand at the end of this chapter might have been taken from some

1. Vallauri, ibid, p. 1381 f, gives a list of 29 types of spies. See also Stein, Megasthenese und Kauṭilya, p. 169 ff.

Dharmaśāstra . for example the verse I, 19, p 39[1]

prajāsukhe sukham rājñaḥ prajānām ca hite hitam |
nātmapriyam hitam rājñaḥ prajānām tu priyam hitam ||

"Happiness to a king comes when his people are happy; when something good happens to the people, it is good (for the king), a king has nothing that is dear and good to his ownself; but what is liked by the people is good to him"

A complete chapter is devoted to construction and finishing of the royal harem, in which the author prescribes detailed rules for appointment of eunuchs etc as guards for his women and for the security of the king's life in particular. Nowhere else should a king be so careful as when he is in the female apartment Several kings have lost their life on account of grievous injury caused in the harem[2]. The last chapter of the main section is devoted to the description of precautions for the security of the king in the palace, in the street and in public places for the purpose of forewarning him against poisoning and other attempts to murder him.

Of the most elaborate and interesting subject-matter of the main section II, that is devoted to the "duties of the inspectors" (*adhyakṣapracārādhikaraṇa*), we can just give a presentation of the circumstances described in catch-words. Each branch of administration has its own inspectors and the chapters devoted to them describe in detail the relevant branches of administration We get exhaustive information about planning villages and towns, division of property, installation of industrial concerns, mountain-works, water-works, markets, social provision for the care of orphans, sick, women, particularly those in childbed, suckling and old, about forestry and elephant-hunt, construction of forts, and their internal furnishing, about finances, taxes and imports, about precaution for security of the state-treasures, and about severe punishments of finance officers in case of misappropriation The royal

1 P 42 in the edn of 1960

2 *antargṛahagataḥ sthavirastrīparīśuddhāṃ devīṃ śaśyet na kāñcidabhi-gacchet* After this there is a list of the names of kings who were killed in the harem either on account of poisoning or by assassination The same or similar examples occur elsewhere also in literature they are found also in the wisdom—epigrams of Sānāq, see Zachariae, WZKM 28, 206 ff, and above p 151 note 1.

employees should never be trusted, as it is said in stanza (II, 9, p. 69[1]) :—

yathā hyanāsvādayituṁ na śakyaṁ
jihvāsthalasthaṁ madhu vā viṣam vā l
arthastathā hyarthacareṇa rājñaḥ
svalpopyanāsvādayitnm na śakyah ll
matsyā yathāntahsalilam caranto
jñātum na śakyāh salilaṁ pibantaḥ l
yuktāstathā kāryavidhau niyuktāh
jñātum na śakyāḥ dhanamādadānāḥ ll

"In the same way as it is impossible to avoid tasting honey or poison placed upon the tongue, so it is for the royal finance officer impossible to let the king's money remain untasted by him." "In the same way as fish that move in water and cannot be detected while drinking it, so are the king's finance officers incapable of being known while they are misappropriating money."

To name only some, other chapters describe the promulgamation of royal ordinances (*śāsanādhikaraṇa*), examination of gems (*kośapraveśyaratnaparīkṣā*), salt-trade, mining-operations (*ākarakarmāntapravartanam*), monetary system, manufacture of articles of food and trade in articles of food, import and export, wages, weight and measure, rules about trade on the other side of the frontiers, weaving and spinning, agriculture (manure, meteorology[2]) etc., liquor-distillation and inn-affairs, rules about prostitution, capture, rearing and tending of elephants and their training for war, assessment of taxes etc.

The main chapter [adhikaraṇa] III is devoted to description of administration of justice (dharmasthīya) and deals with procedings and civic rights. The main chapter [adhikarana] IV is on "removal of thorns" [kanṭakaśodhana], i e. fighting against all the hostile elements of the state through adoption of some planned policy and criminal laws. In chapter I are mentioned the

[1. p 79 of the edition of 1960]

2. Here it means rain-gauging, cf. (Meteorologische Zeitschrift 1912, p 173, (according to the Quarterly Journal of the Royal Meteorological Society 1912, p 65 f)

evam corānacorākhyān vanikkārukuśīlavān l
bhikṣukān kuhakāmścānyān vārayeddeśapīdanāt ll

thorns like deceiving labourers [kārukaraksanam], false-coiners, stealing street-sweepers, unscrupulous physicians, and wandering tribes like musicians, dancers and others. Such "rogues", as are thieves, without being called thieves, should be checked from becoming country-plague" The rest of the chapters are devoted to topics concerning superintendence over different trades (for prevention of rise in prices, checking adulteration of food-stuffs and so on), sanitation, social security and criminal laws[1].

Next the main section V deals with all sorts of fraudulent means for subduing persons guilty of high treason and enemies of the state against whom a king cannot proceed openly. Refined methods of various kinds are prescribed here in which there is no despicable means that is too bad for the attainment of the objective and it does not matter even if an innocent person suffers on this account. For example, the king sends a minister whom he suspects to be guilty of high treason on an expedition for subduing a wild tribe, and when the latter enters into the field of battle he is assassinated by desperadoes (sent with him), or by spies dressed as robbers, but publicity is given to the report that he has been killed in a fight. Or the king is on the point of marching into the field or he is ready to go for a hunt, and he summons into audience his suspected minister. While the minister is being taken to the king, desperados at once, (according to the planned arrangement) with concealed weapons, enter into the royal apartment, let themselves be arrested and searched; people find weapons in their possession and they confess their having been hired by the ministers The matter is brought to the notice of the public, the suspected minister is killed and in the place of desperados some other persons are executed.

1 The main chapters III and IV in respect of their subject-matter rather are concerned with Dharmaśāstra and exhibit certain striking correspondences with the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti and with the Nārada-Smṛti K P Jayaswal (Ind Ant 42, 1913, 306) says, "Yājñavalkya had taken certain things from the Dharmasthīya of the Kaut Nārada has accepted its principles and Manu has criticised it" Shama Sastri (Translation, p XV ff) tries to prove that Yājñavalkya had made use of the Kaut Cf, however, Jolly, ZDMG 1913, 49 ff and Zeitschrift fur vergl Rechtswissenschaft 37, 1919, 329 ff, and above p 571 It seems plausible that Kautilīya and the Dharmaśāstras of Yājñavalkya and Nārada were in respect of time not widely separated

In chapter II of this section all sorts of partly crafty methods are prescribed through which a king in need of money may fill his treasure Above all peasants, traders and manufacturers are pressed through threats and promises to pay to the utmost possible contributions and taxes. Rich people are obliged to pay generous contributions to the secret agents in order to protect their honour and prestige. Even the property of secular corrporate bodies and of temples of god is appropriated on one or the other pretext for filling in the royal coffer. Even during the night the king may visit any sanctuary with an image of some god and make it publicised that it has sprung up by its ownself and he may collect money for his coffer through pilgrimages and processions [*daivatacaityam siddhapunyasthānam aupapādikam vā rātrāvutthāya yātrāsamājābhyāmājīvet*]. Or the secret agents of the king should appear as magicians, inspire in the mind of the public a feeling of fear from a demon (by showing a man's hand from) some tree and make the people offer presents to the god (apparently for appeasing the demon : [*manuṣyakaram vā vṛkṣe rakṣobhayam prarūpayitvā siddhavyañjanāḥ paurajānapadānām hiranyena pratikuryuh*]. Two birds may be got killed with one stone: while unreliable persons may be forced into some suspicious situation, or with the help of his secret agents the king may get some crime directly proved, get the suspect either arrested or killed and his property confiscated to the state-treasure. Of great interest is the third chapter in which salaries and remunerations of all the officers and functionaries—from the highest priests and ministers at 48000 down to the most inferior servants and workers getting 60 *paṇas* per year—are accurately recorded. The following chapters contain rules of conduct for the courtiers and advice contain for the ministers in regard to the manner in which they should divide the power among themselves.

With the sixth main section [*prakrtisampadoḥ śamavyāyāmikam*] begins real politics. In chapter I, the seven prakrtis, i.e. elements or basis for administrators (king, minister, land, fort, treasure, army and friend) and their desirable requisite qualities are enumerated[1]. In the second chapter

1. They are *svāmī, amātya, janapada, durga, kośa, daṇḍa* and *mitra.*

follow the definitions of different "territories" (mandalas of hostile and friendly neighbours With characteristic Indian pedanticism are distinguished the conqueror [*vijigīṣu*], the enemy (*śatru*), the friend [*mitra*], the friend of the enemy [*ari-mitra*], the friend of the friend [*mitramitra*], the friend of the friend of the the enemy [*arimitramitra*], the enemy in the rear [*pārṣṇigrāha*], ally in the rear [*ākranda*], the ally of the enemy in the rear [*pārṣnigrāhāsāra*], the ally of the ally in the rear [*ākrandāsāra*], the one holding a middle position [*madhyama*], the neutral [*udāsīna*], in which the friend and the enemy are again grouped as "natural" [*sahaja*], and "acquired" (*kṛtrima*) With this end there are discussions on the foundations of political success and the security of the state [*samavāyāmika adhikarana*].

The seventh main section [*ṣādgunyādhikarana*] discusses the six methods of politics · peace [*sandhi*], war [*vigraha*], neutrality [*āsana*], readiness to march (*yāna*), alliance [*samśraya*] and double-dealing [*dvaidhībhāva*] and the conditions in which one or the other of these methods is to be resorted to. The eighth main-section [*vyasanādhikārikādhikarana*] is devoted to evils (*vyasana*), that is to say, those that are to happen either on account of depravities of the king (hunt, gamble, drink, woman), as also due to unfortunate accidents (such as epidemics, fire, flood etc) that may take place in the state and it is explained as to which of the evils are worse

The ninth and tenth main sections [*abhiyāsyatkarmādhikarana* and *sangrāmikādhikarana*] are devoted to military affairs ·—organisation of the army [*bala*], definitions of the different army wings, camping arrangements, etc. He who is too weak to defeat his enemy in an honest fight should not shirk behind in making use of treacherous means to gain his end When the hostility ends in an open conflict the king should encourage the soldiers with his work, which his astrologers, priests and court-bards should support him by explaining to them that they will attain the heaven as a reward for heroism and that hell is the

place meant for the coward[1]. At the end it is said that for defeating an enemy heroism alone is not enough, but for this practice in the craft too is necessary: since,

[*ekam hanyānna vā hanyādiṣuh kṣipto dhanuṣmatā* l
prājñena tu matih kṣiptā hanyādgarbhagatānapi ll

"An arrow hurled by an archer may kill one or may not kill at all but the craft hurled by an expert kills even the baby that is in its mother's womb."

The stanza leads us to the following sections in which trickery is described to be one of the chief weapons for fighting. The eleventh main section [*sangha-vrttādhikarana*] is devoted to relationship of the king with certain aristocratic oligarchies that follow military profession. The king must win them over for his own sake and for the purpose of employing them for his own advantage; or in case this be not possible, they should be rendered innocuous through causing rift in their unity by different means. For success in this line employment of spinsters is prescribed in particular: they will cause rivalry and conflict among them, and this will give an occasion to desperadoes to interfere in their strife; and in this way the ring-leaders may be got assassinated. It is prescribed:—[*bandhakīpoṣakāḥ plava-*

[1. The text reads —

tulyavetanosmi bhavadbhih saha l *bhogyamidam rājyam* l *mayābhihitah parobhihantavyah iti* l *vedesvapyanuśrūyate samāptadaksinānām yajñānāmavabhrthesu sā te gatiryā śūrānām iti* l *apīha ślokau bhavatah*—

yān yajñasamghaistapasā ca viprāh
svargaisinah pātracayaiśca yānti l
ksanena tānapyatiyānti śūrāh
prānān suyuddheṣu parityajantah ll
navam śarāvam salilasya pūrnam
susamskṛtam darbhakrtottarīyam l
tattasya mā bhūnnarakam ca gacchet
yo bhartrpindasya kṛte na yuddhyet ll
iti mantripurohitābhyāmutsāhayedyoddhān It may be translated as·

"I am having the same wages as you all have This kingdom is to be enjoyed (by me) along with you all The enemy named by me is to be killed In the Vedas too is heard—let thy fortune, after payment of the fee for celebration of sacrifices and after completion of the ceremony of ablution be the same as that of the heroes There are also the two stanzas —

"The goal that is attained by the Brāhmanas desirous of living in the heaven with a multitude of sacrifices, penance, and with heaps of pots, that very goal is attained in a moment by heroes, after they give up their life in battles. Let him not have the new earthen cup full of water that is finely cleaned and covered with sacrificial grass, he who does not fight for the master—may he go to hell. He should thus enthuse the spirit of the warriors through his minister and priest"

kanatanartakasaubhikā vā pranihitāh strībhih paramarūpayauvanābhih saṅghamukhyānunmādayeyuh l *jātakāmānāmanyatamasya pratyayam krtvānyatra gamanena prasabhaharaṇena vā kalahānutpādayeyuh* l *evamādiṣu kalahasthāneṣu svayamutpanne vā kalahe tīkṣnairutpādite vā hīnapakṣam rājā kośadandābhyām upagrhya viguneṣu vikramayed apavāhayedvā*]

The twelfth main section (*ābalīyasādhikarana*) provides a number of prescriptions following which a weak king may be able to overcome a mightier enemy through intrigues executed with the help of spies, secret agents, desperadoes and poisoners The employment of female secret agents and wrong use of religious institutions play in it the main rôles For example, the secret agents, who are dressed as magicians, offer to the gallant monarch apparently wine, but in fact they administer poison. Or the king should send to the other side of the frontiers spies, dressed as traders, shepherds, ascetics etc for the purpose of surveying the territory of the enemy or they in the garb of liquor-sellers or as meat-vendors enter into regions belonging to an alien with the intention of poisoning the people Or in religious congregations or places where enemies may assemble either for worshipping the gods or be going on pilgrimage he should get the instruments properly set with which the head of the enemies may be got crushed either by felling of a wall or by dropping of a slab of stone or they be killed and so on and so forth· [*devatāgrhapraviṣtasyopari yantramokṣanena gūdhabhittim śilām vā pātayet*, he shall cause a hidden wall or a slab of stone to fall over him when he has entered into a god's temple] through some mechanical device etc. Similar methods for acquisition of forts are laid down in the main section XIII [*durgalambhopāyādhikarana*]. "When a conqueror desires to conquer some village of an enemy he should encourage his own followers through circulation of the news about his omniscience and association with the divine beings and to make the followers of his enemy anxious· [*vijigīṣuh paragrāmamāptukāmah sarvajñadaivatasamyogakhyāpanābhyām svapakṣamuddharṣayet parapakṣam codvejayet*]. He succeeds in making the people believe in his omniscience when he gets some report through his spies or through carrier-pigeons, but the public thinks that he has

obtained it though his supernatural agents. People come to believe about his association with gods, for example, in the following manner : he talks with the fire-god on the altar or with a divinity personified in some statue and offers his prayers, whilst actually some secret agent, through a subterranian passage enters into the altar or has already hidden himself inside the statue, who speaks to him[1]. A hostile king may be won over or subdued also in the following manner· for example (XIII p. 425 :—"an ascetic, who is either bald-headed or has matted hairs, who is living in a hill-cave and calls himself to be four hundred years old, will with a band of a large number of disciples[2] encamp in the neighbourhood of a hostile state. The disciples will approach the minister and the king with presents of roots and fruits and will exhort them to see the great hermit. When the king comes to him the ascetic will narrate to him stories of old kings and countries and then tell him : "everytime when I am one hundred years old, I enter into fire and become young again. I shall now in your presence enter into fire for the fourth time. But it is necessary that you remain close to me. You may ask for three boons for yourself" After the king has expressed his consent, the ascetic says, "You must, with your wives and children stay here for seven days and nights for the purpose of witnessing all this and for making offerings". Whilst he is staying there unexpectedly they fall upon him[3].

Whilst several chapters are devoted to dishonourable methods for storming and capturing a fort, lastly in one chapter is described also the "honest" siege of and attack on a fort. Then follows the interesting chapter (XIII, 5, 403

[1 The passage reads —*sarvajñakhyāpanam tu grhaguhyapravrttijñānena pratyādeśo mukhyānām kantakaśodhanāpasarpāpagamena prakāśanam rājadviṣṭakārinām vijñāpyopāyanakhyāpanamadrṣtasamsargavidyāsamjñādibhih videśapravrttijñānam tadahareva grhakapotena mudrāsamyuktena daivatasamyogakhyāpanam tu surangāmukhenāgnicaityadaivatapratimācchidrānupraviṣṭairagnicaityadaivatavyañjanaissambhāṣanam pūjanam ca*]

2 Naturally the ascetics and the disciples are spies

3. (The passage reads :—*mundo jatilo vā parvataguhāvāsī caturvarṣaśatāyurbruvānah prabhūtajatilāntevāsī nagarābhyāśe tisthet* l *śisyāscāsya mūlaphalopagamairamātyān rājānam ca bhagavaddharśanāya yojayeyuh* l *samāgatasca rājñā pūrvarājādeśābhijñāni kathayet-sate sate ca varṣānām pūrnehamagnim praviśya punarbalo bhavāmi* l *tadiha bhavatsamīpe caturthamagnim praviksyāmi* l *avaśyam bhavān me mānayitavyah* l *trīn varān vrnīsva iti* l *pratipannam bryūyāt - saptarātramiha saputradārena prekṣāpravahanapūrvam vastavyam iti* l *vasantamavaskandeta*]

ff.)[1] on the pacification of the people of the conquered region. Here we read : [*navamavāpya labhyam paradoṣān svaguṇaiśchādyet* | *guṇān guṇadvaiguṇyena* | *svadharmakarmānugrahaparihāradānamānakarmabhiśca prakṛtipriyahitānyanuvarteta* | *yathāsambhāṣitam ca kṛtyapakṣamupagrāhayet* | *bhūyaśca kṛtaprayāsam* | *aviśvāsyo hi visaṃvādakaḥ sveṣām pareṣām ca bhavati prakṛtiviruddhācāraśca* | *tasmātsamānaśīlaveṣabhāṣācāratāmupagacchet* | *deśadaivatasamājotsavavihāreṣu ca bhaktimanuvarteta*]— "When he has taken into his possession a new region, he will cover up the faults of his enemies with his qualities, and the former's qualities he should overshadow by doubling his own noble qualities Through strict performance of his duties, by distribution of favours, by participation in privileges and by showing reverence he will be able to render service for the well-being of his subjects In respect of custom, dress, language and mode of life he will follow the people. and he should show reverence for local religious customs in respect of worship of gods and performance of ceremonies and festivals of the subjects [*vidyāvākyadharmaśūrapuruṣānām ca bhūmidravyadānaparihārān kārayet*], "hewill win over to his side the learned and otherwise important persons by making land-gifts, monetary donations and remission of taxes. He will set at liberty the captives" : *cāturmāsyeṣvardhamāsikamavaghātam* [*sarvabandhanamokṣanamanugrahaṁ dīnānāthavyādhitānām ca* | *paurṇamāsīṣu ca cātūrātrikam yonibālavadham pumstvopaghātam pratiṣedhayet*], he should prohibit animal-killing on certain days of festivals, for example on the days of feasts in the beginning of the three seasons, and on the days of the full-moon feasts, he should work for all sorts of humanitarian adjustments in respect of the poor, orphan and sick[2] "

The main section XIV [*paraghātaprayogādhikarana*] describes the secret activities [*aupaniṣadikam*], and it is a book of witchcraft that is hardly intelligible. Here we find formulas for preparation of mixtures and charming

1 p 435 of the 1960 edition

2 The Arthaśāstra does not deviate here from its stand-point of utility (*artha*) Humanity needs not only *dharma*, but also justice and honour, so these are the best means for the king to keep acquired regions in peace and under his control

materials meant for arson, murder, blinding, causing senselessness and diseases of all sorts. Then there are similar prescriptions for recovery from diseases, for month-long fasts, for changing one's colour, for entering into fire, for seeing in the dark, for making oneself invisible to others and for causing a man to sleep.

The (last) main section XV [*tantrayuktyadhikarana*] contains a presentation of the plan of the entire work and an enumeration of the devices of reasoning[*yuktīnāṁ nirdeśa*] followed in the book. Whilst in the dialectics of Mīmāmsā and philosophical bhāsyas we find only five or six such methodical devices, here they are 32, mentioned, defined and illustrated with examples from the book itself[1].

This short review of the contents of the book suffices to show that the Kautilīya-Arthaśāstra is a work of unique type and throws more light on the cultural conditions and actual life of ancient India than any other work of Indian literature does. But this work would have been considered of inestimable value, in case, as accepted by first rate researchers[2], it were actually a work of the famous minister of King Candragupta and if it could be viewed as a work of the 4th century B.C. It would be the first and the only datable evidence of Indian literature and culture of so earlier an age. And we would have nothing more covetable than to possess such a work. But at the same time

1. Suali (Introduzione, p 20) correctly remarks that among the 22 technical terms there occur many that bear a logical and dialectical stamp. In case he concludes therefrom that already in the 4th century B C there existed a canon of logic, W says that earlier he might have believed that this concluding section directly proves that we do not have in this Arthaśāstra the work of the great statesman of the 4th century B C , but we are to take it as a work of a pandita of a later age, who had carefully reset it on the basis of an earlier work

2 So in particular H Jacobi, Zur Fruhgeschichte der indischen philosophie, SBA 1911, 732 ff , Kulture, Sprach-und literarhistorisches aus dem Kautilīya, ibid, 954 ff, Über die Echtheit des Kauṭilīya, ibid 1912, 832 ff ; ZDMG 74, 1920, 248 ff, 254 f Jacobi has been followed by Charpentier, WZKM 28, 1914, 211, Smith, Early History 151 ff., Fleet, Introductory Note to Shama Sastry's English translation (1915), Suali Introduzione, p. 16 ff, Garbe, Sāmkhya-Philosophie, p 3 ff the Indian scholars Shama Sastry (in the Sanskrit introduction to his edition and the English introduction to his translation); N N Law, Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity (London 1914)and Radhakumud Mookerji in his introductory essay in Law's book, Haraprasād Śāstrī, JASB 6, 1910, 305 f. and K. P. Jayaswal, Ind Ant. 42, 1913, 306 do not entertain any doubt about Kauṭilya being its author Cf also Pargiter, JRAS 1917, 157 f , 159 ff , L D Barnett, Antiquities of India, London 1913, p 98 ff.

for this very reason it is necessary that we do not allow our judgment to be influenced by our desire, but thoroughly examine the data that are either in favour of or against the work being considered as one of the 4th centnry B C [1]

What do we know about Kauṭilya? The Purānas report (in the form of a prophecy) concordantly that Kautilya destroyed the royal family of the Nandas and made Chandragupta the king[2]. They know nothing about Kauṭilya either as a teacher or as an author. In about year 322 B.C Candragupta sat on the throne, in as the year 302 B C. there came to his court Greek Megasthenese, an ambassador of Selukos Nicator. He had written a report about India on the basis of the experience gained by him during his stay here lasting for a considerable number of years and this has come down to us at least in fragments It is remarkable that neither Greek Megasthenese nor some later-day ancient writers know anything about the famous minister of Candragupta. A close comparison of the report of Megasthenese with the Arthaśāstra does not prove the hypothesis that its author and Megasthenese were contemporaries[3] Even in respect of the conditions

1 Hillebrandt, Über das Kautilīya-Śāstra p 10 (cf ZDMG 69, 1915, 360 ff and GGA 1915, 629) says we need not presume that Kauṭilya himself was the author of the whole of the text that is before us He was the founder of his school Hertel (Tantrākhyāyika, Ubers I, p 22) agrees with Hillebrandt that the Kauṭilīya was worked upon and enlarged in course of time, but he remarks "The rudiments of the work and of the commentary, therefore, certainly go back to Cānakya" Oldenberg, Die indische Philosophie in KG 1913, p 32 says, that the Kautilīya may have been written in about 300 B C and that of course by Cānakya" or "a thing that appears to have been accepted", earlier "by the scholars who agreed with him", but in the NGGW 1918 (geschaftliche Mitteilungen p 97), rather he expresses himself in sceptical terms Jolly, who too, at first considered the Kauṭilīya to have been written by a minister of Cānakya (so in 1912, "Ein altindisches Lehrbuch der Politik", was very much hesitant in respect of the antiquity and genuineness of this work (firstly ZDMG 68, 1914, 369), in 1919 in the Zeitschrift für vergl Rechtswissenschaft 37, p 329, he speaks about the Kauṭilīya as a work that might be going back to the 5th or the 6th century A D, although it should have so little to do even with the semi-historical Cānakya, like the "Weisheit Salomonis" with famous King Salomon Against its genuineness, see A B Keith, JRAS 1916, 130 ff, 1920, 628, and R G Bhandarkar, Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference I, Poona 1920, p 24 f

2 F E Pargiter, The Purāna of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, p 26 f, 69 f

3 R Mookerji in the introduction to N N Law, Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity I, p XXXV ff and Smith, Early History, p 136 ff believed to have found one such correspondence between Megasthenese and Kauṭilya H G Rawlinson, Intercourse between India and the Western World, Cambridge, 1916, p 67 f, wholly depends on Law in his

as obtaining during the age of Aśoka and those described in the Kauṭilīya there is no demonstrable agreement worth the name[1]. Patañjali in the Mahābhāsya mentions the Maurya and the sabhā of Candragupta, but about Kautilya he says nothing. All that is elsewhere reported about Kautilya belongs to heresays and poetry that are based on the story of the drama Mudrārāksasa and on the story in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara as well as in Hemacandra's Pariśista-parvan[2]. But even in this heresay there is no mention regarding Kautilya as a teacher or as an author. Only in act I of the Mudrārāksasa Kautilya appears with a disciple In the genuine portion of the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra nowhere there is trace of any reference to the Nandas, to the Mauryas or to King Candragupta or to any incident of his age[3].

There is no doubt that the Arthaśāstra itself claims to be a work written by Kautilya, this is so particularly in the concluding stanza of I, 1 and II, 10 and at the end of the complete work itself, where there is an allusion to the annihilation of the Nandas, it is said:

yena śāstram ca śastram ca nandarājagatā ca bhūḥ ।
āmarṣenoddhrtānyāśu[4] *tena śāstramidam krtam* ॥

"He, who with anger impatiently raised up science and arm as well as the earth from under the control of the

attempt to prove that Kautilya and Megasthenese are partly in agreement and partly supplement each other At many points there are probably such agreements, (cf also Jolly, in Festschrift Kuhn, p 27 ff), but the complete comparison of the Greek report with the Kautilīya, as instituted by Otto Stein (Megasthenese und Kautilya, SWA 1921), goes to point out that at essential points the deviations are more significant and more numerous than the agreements

1. What Thomas, JRAS 1914, 383 ff, refers to is too minute to prove anything.

2 Kathās 5, 108 ff; Pariśistaparvan VIII, 194 ff (Hertel's Übersetzung, p 186 ff) Here Cānakya appears rather just as a type of cunning and unscrupulous diplomats about whom all sorts of stories that are characteristic of this class of people have been built up

3 Mookerji (in Law, p XXXIII) tries to find allusions to Candragupta in certain passages, but W does not believe that the same may not hold good for any other person as well

4 The word *uddhrtāni* "dug out" is employed in three different meanings here. The idea is "who forcibly extracted the science, Arthaśāstra by name, from earlier treatises, took out the sword from the sheathe, and has snatched away the earth from the hands of the Nandas that belonged to them." The thought-provoking discourses of Jacobi (SBE 1912, 847 f) on this stanza could not convince Winternitz of the correctness of his explanation.

Nanda kings, has written this manual." Even in case the chapters, in which these stanzas occur belong to the original text of the work and in case they were not first added in its final redaction—as appears to be probable in the opinion of Winternitz—it does not necessarily follow that the Arthaśāstra is a work of Kautilya, but all that can be concluded from this is that it existed In the work itself the author nowhere has been mentioned as Cānakya Viṣnugupta, but he is always referred to as Kauṭilya, and this name Kautilya stands against our assuming that we have before us actually a work of an author of this name. The word *kauṭilya* means "falsehood", "crookedness"[1], and it is not improbable that the minister of Candragupta had himself given to himself this name Jacobi lays great weight on the hypothesis that the author of this work was a statesman and not a politician. He calls him outright the "Indian Bismarck", who in his leisure-hours or perhaps in his old age wrote a theoretical work on his professional career "exactly as Friedrich the Great had done." But does the subject-matter of the Arthaśāstra actually attest this interpretation ? That seems hardly probable. In the Arthaśāstra we find the same predilection for definition, pedantic division, classification and schematization, as in other scientific works written by panditas. The work presupposes the existence from before of a completely fashioned terminology of Nītiśāstra We are able to explain many of the discussions, in which the meanings of "the teacher" i e earlier teachers or certain schools (Mānavas, Bārhaspatyas, Auśanasas) or even individual writers (as Bharadvāja, Viśālāksa, Parāśara etc.) are compared with those of Kauṭilya only when we assume that long drawn efforts had been made in the school of Nītiśāstra. When, however, in such discussions and with the words "so says Kauṭilya" the standard principle is taught, thence it does not necessarily follow that Kauṭilya was its author, but generally this type of reference to the author is usual only in the Sūtras, that are to be considered as texts prepared in schools and not as works of individual authors[2].

1 From *kuṭila*, "curve, false" This meaning of the name Kauṭilya was familiar to the author of the Mudrārāksasa, see I, stanza 7 and IV, stanza 2

2 So are mentioned Jaimini in the Pūrvamīmāmsāsūtra, Bādarāyana

Therefore, Winternitz believes that the only ground on which the Kautilīya-Arthaśāstra may be ascribed to Kauṭilya is that this fabulous minister of King Candragupta had the credit of being considered to be the typical teacher, if not the originator of politics. Cānakya or Kautilya is the model or the most famous type of clever, cunning and unscrupulous minister, who is, however, faithful to his master, whom we meet so often in dramatic and narrative literature beginning from Bhāsa. On the same ground all nīti-epigrams were later traced to Master Cāṇakya.

But in case we review the subject-matter of the work itself, we find here, in addition to politics in the strict sense, enormous number of topics concerning administration treated in it, topics that presuppose a thorough technical knowledge in the sphere of architecture, of land-policy, of fortification, of military practices, etc., that even in ancient India too could not possibly be mastered by one single person. It may be assumed that when Kautilya wrote these chapters he had officers as his collaborators[1]. But it is more probable that there had existed special works on individual topics that were adopted with little alteration by the author of the Arthaśāstra in his work[2]. It is a hypothesis that is supported also by the condition that the same subjects are more often dealt with in several chapters. From this it follows that the origin of the Kautilīya-Arthaśāstra must not presuppose a prolonged literary activity only in the field of politics but also in different branches of technical sciences and economics. This too as well does not at least make it very much probable that our work was written in the 4th century B.C.

In order to be able to determine the age of the Kauṭilīya it is of great importance to discuss the question as to which of the

in the Vedāntasūtra, Baudhāyana in the Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra.

1 So Jacobi, SBA 1912, p 849

2 Cf also the introductory words of the Kauṭ (above p. 576) and Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra I, 6

nītiśāstramṛtam śrīmānarthaśāstramahodadheḥ I
ya uddadhre namastasmai viṣṇuguptāya vedhase II

"Hail to wise and most famous Visnugupta, who churned out and raised up the nectar of nītiśāstra from the ocean of arthaśāstra" The remarkably large number of new words found in the Kauṭilīya too account for the numerous scientific topics that are treated by the Arthasāstra, cf Jolly Lexikalisches aus dem Arthaśāstra, Indogermanisches Forshungen 31, 201 ff See below p 566

literary branches other than early Arthaśāstra-literature can be presupposed to be known in this work[1]. We are able to conclude from different passages that in addition to the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas, some epical, narrative and didactical literature must have been known. The main story of the Rāmāyana and that of the Mahābhārata were already known, but the stock of legends on the basis of which the Arthaśāstra was fashioned contained many that do not occur in the two epics, but are attested partly in Vedic and partly in old Buddhist literature. But they are all wholly Brāhmanical legends to which they allude. We do not find any definite proof in the Kautilīya regarding the existence of a kāvya or of a nātaka.

In the Tantrākhyāyika, in the Daśakumāracarita and in the Nyāyabhāsya of Vātsyāyana the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra is presupposed to have been known, and that as a work of the minister of Cānakya[2]. In case we take into consideration, in addition to the already mentioned correspondence of the Kauṭilīya with the Dharmaśāstras of Yājñavalkya and Nārada, the fact that the Kauṭilīya or a technical work utilized in it presupposes a knowledge of alchemy[3], it may said that the Kautilīya-Arthaśāstra was indeed an old work, but not of an age earlier than the 3rd century A D. So in case the Tantrākhyāyika and the Nyāyabhāsya could with tolerable probability be placed in the 4th century A D., the Kauṭilīya might possibly have been just a little older. Even the mention of "Kodillayam" in list of Brāhmanical works in the Nandīsūtra and Anuyogadvāra of the Jaina-canons does not go to prove anything in addition[4].

1. Cf on this Hertel, WZKM 24, 1910, 416 ff, Jacobi, SBA 1911, 954 ff, and Charpentier, WZKM 28, 1914, 211 ff

2 Cf Hertel, Tantrākhyāyika, Übers I, 9, 17 f, 142 ff, ZDMG 69, 1915, 280 ff, 297, Dasakumāracarita, ed Peterson, Part II, p 52 (chapter VIII), Jolly, ZDMG 68, 1914, 345 ff, and Jacobi, ibid 603 ff and SBA 1911, 734 f, 741

3 Cf Jolly in Festschrift Windisch, p 103 f

4 That this list goes back to some pre-Christian period has been proved neither by Jacobi (ZDMG) 74, 254 f) nor by Charpentier (Uttarādhyayana Ed, Introd p 2 f) Even in case portions of the Jaina-canons go back to the age of the Nandas, we do not have any evidence that may enable us to consider the relevant passages to be older than the age of Devarddhi (5th century A D), see above II, 295, transl p 429 f That Kālidāsa knew the Arthaśāstra is apparently sufficient, but it is funny when H A Shah in his essays "Kautilya and Kālidāsa" (Reprinted from the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Banglore (Vols X and XI) tries to prove that Kālidāsa and Kautilya not only agree, but also that both of them are one and the same person

And we may, in any case, have reasons to be content that we possess such a work of such an old age, although our expectation regarding discovery of a definitely datable work of the 4th century B.C. has proved illusive.

From the contents of the Kautilīya-Arthaśāstra it is evident that its author stands wholly in the region of Brāhmanical religion and that his outlook about life was completely Brāhmanical and it presupposes a condition of the state in which Brāhmaṇas played one of the most important rôles. In respect of performance of his duties the king was always guided by his priests and religious advisors who figured also as high officials of his court. But in case the question is regarding the safety of the person of the king or of adding funds to the coffer of the state, as we have already seen above, this dependence on the Brāhmaṇas did stop him in making wrong use of the religious belief and prejudices of the people. Likewise was also M a c h i a v e l l i, for whom, as for Kauṭilya, there was nothing that could be too bad for attainment of his objective, but who appears to be an ardent believer in God and religious-minded. In other respects, the often heard appellation of Kautilya as "Indian Machiavelli" is appropriate merely in parts[1]. Like the "Buch von Fürsten", the Arthaśāstra too does not contain any idea about the possibility of a non-monarchial state, and so far as security of the king is concerned both of them are "equally good and bad." But the basic distinction between Kautilya and Machiavelli lies in the fact that the latter is above all a historical personality and that his methods are derived from lessons of history, from which the "Indian Machiavelli" stands wholly a part. He is purely a theoretician and he just inquires : what is the means that is useful for security of the government and what is not ? In any case some of the chapters (for example those on salaries of officers, planning and organisation of cities and feasts, etc.) wholly create the impression that here we have simply a description of the actual conditions given as a theory. This circumstance makes it probable that the author of the relevant chapters or perhaps of the whole book was an officer of not an unimportant administrator.

1. Still less convincing is the opinion of Josef K o h l e r (Archiv fur Rech's und Wirtschaftsphilosophie 5, 1911 12, p 606 ff), where Kauṭilya has been presented as an "Indian predecessor of Hobbes.

[Here we cannot do better than by quoting in full the observation of Louis Renou[1] "The scholars are divided in opinion on the different problems (concerning the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra) Most of the Indian scholars, supported in Europe by men like Jacobi, Meyer, and Breloer, consider the work to be authentic for diverse reasons Whilst Breloer insists on the concordances with Megasthenese, O. Stein had, in particular, marked the divergences Hillebrandt, Jolly, Keith, Bhandarkar, Winternitz and others feel we have here before us a sensibly more modern text that was allowed to pass for a work of Kauṭilya for the simple reason that this name (that means also "false-hood" could never have been the name of an individual) was indicative of the inventor of politics, the model of faithful, but unscrupulous minister, who appears in all narrative literature and to whom, under the name Cānakya, are attributed aphorisms and stanzas of Nīti It may be added that tradition knows nothing about the literary activities of Kauṭilya, his capacity as a statesman; the geography is partly recent (S. Lévi) as also are the alchemical and metallurgical data (of the work). It may further be noted that the religious condition is based on strong Brāhmanical soil where Jainas and Buddhists are hardly mentioned the work, that is composite and in all events contains additions (Jolly), and presents the same character of the school-texts as those that are consecratorily devoted to the establishment of other śāstras. For Jolly the Kauṭilīya is posterior to Dharmaśāstra, whilst for Meyer, who notes the acquaintance of its author with the Viṣṇusmṛti and Baudhāyana, the Yājñavalkyasmṛti had utilized it grossly. In all events it should be anterior to the Kāmasūtra of which it is one of the sources (Chakladar) In literature it is not quoted before the Tantrākhyāyika, the Nyāyabhāsya and the Daśakumāra In brief the writers who deny the authenticity of the work consider it as of the 3rd or 4th century A.D However, it should be noted that none of these arguments is convincingly proving and that there remains the possibility that we may have before us sensibly more ancient materials although not in the form of a complete text.

[1. L'Inde classique, § 1598]

The style suggests little argumentation that, it is archaic but certain modernisms check us from placing it on the chronological standard that one should have assigned it, in case it was a question of an ancient *arthaśāstra.*]

The N ī t i s ā r a[1] of Kāmandakı or K ā m a n d a k a is not only a work younger than the Kautılīya-Arthaśāstra, but it is a work of an altogether different kınd. It is wrıtten not only in verse throughout, but in fact ıt is ıntermediate between a textbook and a work of didactıcal poetry. The dry tone of the characteristic śāstra, as that of the Kautilīya, is often discarded, and several parts of the work belong wholly to the class of epigrammatic poetry on Nīti, with which we are already familiar ın some sections of the Mahābhārata or in those of ornate poetry[2]. In the introductory stanzas the author eulogises Visnugupta who destroyed the Nandas, who through his skill in intrigues conquered the earth for Candragupta and squeezed from the great occean of Arthaśāstra the nectar of the Nītiśāstra and he assures us that he will explain the idea of the scholar of the "king's science" in agreement with the teachings of the master, although in an abrıdged form :

yasyābhıcāravajreṇa vajrajvalanatejasah l
papātāmūlatah śrīmān supaıvā nandaparvatah ll
ekākī mantraśaktyā yah śaktyā śaktıdharopamah l
ājahāra nrcandrāya candraguptāya medınīm ll
nītiśāstrāmṛtam śrīmānarthaśāstramahodadheh l
ya uddadhre namastasmai vısṇuguptāya vedhase ll
yatkımcıdupadekṣyāmo rājavıdyāvidām matam ll

At another place[3] he refers to Kauṭilya as his "guru" [in the expression—*ıti no gurudarśanam*—this is the philosophy of

1. Published by R ā j e n d r a l ā l M ı t r a ın Bıbl Ind 1849-1884; with the commentary of Ś a n k a r ā r y a by G a n a p a t i Ś ā s t r ī in TSS, No 14, 1912 Translated ınto English by Manmatha Nath D u t t, Calcutta 1896 (Wealth of India), ınto Italıan by C F o r m ı c h ı in GSAI, vols. 12-17. The Sarga VII translated by Talıb Ul-ılm the ın Ind. Ant 4, 1875, 116 f (Ed with the commentary J a y a m a n g a l ā of Śamkara and the commentary Upādhyāyanırapeksā ın ĀNSS, 136, 1958 Ed with Hındı Translation by Jvālā Prasıda M ı ś r a, Bombay Sam 2009 Edited with a commentary also by J ı b ā n a n d a V ı d y ā s ā g a r a, Calcutta 1875 Nītiśāstra dı Kımandakı, (translatıon by) G F o r m ı c h ı GSAI 1894-1904)

2 The work is divided as an ornate poem ınto sargas (besides the running prakarana-division), and the commentary says, that "it has the character of a mahākāvya", s e e J a c o b ı, SBA, 1912, 836

3. II 6, See J a c o b ı, ıbid p 834 ff

our teacher.] But the word *guru* is not used here in its usual sense of "teacher", but it merely means the respectfully honoured "master", whose work has been the main basis, even though it was not the only source of information for his book. Since the author of the Nītisāra of Kāmandaki is obviously posterior by several centuries, he refers not only to the minister of King Candragupta, but also to the author of the Arthaśāstra, that is ascribed to Kauṭilya It is noteworthy that the Kauṭilīya has been cited in the Tantrākhyāyika, whilst the later redactions of the Pañcatantra depend on the Nītisāra[1]. The name of the splendid nun and lady diplomat in love-affairs, Kāmandaki, has been selected by poet Bhavabhūti in his drama Mālatīmādhava[2] definitely for the purpose of reminding about the manual of Kāmandaki; or perhaps it was the work of a contemporary of the poet whom he wanted to offer his compliments in this way. Vāmana (about 800 A.D) cites a stanza[3], in which the "Kāmandaki Nīti" is mentioned. Since Dandin did not still know the Nītisāra[4], we may with stronger probability ascribe the origin of the work in between 700 and 750 A.D.[5]

The subject-matter of the Nītisāra coincides only in part with that of the Kauṭilīya The number of such big sections of the latter, like the chapters II, III and IV, dealing about government, the Aupanisadam (XIV) and the last section on the methods, as have nothing correspondingly similar in the Nītisāra, is quite considerable This work too shows significant

1 Cf Hertel, ZDMG 69, 293 f.

2 See above p 263

3 Kāvyālamkārasūtravrtti 4, 1, 2 Cf also P. V Kane, Ind. Ant 1911, 236, and Jolly, ZDMG 68, 348 ff

4 The mention of Kāmandaki in the beginning of the Daśakumāracarita proves nothing, since the passage belongs to the later added pūrvapīṭhikā The fact that Daṇḍin, in chapter VIII of the genuine Daśak treats Nītisāstra in detail according to the Kauṭilīya and mentions other authors of Arthaśāstra, such as Śukra, Viśālāksa, etc , but does not mention Kāmandaki, is a conclusively evident argumentum ex silentio

5. The existence of a book "Kāmandaki-Nīti", mentioned in the Kawi-literature of the Bali Island (see R Friedrich Ind Stud II, 133, 145; JRAS 1876, 188) does not stand in opposition to this, since even in 413 A D Fahien found Brāhmanas in Java and the blossoming age of Kawi-literature falls in the 10th century A D , see E Kuhn, Der Einfluss der arischen Inders auf die Nachbarlander in Suden und Osten, München 1903, p 19

deviations that prove that the author had utilized some other sources in addition to the Kautilīya Arthaśāstra.

In sargas I and II the topics on the control of mind [*indriyajayaprakarana*] and on the sciences that are important for the king [*vidyāvibhāgaprakarana*] correspond to Kaut. I, 6 and I, 1. But *ānvīkṣikī* is referred to as knowledge of the self *ātmavijñāna*)[1]. The sarga III contains epigrams on the characteristics of a good king, that could equally well stand in a Dharmaśāstra or even in the Dhammapada. Sarga IV treats the seven "members" of a kingdom [*prakṛtisampat-prakarana*] (corresponding to the *prakṛtis* in the Kauṭ VI). The sarga V on the imperial services [*svāmyanujīvivṛttaprakarana*] on one hand provides a manual for guidance of the officers and on the other it contains rules about the relationship of the king with them (as in Kauṭ V, 4). Here have been described also the king's anxieties for the state-treasure and in respect of his conduct in dealing with his subordinates. Significant are the stanzas V, 81-83.

āyuktakebhyaścaurebhyaḥ parebhyo rājavallabhāt l
pṛthivīpatilobhācca prajānām pañcadhā bhayam ll
pañcaprakāramapyetadapohya nipatirbhayam l
ādadīta phalam kāle trivargaparivṛddhaye ll
yathā gauh pālyate kāle duhyate ca tathā prajā l
sicyate cīyate caiva latā puṣpapradā yathā ll

The subjects are menaced by danger from five sources; first of all from the officers, then by the thieves and rascals, the king's favourites and the greed of the ruler. In case the king has first of all removed these dangers of five kinds, he enjoys the fruit of success of the three-fold aim of life: in the same way as the cow that is maintained in the right time gives milk and just as liana that is watered spreads its blossoms, so should the subject too be first protected and then squeezed. The sarga VI on the legal punishment and rendering the traitor innocuous [*kantakaśodhanaprakarana*] corresponds to the Kauṭ. V, the sarga VII on the standard rules for safety[2] of the life of the king corresponds to Kauṭ

1 Nītisāra, II, 7 Cf Dahlmann, Mahābhārata als Epos und Rechtsbuch.

[2. Really the sarga deals with watch over princes it bears the title Rājaputrarakṣāprakaraṇa.]

I, 17 and 21. The sargas VIV-XI are devoted to external politics (like Kaut VI, VII); in it the division and classification of "districts" (mandala) of the hostile and friendly neighbours have been carried to an absurd hair-splitting extent Sarga XII is devoted to discussions (like Kaut I, 15), XIII to ambassadors (like Kaut I, 16), and to spies at its and (like Kaut I, 11-12) The spies are the "far—wandering eyes of the king[1]" Through the spies, as through a web, he watches the conduct of of his enemy . "since a king having spies as his eyes is awoke even while he is sleeping (XIII, 28. f) The sargas XIV and XV on the "evils" of the kingdom corresponds to Kaut VIII. The last sargas (XVI-XX) are devoted to description of military organisations, in which Kāmandaki, like his teacher Kautilya attaches great importance to crafts and intrigues for victory over stronger enemies. So he says (XIX, 71)" Firmly determined, he must destroy his enemies in a dishonest strife, since murder of his enemy will not diminish his religious merits· did not Drona's son destroy during the night with a well-sharpened sword the fearless army of the Pāndavas"[2]

Till upto the 10th century the Kautilīya-Arthaśāstra was studied in Kashmir This is proved by the Nītivākyāmrta[3] (in 32 samuddeśas) of Somadevasūri, who is already known to us as the author of Yaśastilaka[4]. This "nectar of

[1 *carāh sakāśam nrpatescakṣurdūracaram hi te* ll
sūkṣmasūtraprasārena pasyadvairiceṣṭitam
svapannapi jāgarti cāracakṣurmahīpatih ll

2 *suniyatamupahanyāt kūtayuddhena śatrūn*
na hi tirāyati dharmam chadmanā śatrughātah l
acakitamavasuptam pāndavānāmanīkam
nisi sunisitasastro dronasūnurjaghāna ll

3 The text with a short commentary has been pubished in the Grantharatanamālā (Bombay 1887-1888) Jolly, ZDMG 69, 369 ff reports about it on the basis of manuscripts Vallauri, ibid, cites saveral passages from the Nītivākyāmrta [Edited by Pandit Pannalāla Sonī, Bombay 1922 in Mānikacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā Series] A fine edition has been published in the Sanskrit Series No 98 by the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore 1957, here the title is Somadevanītisūtrāni and is included in a volume entitled Kautilīyārthasamgraha)

4 See above II, 336, trans p 534 In the colophon, Yāśastilaka is mentioned also Yaśodharamahārājacarita and in the colophon to the Nītivākyāmrta the author refers to his ownself "as the writer of Yasodharamahārājacaritaśāstra" Therefore, this is his earlier work [In the Mysore edition there is, however, no such colophon]

the Nīti—lessons" is in fact strongly dependent upon Kauṭilya and often agrees with him verbally[1]; but still it is a work of a different type. It is not like the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya, a practical hand-book of politics and economics, but it is rather a pedagaugical work that contains fine counsels for the king. With Somadeva the concept of Nīti includes perhaps "political wisdom" as well as "moral conduct of life." Hence the work begins quite as a handbook of morals and here in several chapters the moralic tone is throughout dominant. Even though in places where the Nītivākyāmrta treats the same topics as those of the Kauṭilīya, as often the accord in respect of the titles of individual sections creates the impression, it appears, that Somadeva gives rather general rules of conduct for the king, whilst Kauṭilya enters sufficiently into details in respect of political practices. What is important for Kautilya appears trifling to Somadeva. So although the Nītivākyāmrta has sections on fortification, on treasury, and on army, still in them we seek in vain all those details that we find in the Kautilīya. Somadeva actually differs in other respects from Kauṭilya in certain cases. Thus for example in legal proceedings he prescribes, in accordance with the Dharmaśāstra, ordeals, and that against the Kautilīya. Notwithstanding the fact that Somadeva is a Jaina, he stands otherwise on the ground of Brāhmanical laws and of Brāhmaṇical conception of life and firmly he supports the caste-system. Only at a very few places he shows Jainistic tendencies.

In respect of language and style the Nītivākyāmrta differs both from the Kauṭilīya as well from the Nītisāra. It is written wholly in prose and indeed in short pregnant sentences that, however, have nothing in common with the sūtra-style. The language is clear and simple. Somadeva loves to introduce proverbs and proverbial sentences. A short probe may offer a presentation of the character and subject-matter of the work.

P. 7 :—[*yonukūlapratikūlayorindrayamasthānam sa rājā | rājño hi dustanigrahah śiṣṭaparipālanaṁ ca dharmaḥ na punah śiromaṇḍanam jaṭādhāraṇam vā*], "He who in respect of his followers is like Indra and in respect of his opponent like Yama is the king. The king's duty is to punish the wicked

[1] Several times Somadeva merely paraphrases the Kauṭilīya and he can outright be considered to be a commentator on the latter.

and to protect the noble, and neither to shave his hairs nor to keep matted hairs "

P. 7:—[*anadhītaśāstraḥ cakṣuṣmānapi pumān andha eva* | *na hyajñāninoranyaḥ paśurasti* | *varamarājakaṁ bhuvanam na tu mūrkho rājā*

"A man who has not studied the sciences is blind, although he has eyes. there is no beast other than an ignorant man; it is rather good to have the world without a king, but not a king who is not learned."

P. 14.—[*aihikāvyavahāraprasādhanaparam lokāyatikam matam* | *adhītalokāyatamato hi rājā rāṣṭrakaṇṭakān uchettum kalpate* | *na khalu ekāntato yatīnāmapyanavadyāsti kriyā* | *ekāntena kāruṇyaparaḥ karatalagatamapyarthaṁ rakṣitum na kṣamaḥ* | *praśamaikacittaṁ ko nāma na paribhavati* | *aparādhiṣu praśamaḥ yatīnām bhūṣaṇam na mahīpatīnām* | *dhiktam puruṣam yasyātmaśaktyā na stho lopaprasādau* | *sa jīvannapi mṛta eva yo na vikrāmati pratikūleṣu* |

"The Lokāyata [philosophhy] (materialism) is the best guide for administration of the current affairs of this world. Verily the king, who has studied the principles of Lokāyata is capable of uprooting the 'thorns' of the kingdom Even the conduct of ascetics is not outright unobjectionable He, who is of full of pity only, is not capable of even protecting the purse that is even in his own hand, since he scorns none whomsoever. Who does not defeat the person of gentle temperament ? Patience and tolerance are ornaments of ascetics and not of kings. Fie on the man who is not capable of keeping under his control anger and favour. The man is dead who does not use his force against his enemies

Somadeva, like the Dharmaśāstras, as well as the Kauṭilīya, stands outright for performance of "one's own duty" (*svadharma*) for each caste and each stage of life He speaks more about the duties of Śūdras than does the Kauṭilīya, and he is familiar with the notion of "pure Śūdra" [*sacchūdra*]. p 16

1 "Since mind" according to W But the text demands the line to be translated as "who does not trouble the person, who is always mentally quite "

ācārānavadyatvam śucirupaskāraḥ śarīraśuddhiśca śūdrānapi karoti devadvijatapasviparikarmasu yogyān | *ānṛśamsyam amṛṣābhāṣitvam parasvanivṛttiḥ icchāniyamaḥ pratilomavivāhaḥ niṣiddhāsu ca strīṣu brahmacaryam iti sarveṣām samāno dharmaḥ* | *ādityā loka iva dharmaḥ khalu sarvasādhāraṇaḥ* ||

Irreproachable conduct, uprightness, diligence and purity of body render even Śūdras fit for service to gods, Brāhmanas and ascetics. Abstenance from cruelty, truthfulness, unmindfulness of the property of another person, control of desires, no marriage against caste-laws*, celibacy in dealing with prohibited women: these are the common duties prescribed for all Like light of the sun, duty is common to all.

tatra sadaiva durbhiksam yatra rājā visādhayati |
samudrasya pipāsāyām kuto hi jagati jalāni ||

"There is perpetual scarcity, where the king collects money continuously · when the sea is itself thirsty, whence will come water on the earth."

In respect of the minister who exerts his full force in the interest of his master it is said :

P. 32:—*svāmināḍhiṣṭhito meṣopi simhāyati* : "at the command of his master even a ram behaves like a lion." A minister's advice must not be divulged till when there is still time to act--[*ākāryasiddhermantro rakṣayitavyah* | *dīpte grhe kīdṛśam kūpakhananam*]. "What is the use of sinking a well when the house is set on fire. The king should be careful in respect of choice of his servants: *buddhau arthe yuddhe ca ye sahāyāh te kāryapuruṣāh* | *khādanavelāyām kaḥ kasya na sahāyah*, "the persons who render help in respect of intelligence, money and battle are friends; verily who is not whose associate at the dinner-table?" How fine the sentence is for our own days :—*śastrādhikārino na mantrādhikarinah syuh* : "those who hold authority in respect of weapons must not hold authority in respect of giving counsels; i.e. military generals must not be appointed ministers "

The chapter on the daily routine of work of the king contains a multitude of rules on propriety, decent

* The word *pratilomavivāha* means marriage with a woman of a higher caste.

behaviour, culture, food and hygiene. Particular emphasis is laid on moderation in respect of food; since :

P. 96 —*yo mitaṁ bhunkte sa bahu bhunkte,* "he who takes measured food, he eats much" A little Jainistic sounds the precept (p 99) : *kuhakābhicārakarmakāribhih saha na gacchet.* "he should have no association with the person who is guilty of offending a loving one"

Although the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya has been unsparingly utilized, that work is nowhere mentioned here. However, at one place (p. 52) there is an allusion to Minister Cānakya, in the line (*śrūyate hi kila cānakyastīkṣṇadūtaprayogenaikam nandam jaghāna*· "it is heard that through employment of intelligent messengers, that is to say by employing desperadoes, Cānakya killed Nanda In the chapter on friend [*mitrasamuddeśa*] (p 86) it is remarked that often animals are better friends than men'[1]. As an illustration of it is narrated the story [*upākhyānakam*], so well known in Indian as well as in world-literature, about the grateful animals and ungrateful men · *atavyānkila andhakūpeṣu patiteṣu kapisarpasimhākṣaśālikeṣu kṛtopakārah kānkāyano nāma kaścit pānthah visālāyām puri tasmādākṣaśālikādvyāpādanamavāpa* Once upon a time, in a forest, a monkey, a snake, a lion, and an archivist (*ākṣaśālika*[2]), fell into a well that was covered A travellor, Kānkāyana by name, who had rescued them all was put to death in a big city by the archivist" Another remarkable allusion occurs at p 110[3]. When the judge and the assessors err in respect of judgment, who will win the suit? Is it not true that through conspiracy some people got a goat proved to be a dog? Here also is an allusion to a familiar story of the Pañcatantra about the wicked people and the Brāhmana who was carrying a goat for a sacrifice, the former always telling him that he was carrying a dog, till the latter believed them and threw away the goat that was taken away deceiptfully by the rogues. Lastly an interesting allusion to Bhavabhūti's Mālatīmādhava may here be mentioned As a proof that

1 Cf above II, 104, 180 f 369, trans p 129, 151, 225 etc
[*yena kenopāyena tiryañcopi bhavanti pratyupakārino*
avyabhicārinasca na punah prāyena manusyāh]
2 According to the commentary *akṣasālika=dyūtakāra=gambler*
3 Tantrākhyāyika III, 5

in war intelligence is often more important than weapons when Somadeva (p. 121) says:—*śrūyate hi kila dūrasthopi mādhavapitā kāmandakī-prayogena mālatīṁ mādhavāya sādhayāmāsa*: "it is heard that although staying far away. Mādhava's father procured Mātatī for Mādhava by employing Kāmandakī."

The Laghv arthannītiśāstra[1] of the Jaina scholar-monk, Hemacandra, whom we have met in so many spheres of literature and science, is a "small manual of politics" for Jainas that has come down to us. It is a selection from a great work in Prākrit the Bṛhadarhannītiśāstra, that is not extant, that Hemacandra had written at the behest of King Kumārapāla. The work is written in ślokas with occasionally intercalated explanatory passages in prose. By far the greater portion of the work is not devoted to politics but to civil and criminal laws in imitation of Dharmśāstra, particularly the Manusmrti.

The common topics of Arthaśāstra—qualities of the king, instructions about his conduct, the seven *prakṛtis*, the six methods of politics, rules for ministers, military generals, and other officers—are dealt with only in one small section. In the beginning of the section II Nīti is divided into three parts. of battle [*yuddha*], criminal procedure and civil procedure [*vyavahāra*]. The fact that the author is a Jaina is noticeable in a few places, only, for example in the chapter on war. Thus it is said that one must not resort to war so long all other means for subduing an enemy have not been tried:

sandigdho vijayo yuddhesamdigdhah janakṣayah l
satsvanyeṣvityupāyeṣu bhūpo yuddhaṁ vivarjayet ll

"Since doubtful is the victory in war, but undoubtful is the destruction of human-life, so in case there be any other means, the king should avoid war"[2]. If however, the war be unavoidable, one should be careful that there is

1. Edited and published with a commentary in Gujarātī, Ahmedabad, 1906. Cf Hertel, Tantrākhyāyika, Übers I, 157, 159 [The title actually is given as Arhannīti and not as given by W.]

2 II, 1, 19. So also Pañcatantra I, 314 (text Orn) and IV, 13 (text simpl)

the least possible harm and that it should be carried in a humane manner. He must not fight with wholly deadly, poisoned or treacherous weapons or with those that glow in fire, neither with stone, nor with clods of earth.. .. He should not kill an ascetic or a Brāhmana, even not the coward, who has laid down his arms, or one who is about to die or is betaken by some misfortune, a eunuch, a nude, a mercy-seeker, a non-combatant, one who is sleeping, sick, one who seeks protection, one who holds grass between his teeth in the mouth[1], a child who is to be consecrated in a sacrifice, nor him who has visited his his house as a guest:

nātirūkṣairviṣāktairna caiva kūtāyudhaistathā ।
dṛṣanmṛdādibhirnaiva yuddhyeta nāgnitāptaiḥ ॥
na hanyāttāpasam vipraṁ tyaktaśastram ca kātaram ।
naśyantam vyasanaprāptam klībaṁ nagnaṁ kṛtāñjalim ॥
nāyuddhyamānaṁ no suptaṁ rogārttam śaranāgatam ।
mukhadantatṛnaṁ bālam dīkṣepsuṁ ca gṛhāgatam ॥

The chapter on Dandanīti (II, 2) begins with a citation from the Jaina canon (from the Sthānāṅga)[2], where seven kinds of punishments are enumerated. The longest section (III) deals with civil law (*vyavahāra*) Here too, as in the Manusmṛti, the points of dispute are grouped under 18 topics. The section IV is devoted to atonement and purification [*prāyaścitta*] and here too we find the same Brāhmanical atonements, prescribed as those in the Dharmaśāstras with this addition that worship of Jaina too is prescribed as an atonement. The chapter significantly shows straightway the extent to which in ancient India the foundation of states was always laid on the Brāhmanical soil. Even the Jainas reconciled themselves to this condition when they wanted to secure influence in the state. For this Hemacandra accords full recognition to the caste-system and he prescribes atonement for one who has passed his meal-hours in the house of a Kirāta, a leather-worker, etc.

1. By doing this one has admitted his complete surrender, see R. Pischel, SBA 1908, p 445 ff

2 II, 1 27, 59, 61 f Similar rules are already found in the Dharmaśāstras (Āpastamba II, 10 Baudhāyana I, 18, 11, Gautama X, 180, Manu VII, 90 ff, Yājñavalkya I, 323, 325) and in the Mahābhārata 12, 98, 49.

Works of quite a recent age, not to speak a thing that is wrong, are the Śukranīti, i.e. the manual of politics ascribed to Śukra or Uśanas and the Nītiprakāśikā, that is claimed to have been written by Vaiśampāyana, the narrator of the Mahābhārata. On their basis, the editor of these works Oppert[1] has tried to prove that ancient Indians were already familiar with fire weapons and gun-powder. The Yuktikalpataru, "the tree of desire of practical methods"[2], attributed to King Bhoja, is preserved only in a few manuscripts. Candeśvara whom we have already known above (p. 568) as an author on Dharmaśāstra, is also the author of a work the Nītiratnākara on Nītiśāstra[3]. This book deals with the entire field of administration, organisation of the army, burlesque arrangements, etc[4].

[We may add to the list the name of the Nidhipradīpa of Siddha Śrīkaṇṭha Śambhu. The subject of Nīti has been treated in several Purānas as well, notably in the Agni-, Garuda-, and Viṣnudharmottara—, and it may be noted that this literature has penetrated into Burma, into East Indies, into Tibet, where its translations were placed under the sponsorship of Masurāksa or Nāgārjuna. In Ceylon there exists a translation Nīti and there is a collection of nītivākyas in Telugu under the title Sakalanītisammatam of Madiki Siṅghana (15th century A.D.].

1 In the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. 2, 1879, and Vol 4, 1881. Cf J Burgess, Ind. Ant. 12, 1883, p. 50 f In addition to the edition of the Śukranīti by Oppert (Madras 1882) there is also one by Jībānanda Vidyāsāgara (Calcutta 1882) and there are several Indian reprints with translation into Bengali, Marathi and Hindi. The edition of B K. Sarkar (New York 1915) was not available to W.

[Translated into English by B K Sarkar, SBH, Vol 13, Allahabad, 1914. B K Sarkar, The Positive Backgrounds of Hindu Sociology I, II, (The Sacred Books of the Hindus) 1914 and 1921 is based on the Śukranīti Whether or not the remnants of an old Arthasāstra are included in the Śukranīti remains still be examined The Nītiprakāśikā (ed Oppert, Madras 1882) deals mainly with the conduct of war.]

2. On the contents of this Arthasāstra reports Sarkar, ibid p. 12 ff

[3 Also called Rājnītiratnākara, Ed by K. P Jayaswal, B and O Res Soc, Patna, 1924 Cf. also Haraprasād, Report I, p 12, Aufrecht, CC 177.

4 Edited by K Śāmbaśiva Śāstri in TSS, No. 103, 1930.

[5. See also pp 612-13]

To the sphere of Arthaśāstra belong all sorts of manuals on special branches of learning[1], such as knowledge about horses, about elephants, about war, about building, jewels etc. According to Madhusūdana, Dhanurveda was compiled by Rsi Viśvāmitra in four books, dealing with arms, warcraft, army and also on secret weapons, magical sentences, king's ordination and omina. In manuscripts, works under the titles Dhanurveda are attributed to Sadāśiva, to Vikramāditya and to Sārngadatta[2]. [There are chapters devoted to Dhanurveda is the Agnipurāna and in the Visnudharmottara[3]].

As founder of the horse-science [Aśvavidyā] is credited Wise Śālihotra. Hence this science is called not only the Aśvaśāstra but also Śālihotra. Since it describes treatment of diseases of horses it is called also Aśvacikitsā, Aśvavaidyaka or Aśvāyurveda, i.e. "science of healing of horses" But the works like the Aśvavaidyaka of Jayadatta Sūri and the Aśvacikitsā of Nakula[4] are not treatises that deal only with healing of diseases of horses, but also with their breeding and training. [A similar work is the Śālihotra of Bhoja (1100 A D.][5]. The work consists of 356 stanzas and is not devoid of literary interest. Two stanzas are quoted here from this:—

1 Madhusūdana in the Prasthānabheda includes Nītiśāstra, Aśvaśāstra, (science of horses), Śilpaśāstra (manual of architecture and building), Sūpakāraśāstra (science of cooking) and Catuhsaṣṭikalāśāstra (science of sixty four arts) in Arthaśāstra Of these Sūpaśāstra, that deals also with diatetics, is included in medicine too, see P. Cordier, Le Muséon, N S 1903, p 346.

2 Cf Bühler, Report, p. XXXVI, Haraprasād, Report I, I, p. 9.

[3 Renou, L'Inde Classique § 1601.]

4 Both the works have been published by Umesacandra Gupta, Bibl Ind 1887 A work bearing the title Śālihotra is attributed to King Bhoja

[5. Edited by E D. Kulkarni, Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography, Poona, 195.] It deals with topics like nandling and training of horses and their diseases, see Jolly, Sanskrit Handschriften der Hof- und Staatsbibliolthek in München (1912), p 68. Stanzas from this work have been quoted in the Śārangadharapaddhati (see Aufrecht, ZDMG 27, p. 30, 43, 92) The Śālihotraśāstra is often used also in the sense of Veterinary Science" and is divided into one Aśvaśāstra and the one Gajaśāstra. See also Sarkar, ibid I, p 238 ff

urū sthirau yasya calau ca pādau trikonnataḥ siṁhasamānacittaḥ 1
sa vājivāhaḥ kathitaḥ pṛthivyāṁ śeṣā narā bhāravahā hi yāne 11

"He whose two thighs are firm and the two feet are moving, the lower part of spine is raised up and whose temperament resembles that of a lion has been called a horse-rider on this earth; in respect of riding the rest of the people are verily load-carrier. (45).

javo hi sapteḥ prathamaṁ vibhūṣaṇaṁ
trapāṅganāyāḥ kṛśatā tapasvinām 1
śrutam dvijānāṁ dhanināmagarvatā
parākramaḥ śastrabalopajīvitām 11

"The first quality is speed of a steed, modesty of a woman, leanness of sages, the Veda of the twice-born ones, pridelessness of the rich and valour of the people living on the strength of arms."

An important work on Śālihotra is the Aśvayukti section in the Yuktikalpataru[1], of which the authorship is attributed to Bhoja, whose Śālihotra has many stanzas that are contained in the Aśvayukti too.

In his elaborate introduction to Śālihotra E. D. Kulakarṇi has given a long list of names of treatises on this subject and this he has done on the basis of Rāghavan's New Catalogus Catalogarum and Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogarum.].

Whatever has been said about the Śālihotra, is true also of the science of elephants of which the originator is said to be wise Pālakāpya. Often it is included in veterinary science; but the work is mainly related to all the topics of knowledge about elephants. A very comprehensive work is the Hastyāyurveda, "Science of healing Elephants"[2], that is based as a dialogue between king Romapāda of Campā and Muni Pālakāpya, in the style of Purāṇas. The Mātaṅgalīlā or "Elephants' Sports[3]) of Nīlakaṇṭha, a work of which the age is not certain, is a synopsis of science of elephants. Written partly in ornate metres, in twelve-small chapters, it describes the mythical

[1. Edited by Pt Īśvarachandra Śāstrī 1917.]
2 Edited in the AnSS No 26; see also Jolly, Medicin (Grundriss) p 14 and Sarkar, ibid, p. 237.
3 Edited in the TSS No X, 1910. [Translated into English under the title The Elephant-lore of the Hindus, by Franklin Edgerton, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1931.]

origin of elephants and Pālakāpya, the founder of Elephant's Science, the distinguishing signs of their span of life, their qualities; the method of catching and training them etc.

[We may add here the name of Śyainikaśāstra by Rājā Rudradeva[1] of Kumaon It is a book on hawking and is of special interest to readers in general]

Śilpaśāstra in fact constitutes the lessons on the art of building mainly It is particularly utilized by engineers, and is called also Vāstuvidyā There are also several works available under the title either Śilpaśāstra or also under the title Vāstuvidyā of which the authors are unknown[2]. One of the important works on architecture is the Mānasāra[3], that in 58 chapter deals with diamensions and site of temples and houses, villages, city—planning, temple-building, installation of divine idols etc

In the opinion of Renou, the work consists of 70 chapters, and according to its editor P. K. Acharya it is a work of the 6th or 7th century A D. and its importance lies in the fact it refers to 32 authorities, whose works are all lost to us and in any case it was of an incontestible authority.

Some other important works on architective that may be mentioned here are :—Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa[4] Kāśyakalpa[5] attributed to Maheśvera-, Citrala-

[1. Edited and published by Haraprasād Śāstrī, Calcutta 1910]

2 Cf Goldstücker, Literary Remains I, 191 f, who cites a work of Rām Rāz, On the Architecture of the Hindus, London 1834 On the manuscripts of works on architecture and similar crafts, see Eggeling Ind. Off Cat V, p 1129 ff; Burnell, Tanjore, p 61 ff, Haraprasād, Report II, p 10 The Vāstuvidyā is a metrical work on building-construction engineering published in the TSS No 30, 1913 J F Kearns, Ind. Ant 5, 1876, 230 ff reports about one Śilpaśāstra translated into Tamil from Sanskrit.

[3 Edited under the title Mānasāra On Architecture and Sculpture, Sanskrit Texts with Critical Notes by Prasanna Kumar Acharya, Oxford Univ. Press, London 1934, and translated into English by the same scholar OUP, London 1934]

[4 Ed by T. Ganapati Śāstrī, TSS Nos 70 76 and 84, Trivendrum 1920, 1922, 1925, Chapters 4-7 translated into French by Marcelle Lalou, Paris 1930 under the title Iconographié des éttoffes (*paṭa*) dans le Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa]

[5 Edited by Krsnaśarman Gārgya ĀnSS No 95, Poona 1926] Winternitz, Vol. III, 40.

ksana[1], rendered into Sanskrit from the Tanjūr, Citrasūtra of Sarasvatī, Śivatattvaratnākara, Nāradaśilpa or the Nāradīya-śilpasūtra, the Matsya-Purāṇa, the Skanda Purāna, the Agni Purāna, the Visnudharmottara, the Mahānirvānatantra, the Kāraṇāgama, the Vaikhānasāgama, Suprabhedāgama, and the Kāmikāgama, contain chapters on architecture.[2]]

Before we close this topic we may make a mention of the Nītisūtras of Brhaspati. The work is known also under the title Bārhaspatyinītisūtrāni[3]. It is written in the same type of short prose sentences just like those of the Nītivākyāmrta It also covers nearly the same topics of Nītiśāstra that find place in the said work of Somadeva.

The identity of the author is not known. Brhaspati is referred to be an originator of Nītiśāstra indeed. But it appears that the Nīti-principles that are said to constitute the Bārhaspatya-nītisūtrāṇi rather go back to a school than to an individual. In the opinion of its editor these sūtras were written by some panḍita, Brhaspati by name, and that not before the 6th or 7th century A.D.[4] In the opinion of F. W. Thomas, however, "its date may be brought down at least to the twelfth century A.D.[5]

As regards its age it may further be mentioned that it was written long after the various religious sects had already come to be recognised fully, as is evident from the lines *mokṣapuryāḥ dvāraṁ trayam śāktam vaiṣnavam śaivamiti.*

But this much true that, as commonly supposed, the author of the present work was not an unbeliever[6]. He had taught Nītisarvasva to Indra and in conclusion he says *dharmamūlaṁ ca vidyāmarjayet*, he should learn science that is the root of

[1. Reproduced and translated into German by Berthold Laufer, Leipzig 1913]

[2 Louis Renou, L'Inde Classique § 1603]

[3 Published by N S Venkatanāthāñchārya, University of Mysore Sanskrit Series No. 98, 1957 as a part of Cīnakyanītisūtrāni, published under the title Bīrhaspatya ūtra. edited by F W. Thomas, Lahore 1921]

4. Introduction p XVI.
5. See Introduction to his edition p 17.
6. Cf. *Bṛhaspatirāha nādeyamāptā l yathā brhaspatirāttayah cārvākāsās-tathā ca dṛṣṭam, tasmādrṣiṇam na tranyate* (Yaśastilaka and its Vivarana quoted by Venkatanātāchārya, ibid

dharma. In addition he prescribes that a king should think about *artha* and *dharma* both[1]. As against Kautilya, he commands that a king must not cause trouble in relgious institutions *devālayāni ca na bādheta* This author is wholly Brāhmanical in approach and advises *cāturvarnyam rakṣet* and decries Lokāyatikas, Bauddhas and Jainas in *lokāyatikakṣapanaka-bauddhādi bahuśārdūladuṣṭamṛgākīrnaśunāṭavīguhāmārgavat*

There are some fine epigrams in it —

durjanamadhye sūryavat prakāśate sujanah. "among the wicked a good man shines like the sun" · *gurumapi nītivivyuktam nirāsayet*, "he should oppose even a teacher who has strayed away from morality etc."

The Nītiprakāśikā[2] of Vaiśampāyana is a work of an uncertain age It consists of stanzas that are grouped in eight sargas. This work is included in Dhanurveda and according its own admission it is an abridgement of the other works of the science. The commentatory attributes its authorship to a disciple of Vedavyāsa who taught it to Janamejaya in presenting it in the form of a dialogue between the four-faced [Brahmā] god and Prthu. In respect of its subject-matter the work comes in the category of works like Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra, Kautilīya-Arthaśāstra, Harihara-Caturanga, Sangrāma-vijayodaya etc It describes in a Purānic style the military science and contains enumeration of names of things of importance for military purposes

In addition to topics concerning Dhanurveda, there are lessons regarding Arthanīti and Dandanīti etc and the author calls his work to be a kāvya (piece of poetry[3]) In the work is prescribed fantastically large number of members of different units of the military organisation The smallest unit is *patti* and the biggest is *aksauhinī*. A *patti* consists of one chariot, one elephant, five men and three horses. It will have a large number of auxiliaries Again an *akṣauhiṇī* will consist of 2187 chariots, 218700 elephants, 28870000 horses and 2187000000 foot-soldiers. It is clear that the work is actually a piece of poetry

[1 *brāhme muhūrte utthāya dharmāmṛthañca cintayet*]

[2 Edited with the commentary Tattvavivrti of Sītārāma, in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Series, 3, Madras 1952, by T Chandrasekharan]

3 VIII, 97.

and could never have been written by a person who had experience of some military organisation.

The Ranadīpikā of Kumāragaṇaka[1] is a metrical work divided into eight adhyāyas and was written under orders of Govindamahīsurendra's brother Devaśarmā. Since this Govinda is said to have been a Brāhmaṇa king of Keral, probably he was Govinda of the Champakessari family. As regards its age it may be mentioned that the work has been cited as an authority in Praśnamārga, known to have been written in 1650 A.D. Further the editor of the work says that in case Rājarāja, mentioned in its colophon might, be identical with the king of Mahodayapura described in the Śukasamdeśa, the age of the author of the present work might have been in the middle of the 11th century A D.[2]

The work deals with topics that are dealt with in other sciences like Dhanurveda, Arthaśāstra, Jyautisa, Svarāgama, Paksiśāstra etc. and mainly describes the auspicious occasion for marching into a battle. A few probes from it may not be devoid of interest:—

tathāpi kālato yāti balahīnaśca śaktatām ।
gajopi hanti pañcāsyam garudam ca tathā phaṇī ॥
yathā kālaviśeṣena rāhunā paribhūyate ।
mahānādityadevopi phaṇinā garuḍastathā ॥
devasthāne vane ramye pūrvāhne balavān khagaḥ ।
vidālo balavān grāme sāyāhne sabahudrume ॥

"Still on account of time even a weak attains strength: even an elephant kills a lion and a snake, even a *garuḍa*.

In the same way as even the great sun is over-powered by Rāhu in a particular time, so is a *garuḍa* (overpowered) by a snake.

In a beautiful temple or in forest a bird is powerful in the forenoon; a cat is strong in the evening in a village that has a large number of trees."

The Rājanītiratnākara, already mentioned above, is one of the famous Dharmaśastra-nibandhas of Candeśvara who lived in the court of Harisimhadeva of Mithilā, who disappeared from the battle-field in

[1. Ed. by K. Śāmbaśiva Śāstri, in the TSS, No. XCV, Trivendrum 1928]

2. Preface p. 1.

1324 A.D., after he was defeated by Ghiyasuddin Tughlak[1]. This work records the following changes in political ideals :—A sovereign may be of any caste :—*rājaśabdopi nātra kṣatriyajātiparah kintvabhiṣiktajanapadapālayitṛpuruṣaparah*[2]..... *kevalaśauryādyāptarājyasya rājatvavyahārāt*, "the word *rājā*, here does not mean one of the Ksatriya caste, but it means an anointed protector of a region . , because the word kingship is used only with reference to kingdom acquired by heroism, etc."

It is likely that this statement was written afterKāmeśvara-ṭhakkura, a Brāhmana, became the ruler of Mithilā after Harisimhadeva disappeared

It is a digest of Hindu polity and is of a type quite different from that of the Kauṭilīya. It is more akin to Dharmaśāstra than to Arthaśāstra.

A very recent publication is the Mānasollāsa, otherwise known also as the Abhilasitārthacintāmani[3], attributed to the Western Chaulukya King Bhūlokamalla Someśvara, son of Vikrāmaditya VI. It is a voluminous work, extending to about 8000 granthas and is divided into five vimśatis, each containing 20 adhyāyas, some chapters being further divided into several sub-sections. As regards its authorship Shrigondekar holds that it is not a work of Someśvara himself, but of somebody else attached to his court. In any case, therefore, one may consider it to be a work of twelfth century A.D.[4]

The Mānasollāsa is written in verses in the anuṣṭubh metre with prose passages intercalated here and there. Its language is simple and the work is devoted to many topics, so much so that the author calls it Jagadācāryapustaka. Politics is described in the second vimśati in several adhyāyas that are intermixed also with chapters dealing with topics concerning Astrology, Test of Jewels, etc. In addition it describes also march of the army and its organisation.

[1. K. P Jayaswal, Introduction to the edition of the Rājanītiratnākara, p 1 ff, see also above, p 606]

[2. Text p 2]

[3 Edited by Gajanan K Shrigondekar, Gaekwad Oriental Series, XXVIII, Baroda 1925 and later Abhilasitārthacintāmani of Someśvaradeva, Ed by R Shama Shastry, Mysore 1926].

4. Cf Ibid, Preface, pp VI ff Cf also Aufrecht, CC, p. 452.

The Hayaśīrsa-Pañcarātra[1] of an unknown author is a very important treatise on Vaiṣṇava Architecture and consecration of images. It begins with a history of creation in the style of Smrtis, and is divided into several paṭalas each written in verses composed in the anustubh metre. As regards its age the editor is of the opinion that it may be tentatively assumed to have been written in about 800 A.D.

The work describes dimensions of temples, their planning in addition, the forms and sizes of images of different gods are also prescribed. Further it may be considered to be a work on Karmakānda inasmuch as it contains sections also on the manner of worshipping different gods.

The Kāśyapaśilpam is attributed to sage Kāśyapa[2]. The age of this work is not known, and its editor conjectures that it was written probably after the reign of the Nanda-kings, and as such it is not older than 400 B.C., although Kāśyapa, is mentioned to be an architect already in earlier works. It describes the minute details about the form of images of different gods.

The Pratimālaksanam, Samyaksambuddha bhāsitam[3], description of images uttered by the Great Buddha, is a work of which the author is as yet not known. This work is preserved in the Tibetan Tan-gyur. It begins in a regular sūtra-style. Bhagavān Buddha addressed it Sāriputtra : *sāriputra mayi gate parinivrte vā nyagrodhaparimaṇḍalam kāyaṁ kartavyam l yāvatkāyaṁ tāvadvyāyāmam*, "Sāriputra, after I go away or I die or attain parinirvāṇa, about the *nyagrodha* tree, a statue should be built, its dimensions should be the same as of the body". And after this follows the description. There are descriptions of images of Bodhisattvas and Sugatas.

The Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata attests an already advanced technique of Śilpaśāstra.[4]

[1. Edited by Bhuban Mohan Sānkhyatīrtha, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Vol. I, 1956, Vol 2, 1956]

[2 Edited by Kṛṣṇarāva Vajhe, ĀnSS. 95, 1926]

[3 Edited critically with a commentary by Haridas Mitra, Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, No 48, Varanasi, 1933 Edited with English translation and notes by Jitendra Nath Banerjea, Journal of the Deptt. of Letters, Calcutta University 1933, No 2.) also Pratimā-mānalaksana, Edited with introduction Sanskrit and Tibetan texts and English translation, by Phanindranatha Bose (Greater India Publications 5, Lahore 1939)]

[4 Louis Renou, L'Ind. Classique § 1602].

A comparatively modern work on Rājanīti is the Buddhabhūṣana attributed to King Śambhu, ie Sambhāji, son of Shivaji[1] Of course the editor of the work hopes to have proved that King Sambhāji had compiled it The work is based on miscellaneous sources and does not appear to have any special merit of its own

The Aparājitaprcchā attributed to Bhuvanadeva[2] is an important work on architecture written probably in about the 12th or the 13th century A.D.[3] This work presents the Southern school of Indian architecture as opposed to the Samarāṅganasūtradhāra of Bhojadeva[4], that represents the Northern school. The Aparājitaprcchā, that is also known as Sūtrasantānagunaprakāśa, is written in the form of questions by Aparājita and their answers by his father Viśvakarman The school of architecture represented by it is called the Nāgara school. The work describes in Purāna-like style the various subjects concerning building of temples and images. In adition it attests that religious merits accrues to the architect and to the person who gets constructed buildings according to its prescriptions.

The Prasādamaṇḍana, ascribed to Mandana or Maṇḍana-Sūtradhāra[5] is an important manual of Hindu architecture It seems to be a recent compilation, as is evident from the presence of some modern Indian words in it. The general topics dealt with here are not original, but repetitions of items already treated exhaustively in other works[6].]

Here a mention may be made of the Sangītaśāstra[7],

1. Government Oriental Series—Class C, No 2, Edited by H D. Velankar, Poona 1926

[2 Edited in No 67 the GOS No CXV, Baroda 1950 by Popatbhai Ambashankar Mankad]

[3 Introduction, p XII.]

[4 Edited by T. Ganapati Śāstrī, GOS 25, 32, 1924, 1925]

[5 Ed by J D Zadoo Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies No LXXII, Shrinagar 1947]

6 Zadoo, Ibid, Introduction, p 4 [On Indian Architecture see also Dvijendranatha Śukla, Bhāratīya Vāstusāstra-Pratimāvijñāna, Lucknow 1956, Benjamin Rawland—

The Art and Architecture of India-Buddhist, Hindu, Jain in the Pelican History of Art, Second Edition 1956]

[7 On Indian Music, see J Grosset, Contributions à l'étude de la musique hindoue, Bibliotheque de la Faculté' des Lettres de Lyon, Paris

really "the Science of Concert", i.e. the science that means all disciplines about song and music.[1] [In India, the science of music has been considered to have the status of a Veda, and another name of Saṅgītaśāstra is Gandharva-Veda. It is said that Nārada brought this science from the heaven upon the earth. At first this science was treated in literature in close association with Nāṭyaśāstra, Dramaturgie.] We have already seen that in the Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra, the chapters XXVII-XXXIV are devoted to music and song. These chapters are devoted to the theory (*jātilakṣaṇa*), to musical instruments (*ātodya*) song *suṣira*, *tāla* (measure) and *dhruvā*. According to the Nātyaśāstra music has three elements: sound (*svara*), rhythm (*tāla*), and grammar and prosody applied to the musical texts (*pada*). We have in addition a number of manuals that treat the entire sphere of the art of music from differenet aspects. Hence they contain chapters on notes, scales, melodies, art of singing, musical instruments, dance and mimicry, organisation of music-parties, performance of concert, requisite qualifications of music-teachers, dancers, and singers etc. [First of all we may mention the Saṅgītamakaranda, attributed to Nārada, that probably was written in the 10th century A D [2]] The Saṅgītaratnākara[3] of Niśśaṅka Śārngadeva (13th century A D.), son of Soṭhala of Kashmir is an old work, although it is by centuries separated from the Bhāratīya Nātyaśāstra. But we are not in a position to determine definitely its age although we knowthat its commentator Kallinātha lived in about 1450 A.D. A later work, in which Kallinātha is already quoted, is the Saṅgītadarpana[4] of Dāmodara, son of

1880, Bernhard Breloer, Die Grundelemente der altindischen Musik nach dem Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra, Bonn 1922.

1 See above, p. 9; Simon, ZDMG 56, 1902, 129; Goldstucker, Literary Reclaims I, 188 f, Burnell, Tanjore Cat, p. 59 ff, Eggeling, Ind Off cat II, p 315ff.

[2. Renou, L'Inde Classique § 1605 Edited with Introduction and appendices by Mangesh Ramakrishna Telanga, GOS 16, Baroda 1920.]

3. Edited with the commentary of Catura Kallinātha in the ĀnSS No. 35, 2 Vols

[The author of the Sangītaratnākara is said to be Sārngadeva in the edition with the commentaries Kalānidhi of Kallināth and Sudhākara of Simhabhūpāla by Subrahmanya Śāstri Adyar 1941-1950. On Simhabhūpāla, see A. Danielou's Foreword to Vol IV of the Samgītaratnākara, Madras 1953]

4 Cf Simon, ZDMG 56, 1902, 129ff To the later works belong also

Lakṣmīdhara. He has not only utilized the Sangītaratnākara, but has partly drawn materials from it even verbally. In the case of passages, where he deviates from it, probably they are his own composition, fashioned on the basis of earlier sources and is of importance on this very account [An important text is the Dattila or Dattilīya, a short manual that is supposed to be a work of Dattila, a disciple of Bharata. There are the Bṛhaddeśī of Mātanga and Saṅgītapārijāta of Ahobala[1], that has 635 stanzas and treats *vidyā* and *tāla*] There are also monographs, that are devoted only to melodies, like the Rādhāvinoda of Somanātha, written in the year 1609 A.D. of which the fifth section contains also the author's compositions for the musical notes and their notations There are 50 pieces, of which each one has its own melody[2]

[The Saṅgītadāmodara of Śubhankara[3] (in 5 stabakas) is another important treatise on music and dramaturgy. It refers to the Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra, and as against Bharata, Śubhankara accepts Śāntarasa as one of the sentiments of drama. It describes various modes of music and dance as well[4]. Śubhankara's father was Kavicakravartī Śrīdhara and his mother was Subhadrā. It is claimed that he was born in the Lahiḍī family of Bengali Brāhmanas and according to Śrī Gaurīnātha Śāstrī in all probability, he lived in the 15th century, especially as he has referred to Dhūrtasamāgama of Jyotirīśvara (14th century)[5] and has been quoted

the Saṅgītanārāyana of Purusottama miśra (see Simon, ZDMG 57, 521 f) and the Saṅgītacandra, an encyclopaedia of the art of music, on which Jagajjyotirmalla wrote the commentary Saṅgītabhāskara (see Haraprasād, Report I, p 10 f).

[1. Ed by K Vedāntavāgīśa and Śāradā Prasād Ghosha, Calcutta New Sanskrit Series 1879]

2 Cf Simon, Die Notationen des Somanātha, S Bay A 1903, see 447, ff W Jones, in the year 1912 made use of this work in his essay "On the Musical Modes of the Hindus" (Asiat Res Vol III) He, however, considers the work to be very old

[3 Ed by Gaurīnāth Śāstrī and Govindagopāla Mukhopādhyāya, Calcutta Sanskrit Coll Research Series, No 8, 1960]

[4 For a synopsis, see ibid, Introduction p 16 ff]

[5 See above p 297, n 3] [5 p 77]

by Bhavānanda Ṭhakkura in the 16th century[1]. [In the opinion of Louis Renou he should have been living before the 15th century A.D.)[2].

While the wish of the author to be born again in the Lahidī-family makes his being a Bengali probable, quotation as an example of Apabhramsa by him of the sentence *mori vāṇi avahamse ramaī-mama vānī apabharmśa eva ramate* goes to point out that the author was an inhabitant of Mithilā, the form *mori* not being attested in old Bengali[3] as against old Maithilī where both *morī* and *mori* occur[4]. Besides there is the tradition that this Śubhankara was the son of Maheśa, who is said to have obtained from Akbar the Great the kingdom of Mithilā.]

Another important work on Music is the Aumāpatam[5] by an unknown author. It is a treatise on music and dance purporting to have been addressed by Śiva to Pārvatī. Its date is likewise unknown. Another work on music and dance that may be mentioned here is the Saṅgītopanisatsāroddhāra by Vācanācārya Sudhākalasa[6] written in 1324 A.D.[7] The author was a Jaina scholar. An anonymous work on dance is the Nrtyasangraha[8]. In respect of language the work deviates from the Pāninian grammar at several places and its age is also not known.

The Abhinayadarpaṇa of Nandikeśvara[9],

[1 *apunarbhava evāstu bhavaścedyadi jāgratu* I
lāhalliyakule janma kavitā haribhaktayah. II]

[2. L'Inde Classique § 1605]

[3. Cf Chatterji ODBL, Vol. 2.]

[4. Cf *mori virati* (Songs of Vidyāpati, p. I) and *arati mori* (ibid p. 16]

[5. Edited by K Vāsudeva Śāstrī in the Government Oriental Series, Madras, No CXXIX, 1957]

[6. GOS No. 133, ed. by Umakant Premanand Shah, Baroda 1961]

[7 Ibid, Introduction, pp IV ff]

[8 Ed. by Priyabālā Shaha in the Rājasthāna Purātattva Granthamālā, Jaipur 1956]

[9 Translated into English by Ananda Coomaraswamy and Gopal Kristnayya Duggirala, HOS, 1917.]

the Saṅgītasamayasāra of Śrīpravaradeva[1] are other important works on music]

An old branch of knowledge has, in India, been the science of gems and diamonds (Ratnaśāstra, Ratnaparīksā). In the Divyāvadāna itself we find the sons of a trader learning this science. In the Kāmasūtra "the examination of gems" is included among the 64 arts (kalā). Varāhamihira shows his familiarity with the science of gems in his Brhatsamhitā But the age to which Buddhabhatta, Agastimata, Navaratnaparīksā of Nārāyana Pandita, etc. belong is not known[2]. These texts not only enumerate the names of the precious stones, but they narrate also the myths regarding their origin, report about the place where they are found and their colours, explain the signs of their genuineness or spuriousness and mention the value, price, importance etc. of each of them.

There is a text book on theft mentioned not only in literature[3], but it actually exists in a manuscript. Its title is Sanmukhakalpa "Rules for the Six-headed, Being" i e. Kārttikeya, who is the god of thieves as well The Sanmukhakalpa plays in the profession of theft the same rôle as does the use of the magical formulas and the magic-portion perform in the last section of the Kautilīya-Arthaśāstra. A chief thief must necessarily be well versed in magic as well[4].

Kāmaśāstra (Erotics)

Closely associated with Arthaśāstra and parallel to it has developed in India Kāmaśāstra, the science of sexual love[5]. Both of them are purely practical sciences that start with the teachings of the three aims of life (*trivarga*) In the same way as Arthaśāstra does not know of any other way or means through which one may attain and rejoice earthly happiness (*artha*),

[1 Edited by T Ganapatī Śāstrī, TSS 87, 1925]

2 L Finot, Les lapidaires indiens, Paris 1896 (Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, sc phil et hist, fasc 111), has published, translated and described these works

3 So in the Mrcchakatika and the Mahābhārata, see A Hillebrandt, ZII, 1 1922, 69 ff

4 Cf Haraprsṣād, Report I, p 8

5 R Schmidt, Beitrage zur indischen Erotik, Leipzig 1902, 2nd Ed (without Index Berlin 1911)

Kāmaśāstra strives merely to teach the means and manner through which man may enjoy sexual pleasure (kāma) the best. As Arthaśāstra has in vew the rulers, the kings and the minister and it tries to show as to how a kingdom may be conquered and governed, so Kāmaśāstra, above all, has the townsman (*nāgaraka*), that is to say gentleman in the court and in the town, the man in love in view, and it tries to show them the method of attainment of complete sexual pleasure. The woman participates in this science only to the extent that she belongs to the same circles or is connected to them[1]. In respect of methods, the manner of teaching and arrangement of the subject-matter the treatises show a striking correspondence between the two sciences, at least when we compare the two oldest extant books with one another.

The oldest of the manuals on the art of love, that is available to us, the Kāmasūtra[2] of Mallanāga Vātsyāyana is planned clearly on the model of the Kautilīya. Arthaśāstra. Like the latter, it is written in the sūtra-style, approaching the Bhāṣya-style, and each chapter ends in a

1. It is noteworthy that in the Kāmasūtra p 1, 3, the question is posed whether women too should learn this science, and in reply it is said that its study should be prescribed for courtesans, for princesses and for daughters of high officials

śloka. The arrangement of the entire book is similar[1]. The two works are in accord also in the fact that although they fully recognize the Brāhmanical religion and morality and dharma in the Brāhmanical sense, still they set up their theories without any scruple regarding this dharma so to say, "without any consideration of the good or the bad". When Vātsyāyana teaches the art and craft through which a worldling may win over a girl, or he may "seduce" the wife of another man, so much so that he may outright be designated as a "Machiavelli" of love. Hence the Kāmasūtra, e g. speaks about the friends of the lovers and of the love-mesesengers not differently from the manner in which the Arthaśāstra speaks about friends of the kings and the spies and ambassadors

The contents of the Kāmasūtra to a great extent appears obscence to the people of the West, but the people of India have spoken about sexual life always more frankly than those of the West are accustomed to do In the concluding stanzas Vātsyāyana assures us that he has written this work "in moderation and with the highest reverence," since it is to be used for journey in the world, and that his compilation is not meant to be utilized in reference to satisfaction of lust or passion The person who has correctly understood the real nature of this science is a man who has controlled his mind, whilst he pays attention to the three aims of life· Dharma, Artha and Kāma occurring in the world. The clever man, who has studied this science, when he is given to sexualism, he will take into consideration Dharma and Artha and will not subject himself to grief excessively" We need not take these words seriously, but we are merely to understand from this that the Kāmasūtra is written in the style of a dry text-book[2].

1 Like the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, the Kāmasūtra too begins with an introduction that contains a complete index of the contents with an exposition of the three aims of life and with a chapter called Vidyāsamuddesa and ends likewise with an aupanisadam, a chapter on secret means There are also verbal correspondences Cf Jacobi, SBA, 1911, 962 f, Jolly, ZDMG 68, 361 ff and E Müller, Hess in Festschrift Kuhn, p 162 ff

2 In the Prasthānabheda of Madhusūdana Kāmasāstra has been included in Āyurveda, Medicine, and the author mentions also 'Potency-strengthening, Vājikarana, Kāmaśāstra of Suśruta About Vātsāyana's Kāmaśāstra, he says—it consists of five chapters, a thing that does not agree with our text Further Madhusūdana says "its objective is to teach moderation in respect of sensuous pleasure, "since in case of enjoyment of sensuous pleasure according to the method taught in the śāstras the end is sorrow.

As in other manuals, so here too the subject-matter has been most passionately divided, classified and defined, so much so that it does not present an inappropriate comparison with the "ars amastoria" of Ovid.

The greater part of the work is, however, of the type that it can be or should have been of interest only for researchers in sexuology. Consequently it is not devoid of importance on account of its antiquity, in respect of literary or cultural history. In the introductory chapters we find remarkably an ethico-philosophical exposition on the three objectives of life and an interesting enumeration of the sciences and technical arts, knowledge of which is necessary for cultured women. The chapter III constitutes a valuable supplement to the marriage-customs described in the Grhyasūtras and the chapter VI is of the highest historical interests concerning the ways and manners of harlots.

The Kāmasūtra is the oldest available work of this class, but in no way it is the oldest book on erotics. Vātsyāyana himself, in the beginning of the Kāmasūtra, gives a partially mythical and partially historical and literary introduction[1], from which we are able to conclude that there existed an old work attributed to Auddālaki Śvetaketu, that was abridged by Bābhravya Pāñcāla, but that appears to have been in any case a copious work. This work consists of seven chapters to which correspond those of our Kāmasūtra. Subsequently the chapter VI on the different types of harlots was treated by Dattaka[2] with reference to the harlots of Pāṭaliputra in one particular book and on the texts of the other sections individual scholars Cārāyana, Suvarnanābha, Ghoṭakamukha, Gonardīya, Gonikāputra, Kucumāra—wrote monographs. So after the entire śāstra was treated piece-meal, Vātsyāyana, once more abridged together in his one single manual Kāmasūtra, the entire stuff because the work of Bābhravya on account of great-vastness presented difficulty in study. All the famous scholars have been referred to not only in the text, but in the commentary too, they have been repeatedly quoted [illegible]

their opinions, and even ślokas from their works have been cited there. Therefore, there is no doubt that there existed actually works of these authors. Cārāyana and Ghotakamukha are mentioned also in the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra. We meet Gonardīya and Gonikāputra as grammarians in Patañjali's Mahābhāsya Ghoṭakamukha is mentioned besides Kauṭilya in a list of Brāhmanical texts in the Nandīsūtra and in the Jaina Anuyogadvāra[1]. Bābhravya must have founded a sort of school, since Vātsyāyana more often refers to the opinions of "Bābhravīyas[2].

Kāmaśāstra is, therefore, apparently an old science, that developed parallel to and perhaps contemporaneously with Arthaśāstra. It, however, stands in closest relationship also with ornate court poetry. The study of Kāmaśāstra was adopted as an exercise for the ornate poet, and the manuals of Poetics contain several sections that cover the subject-matter of Kāmaśāstra. We have also seen in so many works the extent to which ornate poets attached importance to parading their knowledge of the science of love in their poetical compositions. Kālidāsa too was certainly conversant with Kāmaśāstra, although we may not be wholly sure about his acquaintance with the work of Vātsyāyana[3]. As against this Subandhu in the Vāsavadattā mentions the name of Mallanāga and shows his most accurate knowledge of Kāmaśāstra[4]. Bhavabhūti cites the Kāmasūtra and he is well-familiar with its contents. From this it follows that Vātsyāyana wrote the Kāmasūtra, in any case before the 7th century A.D. But we are not in a position to determine accurately its age However, there can be no doubt that it is younger than the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra. In any case it is hardly much younger, and the great similarity

1 Cf Charpentier, The Uttarādhyanasūtra, Introd. p 29 f Among the sciences, which the Buddha had studied according to Sūtrālamkara of Aśvaghosa (translated by E Huber, p 311) is included also Kāmaśāstra In the Introduction to the Tantrākhyāyika-, Dharma-, Artha-, and Kāmaśāstra are said to have belonged to the course of study for princes acccrding to grammar

2 Cf Jacobi, SBA, 1912, 840 f and 1911, p. 959 note

3 See above p 58, 66 note, and Peterson, JRAS 18, 1891, p 109 ff R Narsimhachar (JRAS 1911, 183 f) tried to find allusions to the Kāmasūtra in the Raghuvamśa and in the Śakuntalā-nātaka

4 Cf Gray, Vāsavadattā, pp 69, 76 f Māgha too mentions the Kāmasūtra (see above p 76).

between these works makes it probable that the Kāmasūtra is separated from the Kautilīya-Arthaśāstra only by a short span of time. So in case the age of the latter was in the 3rd century A.D., the Kāmaśūtra should have been written in the 4th century A.D. But this is nothing more than a conjecture[1]. [In the opinion of H. C. Chakladar, as quoted by Louis Renou, we know nothing about the author of the Kāmasūtra who was prabably an inhabitant of the West, except that he has mentioned in this work a king of the Śātakarni or Śātavahana dynasty of the 2nd or 1st century B.C.[2] Besides there is not a single citation from the Kāmasūtra that is of an age earlier than the 7th century A.D. On the basis of certain archaisms of forms and concordances with the Kauṭilīya and Apastamba, Winternitz considers Vātsyāyana to be the 4th century A.D. and Keith of the 5th century A. D.[3]

We have a very elaborate commentary the Jayamaṅgalā of Yaśodhara Indrapāda, who lived in the 13th century A.D.[4] There are other commentaries of later ages. Of the rest of the apparently elaborate Kamaśāstra-literature only few deserve to be mentioned in particular and there is none that in respect of importance can be compared with the work of Vātsyāyana.

[We may, however, add here the following titles :—

Kuṭṭinīmata[5] and the Samayamātṛkā.

1. In the Kāmasūtra II, 7 (p. 154) there is a warning against sadistical practices in love-affairs and it is narrated that the Kuntala-King Śātakarni Śātavāhana killed his queen Malayavatī with scissors We find the title Śātakarni and the surname Śātavāhana of the kings of the Āndhra-dynasty in the 2nd and 1st centuries B C Hence Vātsyāyana must have written his work later than that age. Since in the Kāmasūtra the beggar-nun, by which term probably is meant a Buddhist nun, appears as a procuress, who was employed here as a spy in the Arthaśāstra, the work must have been written in an age when Buddhism had already become degenerate.

[2. Cf. L'Inde. Classique § 1606]

[3. Ibid]

4. In one of the manuscripts of the commentary it is said that it was written under King Viśāladeva (1243-1261); see S. R. Bhandarkar, Rep. for 1883-84, p. 48. It is in accord also with the fact that the Jayamaṅgalā was already quoted in the year 1107 by Jñānaprabha in his commentary on the Śāntiśataka, see Jacobi, SBE., Vol. 22, p. 282 note Ch. Guleri (Ind. Ant. 42, 1913, p. 225 f.) has stated that Śaṅkarārya, the author of the Jayamaṅgalā on the Nīti Śāstra had written the Jayamaṅgalā on the Kāmasūtra as well, but these have been proved beyond suspicion, because they were just opposite. It is, however, the age of Śaṅkarārya is not known

5. Tantra—Mātrā or Śāmbhalā-Mātrā composed in about [illegible] A.D., edited by Tanasukharam Manasukharam Tripathi, Gujarati Prabhakar Press, Bombay, 1924.]

Both of them are likewise connected with the Kāmasūtra. Then there is the Kandarpacūdāmani of Vīrabhadra and the Vātsyāyana-sūtra-samsāra of Ksemendra. In addition there is one Nāgarasarvasva of Padmaśrī, who was a Buddhist. He has versified in 18 chapters the amorous life of a prince]

The Ratirahasya, "Secret of Amorous Sport" was written by Kokkaka before the 13th century : another name of this work is Kokaśāstra Down upto the present day it is much read in India, and there are its several translations. The work is written in ornate stanzas, and the author boasts that he has collected together not only the teachings of Vātsyāyana, but also the teachings of former teachers like Nandikeśvara and Gonikāputra have been taken into consideration[1]. As teachers Gonikāputra, Nandikeśvara. Mūladeva and Rantideva are named also in the Pañcasāyaka[2] of Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekhara. Since Kokkaka mentions Ksemendra, he must have lived after the 11th century A D. A very well-known and elaborate work is the Anangaranga "the Stage of God of Love[3]", of Kalyānamalla, a princely author who apparently lived in the 16th century A.D A small handbook of erotics in 60 stanzas is the Ratimañjarī[4] of Jayadeva, who is hardly indentical with the writer of the Gītagovinda.

1. Schmidt, Beiträge zur ind Erotik, p 35 ff (53 ff).

2 That is "consisting of five arrows" The work is divided into five chapters, called sāyakas, that allude to the five arrows of Love-god of Indian mythology. Cf Schmidt, ibid p 49 (48 ff) [Edited by Sadānanda Śāstrī, Lahore 1921 Jyotirīśvara was a resident of Mithilā and lived in the 14th century A D under King Harasimha or Narasimha of the Karnāta family . see S K Chatterji, Introduction to Varnaratnākara, Calcutta 1940, pp. XVII ff]

3. Edited by Ramachandra Śāstrī Kuśala, Lahore, 1920, trans into English (anonymously) London-Benaras 1885 (Kama Shastra Society), Cf Schmidt, ibid, p 27 (26 ff).

4 Edited by P E Pavolini, GSAL 17, 1904, 317 ff Printed several times in India is the Ratiśāstra of Nāgārjuna, cf which R. Schmidt (WZKM 23, 1909 180 ff) has given probes On the learned commentary Smaratattvaprakāśikā of Revanārādhya, see Schmidt, WZKM 18, 104 9 261 ff
Winternitz, vol III, 41

MEDICINE[1]

The beginning of medicinal sciences go back to the age of the Vedas. In the magical strophes of the Atharvaveda and in the magical rites of ritualistic literature described in particular in the Kauśikasūtra, belonging to the Atharvaveda, we find the early beginnings of an art of healing and of a knowledge of healing herbs. As in other countries, so in India too, the magic-doctors were the first physicians. And this association with magical craft is still not wholly forgotten in India. Even till recent days we find in scientific medicinal treatises demons being mentioned as promoters of diseases and charms being prescribed as remedies. Further even in the Vedic texts we find the beginning of a science of anatomy, of an embryology and of a hygiene. In the Śatapatha-Brāhmana (X and XII) and in the Atharvaveda (X, 2) we find an accurate enumeration of bones of the human-skeleton[2]. The ancient names of the science of medicine is Āyurveda," the Veda for (lengthening of) the span of life", that is considered an *upānga* (subsidiary) to the Atharvaveda[3]. According

1. The chief works on Indian medicine have been described by J. Jolly, Medicin (Grudriss III, 10), Strassburg 1901, where works of ancient literature too have been spoken about, see particularly p. 19. A.F.R Hoernle, Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India, Part I Osteology, Oxford 1907 and Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine, JRAS 1906, 283ff, 1907, 915ff, 1908, 997 f, 1909, 857ff and Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin I, 1908, 29 ff adds important supplements. Cf. also Burnell, Tanjore p. 63 ff, Eggeling, Ind. Off Cat V, p 923 ff.; p. Cordier in Le Muséon, N S IV, 1903, p. 321 ff; Haraprasād, Report I, p. 9 f. Jolly, Die Sanskrit-Handschriften No 287-413 of K. Hof und Staatsbibliothek in München 1912, p 47 ff In Medicine are included, through teachings on healings, what the Indians know about Botany, Minerology and Chemistry (alchemy) [On Indian Medicine see also Shiva Sharma, System of Āyurveda, Bombay 1929; Atridev a Vidyālankāra, Āyurveda kā Brhat Itihāsa, Directorate of Information, Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow 1960, H. H. Bhagvat Sinhjee, A Short History of Aryan Medical Science, Gondal, 1927; P. C Ghosh, History of Hindu Chemistry. The recent treatise is Jean Filliozat, Doctrine classique de la Médecine Indienne, ses origines et ses paralleles grecs, Paris 1949]

2 Cf Hoernle, Osteology 104 ff, 109 ff.

3 The science of medicine is also called Vaidyaśāstra "the Science of Physicians". The physician is called vaidya, "possessing knowledge (vidyā), in the same way as in the West a physician is called "doctor". In respect of the high antiquity of the science of medicine it is noteworthy that Patañjali in the Mahābhāsya (ed. Kielhorn I, p. 9) mentions among the sciences in which Sanskrit is used, in addition to the Veda, the Vedāngas, and the literature that pass by the names itihāsa, purāna and vākovākyā, that are related to the Veda, the only secular science, the vaidyakam [Even long before Patañjali, Pānini had used a number

to tradition Āyurveda originally consisted of eight parts (aṣṭānga), in which major surgery (śalya), minor surgery (śālākya), treatment of diseases of the body (kāyacikitsā), demonology (teachings on the diseases caused by demons), [bhūtavidyā), healing of diseases of children (kaumārabhrtya), toxicolgy (agadatantra), elixir (rasāyana), and aphrodisiaca (vājīkaraṇa) Like other sciences, medicine too has a divine origin. It was created by Brahman, and one after the other it went to Prajāpati, Aśvins and Indra, and it was transmitted by these gods to the sages (rsis). Among the ancient scholars, who are named by tradition in this connection, are those like Ātreya, Hārita, Kāśyapa, Agniveśa, Bheda. They might have been individual authors of treatises on medicine whose writings are lost to us[1]. In particular Ātreya or Krsna Ātreya is mentioned as the first teacher of the science of healing. Ātreya, Hārita and Kāśyapa are already cited in ancient medical texts. But the works that now go under the titles Ātreya-Samhita, Hārita-Samhitā and Kāśyapa-Samhitā[2] are at least cases of recent adaptations of earlier texts, and as a rule they are simply modern works that are decorated with ancient names[3]. [The Kāśyapasamhitā[4] also called Vrddhajīvakīyam Tantram is said have been taught by Mārīca Kāśyapa to his disciple Vrddhajīvaka, who is said to be its author]

Frequent references to the Indian system of medicine in old Buddhist literature also proves its high antiquity. In Bud-

of names of diseases and remedies that prove existence of a system of medicine)—nay even in the Vedas we find references to medicines and physicians In the Brahamavaivartapurāna Brahma is reported to have transmitted Āyurveda, the fifth Veda, to Bhāskara, and then Bhāskara is mentioned to have compiled an independent Samhitā

ṛgyajuhsāmātharvākhyān dṛṣṭvā vedān prajāpatih ||
vicintya teṣāmarthañcaivāyurvedem cakāra sah ||
kṛtvā tu pañcamam vedam bhāskārāya dadau vibhuh ||
svatantrasamhitām tasmāt bhāskaraṣca cakāra sah ||)

[1 On Bhedasamhitā, see below, p 630]

2 So in the Mahābhārata 12, 210, 21

3 One Ātreya-Samhitā in the form of a dialogue between Rsi Ātreya and his son and disciple Hārīta (see Eggeling, Ind Off Cat V, p 929f) has several times been printed under the title Hārītasamhitā in India A medical work Vaidyajīvana is attributed to Cānakya (Aufrecht, CC 184) and Arabic writers mention Śānaq (i e Cānakya) not only as an author of treatises on Nīti, but also of those on Medicine, see Zachariae, WZKM 38, 1914, p 183

[4 Edited with an Introduction by Hemarāja Śarmā, NSP 1938.]

dhist legends we meet with the boy-physician Jīvaka. It is said that he had studied medicine under Ātreya at Taxila. It is probable that the famous "four noble truths" of the science of medicine may be going back to him. In the Vinayapiṭaka medicaments in a good number are enumerated and things like vapour-bath, blood-letting, surgical instruments, emetics, purgatives etc. are also mentioned[1]. The comparisons of the surgeon in the Majjhimanikāya (discourses Nos. 101 and 105) point to an intensive development of surgery. Some works on medicine are attributed to famous Nāgārjuna[2] In later ages too the Buddhists had devoted themselves to the study of medicine with predilection. The detailed report of I-tsing about his tour in India on the medical system of India as well as the fact that so many treatises on medicine were translated into Tibetan prove the same thing[3].

[We might be tempted to begin our description of the available treatises on Āyurveda with the Āyurveda-sūtra[4] that is attibuted to an unknown author. But unfortunately it is a work that was written not before the 16th century A.D.[5]. It is divided into 16 chapters, called praśnas and is in form of sūtras. It has none of the merits of the sūtras of other well known branches of learning.]

The oldest dated medical texts that have come down to us in the Bower-manuscripts were written by Buddhist authors[6]. These are old Indian manuscripts (written in incorrect Sanskrit mixed with Prākrit that were found by British Lt. H. Bower in the year 1890 in a Buddhist stūpa

1. Mahāvagga VI, 1-14, SBE, Vol. 17, p. 41 f.

2. Cf Jolly, ZDMG 53, 1899, p. 378, and the text cited there by P Cordier, Nāgārjuna et l'Uttaratantra de la Suśruta-Samhitā, Anantarivo 1896.

3. Cf Takakusu, I-tsing, pp 130 ff, 222 f, Jolly, ZDMG 59, 1902, 565 ff; Huth, SBA 1895, p 269 ff

[4 Published with the commentary of Yogānandanātha by R Shama Sastry, Mysore 1922]

[5. R Shama Sastry, Introduction p. XV.]

6 The Bower Manuscripts Facsimile Leaves, Nāgarī Transcript, Romanised Transliteration and English Translation with Notes, ed. by A. F, Rud Hoernle, Calcutta 1893-1912 (Archeological Survey of India, Vol XXII), Introduction abridged also in Ind Ant 42, 1913, and 43, 1914 Appendix, cf Hoernle, Ind Ant 21, 1892, 29 ff, 129 ff, 349 ff, Jolly, Medicine, p. 14 f and ZDMG 53, 1899, 374 ff, 67, 1913, 363 ff. The manuscript is now in the Bodleiana in Oxford, see Winternitz-Keith, Bod Cat. II, p 110 f.

in Kutcha in Kashgar (Chinese Turkistan) and had been deciphered by R Hoernle. On palaeographical grounds these manuscripts are considered to be of the second half of the fourth century A.D.[1] Of the seven texts contained in them there are three that deal with topics concerning medicine. One of these texts is on the origin of garlic [*laśuna*] that cures several diseases and may let life last up to one hundred years, on digestion, on an elixir for span of life of one thousand years, on proper way of mixing of ingredients, on remedies that make one strong, on eye-lotions, ophthalmic ointments, etc. The second fragment contains formulas for 14 remedies for internal and external maladies The most voluminous fragment is the Navanītaka ("The Butter", i e. an extract from the best of all earlier manuals), that in 16 sections deals with powder, decoction, oil, enema, elixer, aphrodisiaca, children's tendencies, preparation of compounds etc. Since the concluding portion of the work is missing, the name of the author is not known to us All these works are written in verses, and partly they are composed in metres of ornate poetry, as is usual in later-day compilations of prescriptions. But the prescriptions have throughout an antiquarian appearance. Their language is Prākrit mixed up with Sanskrit. In the Navanītaka many medicinal authorities have been quoted, in particular Agniveśa, Bheda, Hārīta, Jātukarna, Ksārapāni and Parāśara, all of whom may have been disciples of Punarvasu Ātreya; but from among the authors known to us only the name of Suśruta occurs here[2].

[In Central Asia, in the region of Kutcha, have been found three leaves of a MS of a work entitled Yogaśataka by the mission conducted by Pelliot. Here the Sanskrit text is accompanied with a translation in the dialect of Kutch. The age of the MS concerned appears to be about the 7th century A.D. This Yogaśataka is extant in its Tibetan translation and its manuscripts are available in Nepal and India. It is a work written in different metres, viz. Vasanta-

[1. Jean Filliozat, L'Inde Classique § 1661, is of the opinion that probably it is of a period between the 4th and 6th the centuries A D]

2 Medical formulas and remedies for different maladies are found also in the fregments of manuscripts found in East Turkistan by Aurel Stein and in fact in barbaric Sanskrit and in translation in an unknown Iranian language, see A F R Hoernle in the Bhandarkar Com p Vol 415 ff.

tilakā, Upajāti, Dandaka, Śārdūlavikrīdita etc. and is meant to be learnt by heart. Its authorship is attributed to Nāgārjuna in Ceylon and Tibet and in most of the MSS. Possibly this Nāgārjuna is the same scholar who completed the Suśrutasamhitā and to whom are attributed several other medical treatises.

The Chinese pilgrim Yi-tsing, at the end of the 7th century, says that recently a writer has put the 8 chapters into one volume, and this is a thing that may have reference to the Yogaśataka[1]]

Suśruta is one of the "three ancients" (as the Indians say) of medicinal literature: Caraka, Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa. Under these three names we possess Saṁhitās, great compendia of medicine, that in all probability go back to some Tantra and Kalpa literature that is now lost to us and in which certain topics of medical science were treated.

The Carakasamhitā[2], according to its own testimony, is not an original work, but merely an adaptation of a Tantra by Agniveśa, a disciple of Punarvasu Ātreya and a fellow-student of Bheda (or Bhela). The Carakasamhitā is closely connected with the little known Bhedasamhitā[3]. According to the Chinese Tripitaka (translated in 472 A.D.) Caraka was the personal physician of Kaniska whose wife was once assisted by him in case of an abortion[4]. Apparently there is nothing that may stand in the way of assuming this report to go to make Caraka a contemporary of Kaniska (therefore, to fix

[1. According to Jean Filliozat, L'Inde Classique § 1662.]

2 Editions of the text have been printed several times in India, generally with commentaries, often also with translations in vernacular languages The edition with a complete English translation was begun by Kavirāja Avinash Candra Kaviratna (Calcutta 1890), was continued, after his death, by his son Pareshnath Sarma-Kavibhūsana and completed in 1911 The actual translator, however, is Kisori Mohan Ganguli (See A Barth JA 1911, p 10, t XVII, p 389 f.)

[An English trans by K L Bhisagratna recently published by Gulabkunverba Ayurveda Society, Jamnagar 1939]

3 It is still preserved only in a single manuscript, see Hoernle, Osteology, p 37 ff Jolly, Medicin, p 12, conjectures that the Bhedasamhitā is merely a different recension of the Carakasamhitā, but P Cordier (Le Muséon, N S IV, 1903, 324 ff) considers it to be a work older than the Caraka-Samhitā [The Bhedasamhitā is available in fragments that have been published by the Calcutta University in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol 6, 1921, edited by Asutosh Mookerjee.]

4 Cf Takakusu, I-tsing, p LIX, Jolly, WZKM 11, 1897, 164 ff, Keith, ZDMG 62, 1908, 136

his age probably in the 2nd century A.D). But there is no definite proof in support of this. As against this it is certain that we do not possess the text of the Carakasaṁhitā in its original form. The text is preserved wholly in a delapidated condition and the manuscripts and the editions differ strongly. About one-third of the work was complete in the 8th or 9th century A.D. by D r d h a b a l a, son of Kapilabala Drdhabala, however, was not satisfied with this alone, and he revised the text of the whole Samhitā and prepared an appendix[1]. However, the basic part of the work, that like the Kautilīya-Arthaśāstra, is written in prose mixed with verses at the end of each chapter, is certainly old and probably the oldest of the extant medical manuals

The Carakasaṁhitā consists of 8 chapters (sthānas): 1 Sūtrasthāna, that in general describes means of healing, diet, duties of a physician etc.; 2. Nidānasthāna, on the 8 principal ailments; 3 Vimānasthāna, on tastes, food, general pathology, medical studium; 4 Śārīrasthāna, on anatomy and embryology; 5. Indriyasthāna, on diagnosis and prognosis, 6 Cikitsāsthāna, on special therapy, 7 8. Kalpa- and Siddhānta-sthāna on general therapy.

Caraka is not only a physician, but also a moralist and philosopher. He prescribes even a number of religious and moral instructions with reference to hygienic rules as well as in connection with the theory of sin being the primary cause of a malady. With all force Caraka says that man should strive for attainment of the three objectives. preservation of vitality, gaining of wealth and peace in the world to come. Then there are discussions about the soul etc. in which the standpoint of the Sānkhya philosophy is admitted, just as in the Śārīrasthāna that begins with an analysis of the theory of Purusa and Prakrti. Further Caraka is fully conversant with the Nyāya-theories about syllogisms and the categories of Vaiśesika[2]. In connection with the

1 Cf H o e r n l e, Osteology, p ff, Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin I, 1908, 29 ff, JRAS 1908, 997 ff, 1909, 857 ff, J o l l y, Sanskrit Handschriften, München, p 48. Drdhabala is a Kashmirian and the commentators speak about a "Kashmirian recension" of the Caraka-Samhitā

2 Cf S u a l i, Introduzione, p 28 [On the philosophy of Caraka see Surendranātha D a s g u p t a, History of Indian Philosophy Vol I, pp. 280 f and 302.

passage: The three sustainers of the body are: food, sleep and patience. And he adds an interesting discourse on the importance of sleep for health.

According to the Vimānasthāna, the initiation of a student into the medical study takes place after religious ceremonies of the type of Upanayana for beginning of the Vedic studies A junior physician is expected to possess a high sense of responsibility and discipline.

"Whole-heartedly he must try for healing the maladies; even when he has to play with his own life, he must not cause any inconvenience to the patient; he must never even once think of approaching the wife of another person, nor his property . .When he is in the company of a known person, authorized for ingress and enters into the house of an ailing person, he must be properly dressed and should proceed in a pensive manner with absolutely strict control, while taking all possible cares. In case he is inside, his words, thought and mind must not to go anything other than the treatment of the patient and what is associated with his condition. The events of the house must not be disclosed and he must not communicate the apprehension, the possible approach of early death of the patient that may cause discomfort either to the patient or to anybody else[1].

The oldest extant commentary on the Carakasaṁhitā is the one by Cakrapāṇidatta of the 11th century A.D. But before this the work had already been translated into Persian and from it into Arabic[2]. The name of the commentary of Cakrapāṇidatta is Āyurvedadīpikā as well as Carakatātparyaṭīkā.[3] One Carakasamhitā has its authorship attributed to Agniveśa[4].

The most famous Indian medical treatise is the Suśrutasaṁhitā[5], that likewise is written in verses mixed up with

1. Adopted by R Roth's translation into German, ZDMG 26, 1872, 445 ff

2. Cf Sachau. Alberūnī's India I, pp XXXI, XXXV.

[3. Edited by Kavirāja Harināth Visārada, Calcutta 1892-95]

[4. Edited Vāman Kesho Dātār, Nirnayasāgara Press, Bombay 1922].

5. Repeatedly printed in India, Translated into Latin by F., Hessler, Erlangae 1844-52 (obsolete), English translations by Hoernle Bibl Ind. 1897 (incomplete) and by Kaviraj Kunja Lal Bhishag-

prose, but in respect of language and the subject-matter it must have been younger than the primary stock of the Caraka-saṃhitā In the Mahābhārata (13, 4, 55) Suśruta is included among the sons of Viśvāmitra. Nāgārjuna probably had prepared a new redaction of the work of Suśruta. In the Bower manuscripts he is mentioned by the side of Ātreya and Hārita. In the 9th and 10th centuries the name of Suśruta had been well known as a famous physician equally well in Combodia and in Indo-China as also in Arabia in the West. So it is certain that Suśruta was an ancient author who might have been a little younger than Caraka and might have lived in the early centuries of the Christian era, and equally uncertain is the antiquity of the text of the Samhitā, that in its extant form is attested first in a commentary of the 11th century A.D.

Exactly as the Caraka-Samhitā, the Suśruta-Samhitā begins with a mythological introduction on the origin of Ayurveda King Divodāsa of Vārānasī is named here as the teacher of Suśruta, who is said to have been an incarnation of Dhanvantari, the divine surgeon. This myth is associated with the fact that, as against Caraka, Suśruta is essentially a surgeon and deals in detail with surgery, that in the Caraka-Samhitā is almost wanting. Suśruta too begins with the Sūtrasthāna, in which common problems are treated. The second main division (Nidānasthāna) deals with pathology, the third the (Śārīrasthāna) is devoted to anatomy and embryology, the fourth (Cikitsāsthāna) is on therapy, the fifth (Kalpasthāna) is on toxicology. The concluding part forms the Uttaratantra "the supplementary book", that was added early[1]. It is devoted to eye-diseases and to topics not mentioned in the old part

Suśruta too demands the strictest discipline and the

ratna, Calcutta 1907, (1911, 1916) 3 vols See also Altindische Geburtshilfe aus Suśrutas System der Medizin, übersetzt und erlautert von J A Vullers, Giessen 1846 (from the periodical Janus I, 1846, 225 ff).

[An English trans by K L Bhisagratna published by Gulabkunverba Ayurveda Society of Jamnagar, 1949]

1. Hoernle distinguishes between an "Older" and a "Younger" Suśrutas, and by the latter he means the author of the Uttaratantra But he (Osteology, pp 4 ff, 8) considers this supplementary book to be at least as old as the Caraka-Samhitā and Kaniska, whilst he believes that the Śatapatha-Brāhmana was already familiar with the teachings of Suśruta, Winternitz agrees with A B Keith (ZDMG 62, 136 ff) only to the extent that these calculations of ages are highly doubtful

highest morality in respect of qualities of the body and the mind from young physicians. At the time of initiation of a disciple (upanayana), the student is taken about the holy fire and he is solemnly instructed to give up voluptuousness and to abstain from anger, greed for money, pride, vanity, grudge, vulgarism, idleness, falsehood, deception, etc. They must always have their nails and hairs cut short; they should always remain clean; they should be dressed in reddish garment and should lead a straightforward, pure and respectable life. A physician should treat holy men, friends and neighbours, widows and orphans, poor and tourists not differently from if they were his relatives. On the other hand he must not render any medical aid to hunters, bird-catchers, excommunicated persons and sinners.

The oldest commentaries on the Suśruta-Samhitā written by Jaiyyaṭa (or Jaiyjata or Jajjata) and Gayadāsa have not come down to us. Of the available commentaries the oldest are the Bhānumatī of Cakradatta and the Nibandhasamgraha of Ḍallana of the 11th and 12th centuries[1] respectively.

The third of the "three ancients" is Vāgbhaṭa. When Hārīta says that Atri taught for the Krta-, Suśruta for the Dvāpara- and Vāgbhata for the Kali-age, he probably means rightly that Vāgbhata was by several centuries separated from Atri, (on whose teachings are based those of Caraka) and Suśruta. There are two famous works that go under the name of Vāgbhata : Aṣṭānga-Saṁgraha, "Compilation of the Eight Parts (of medical science[2]) and the Astangahrdaya-Samhitā "Compendium of the essentials of the Eight Parts (of medical science[3])". In respect

1 On the commentary see Jolly, ZDMG 58, 1904, 114 ff; 1906, 413 ff, R Roth, ZDMG 48, 1894, 138 ff, Hoernle, JRAS 1906, 283 ff On the basis of Jayyata's commentary Candrata has prepared a revised text of Suśruta, see Eggeling, Ind Off Cat V, p 928 Dallana's commentary has been published by Jibananda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1891, [and by Jādavji Trikamji Āchārya, N S Press, Bombay 1915]

2. Published in Bombay 1888

3 With Arunadatta's, commentary [Sarvāngasundara] published by A M Kunte, Bombay 1880, 2nd Ed 1891 There is also a commentary by Hemādri [Text edited by Jibananda Vīdyāsāgara, Calcutta 1822; Ganeśa Sakhārām Sarma Tarte, Bombay 1889 and Śamkara Dājī Śāstri Pade, N S Press, Bombay 1900.]

of form the Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha, that is written in mixture of prose and verses, is older than the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā, that is written only in verses In respect of the subject-matter as well the former work is older of the two. The quotations in later-day medical treaties appear to refer to the former as "Vrddha-Vāgbhata", whilst the second one is simply called Vāgbhata Since in the composition of the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā, the Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha was utilized there can hardly be any doubt that we must distinguish between an older and a younger Vāgbhata. Apparently the older Vāgbhata lived in the beginning of the 7th and the younger in the 8th century A.D.[1] Probably the older Vāgbhata is the person about whom I-tsing has said, without mentioning his name, that he had "in brief" collected together the 8 parts of medical science[2]. Since undoubtedly he was a Buddhist, as probably was also the younger Vāgabhata, whose Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā had been translated into Tibetan[3]. The older as well as the younger Vāgbhata cites from Caraka, Suśruta and indeed from the Uttaratantra too

A not much later or perhaps written contemporaneously with the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā, therefore, in the 8th or 9th century A D is the Rugviniścaya, "Research into Maladies" of Mādhavakara, son of Indukara. The work is usually called Mādhavanidāna or briefly Nidāna[4] It is outright the chief work on pathology, in which most important diseases have been treated in detail, and this work has served as the standard for all subsequent works. The fame of the work

1 However, in each of the two works the name of the author is Vāgbhaṭa, son of Simhagupta His grandfather was Vāgbhata, and Avalokita was his teacher One of the manuscripts of the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā (Jolly, Sanskrit-Handschriften, Munchen p 50) mentions Vāgbhata to be a son of Mahāvaidyapatiśrī-Nrsimhagupta In other manuscripts the author's name is given as Bāhaṭa, son of Simghagupta At the end of the Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha it is said that the author assumed the name Vāgbhata, after that of his grandfather, a distinguished physician, and that he studied under a teacher under the Buddhist name Avalokita and under his own father Simhagupta and that was born in the Indus Valley" (Jolly, Medicin, p 8). See also Jolly, ZDMG 54, 1900, 260 ff and P Cordier, JA 1901, s 9, t XVIII, 147 ff Cordier considers both the works to present the two different recensions of one single text

2 Cf Hoernle, JRAS 1907, 413 ff

3 G Huth, ZDMG 49, 1895, 280 f

4 It has been printed several times in India M Vallauri, GSAI, 26, 1913-14, 253 ff

is proved by existence of the large number of its commentaries. The existence of this work is presupposed by the Siddhayoga or the Vṛndamādhava[1] of Vrnda, in which prescriptions and recipes for all diseases from fever to poisoning are laid down. Vrnda himself admits that he follows the Rugviniścaya in respect of sequence of maladies. In any case the two treatises are closely connected and they were written shortly after one-another, if not, as conjectured by Hoernle[2], Vrnda is only a second name of Mādhavakara and if the two treatises have one and the same author.

Cakrapānidatta of Bengal, whom we already know as a commentator of Suśruta, was a successful medicinal author and he wrote one Cikitsāsārasangraha[3], a great compedium on therapy that might have been written in about 1060 A D As his main source the author mentions one Siddhayoga that he has actually almost copied. [He was the author of a work Dravyaguna[4] too.] In the 11th or 12th century A D. Vangasena, son of Gadādhara, wrote a voluminous work under the same title the Cikitsāsārasangraha[5], in which the descriptions of diseases given in the Mādhavanidāna have been copied outright, and Suśruta too has been unsparingly utilized At the latest in the 13th century A D. was written the Śārngadharasamhitā by Śārngadhara, since in about 1300 A D. Vopadeva had already written a commentary on it The fact that it has been a popular and much read work on therapy is proved by the large number of its extant mannscripts[6]. Opium and quick silver preparations are mentioned in this work, in which Vṛnda has in

1 Edited in the ĀnSS, No 27,1894 with the commentary of Śrīkanthadatta Cf Jolly, ZDMG 53, 1899, 377 ff, Medicin, p. 6 f

2 JRAS 1906, 288 f According to Hoernle, Osteology, 13 ff. Mādhava was older than Drdhabala

3 In India printed several times, also under the shorter title Cikitsāsamgraha The author is often mentioned by the short names Cakradatta, Cakrapāni and Cakra

[4 Edited by Jībānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1893]

5 Published in Calcutta 1889 Cf Eggeling, Ind. Off Cat. V, 951 f, Hoernle, JRAS 1909, p 860

6 The several Indian reprints with translations in popular dialects of the work prove that even till this day it is much studied [An edition is by Jībānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1878 Another important edition with Adhamalla's Dīpikā and Kāśīrama's Gūdhārtha-dīpikā is by Paraśurāma Śāstrī, Bombay NSP 1920]

addition been abundantly utilized, and in which remedies and the method of diagnosis are accurately laid down—things that do not occur in earlier works and probably that were introduced under Persian or Arabic influence[1]. Vopadeva, the famous grammarian, who is already known to us, was a son of Physician Keśava of Berar and a protegee of Minister Hemadri. He is also the author of one Śataślokī, 100 verses on the exposition of powders, pills etc, with the author's commentary. To the same age belongs apparently also the Cikitsākalikā[2] of Tīsaṭācārya, a work that is already quoted in the 14th century. Tīsaṭa's son Candraṭa, known also elsewhere as a medicinal authority, has written a commentary on it. Down upto the most recent times have been written often and again big and voluminous manuals of the science of medicine as a whole or on its different aspects. We may here mention the name of the Bhāvaprakāśa[3] of Bhāvamiśra of the 16th century A. D. in which is mentioned syphilis, a disease brought to India by the Portuguese and the Sarsaparilli as the remedy against it. In the 17th century A D. Lolimbarāja, who is known also as an epical ornate poet, wrote a popular manual on therapy the Vaidyajīvana in ornate metres[4].

Probably there have existed from a very early period monographs on individual topics of medicine, but we possess only recently written works on several diseases, like fever, infantile sickness, ophthalmic ailments, etc as well as monographs on aphrodisiaca, on feeling the pulse etc.[5] To the medical literature

1 So according to Jolly, Medicin, p 18

2 A specimen of the text (47 stanzas on Physiology, Anatomy, General Pathology and Therapy) has been published by Jolly, ZDMG 60 1906, 414

3 Printed several times in India with translations in Hindi and Bengali

4 Printed in India (with commentaries) and translated into modern Indian languages

5 The Jvaratimirabhāskara of Cāmunda, written in 1849, is devoted to fever (see Jolly, Medizin, p 4) To the treatment of pregnant women and infants is devoted the Śisuraksā tantra of Pṛthvīmalla, son of Madanapāla, who lived in about 1400 A D (see Eggeling, India off Cat V, p 964 ff), Nādīparīkṣā, on examination of pulse, was written by Ramacandra Somayājin, 1349 (see Haraprasād, Report I, p 10) There is a manual on the habit and diseases of trees, the Vrksāyurveda by Surapāla (see Aufrecht, Bodl Cat p 324 f) [Filliozat considers Nāḍīparīksā to be a work of a period anterior to the 8th century A D He further mentions one Nādīvijñāna as a work attributed to Kanāda and one Nādīprakāśa of Śankara-

belong also the works that encroach partly into the regions of Religion and partly into that of Astrology in which the diseases are considered to be consequences of the sins committed in former lives. One such monograph is Jñānabhāskara ("Sun of Knowledge"[1]), in which diseases have been considered from the stand-point of the theory of *karman* and penances and sacrifices have been prescribed as therapy in the form of a dialogue between the Sun-god and his charioteer.

There is a very voluminous literature on witchcraft and alchemy, a derived branch of medicine, that is devoted to the wonderful healing power of metallic preparation called rasa. Mercury is considered to be *rasendra*, *raseśvara* "king of rasas", that is prescribed as an elixir for life, as a rejuvinator and as a medicine that can cure all possible ailments. Since mercury is one of the things that are considered to have the potency to change ordinary metals into gold, the works that deal with rasa come also within the sphere of alchemy. In about 1330 A.D. Alberūnī[2] read in India such rasāyana-works as are named by him. Approximately one hundred years before him, there lived a famous especialist of this art, Nāgārjuna of Daihaka, near Somanātha, who wrote a great comprehensive work on these topics[3]. Albērūnī speaks with great contempt about this pseudo scientific work and says that it would be best if this costly science of rasāyana were banished into such farthest away regions of the world, where nobody could read it." In the Sarvadarśanasangraha, in its chapter IX, "the mercury system"... (raseśvaradarśana) has been described. The adherents of this system are Śaivas, who believe in oneness of the soul with Śiva, but admit that emancipation during lifetime depends upon stoutness of the body that must be made strong through use of mercury. And here the works Rasārṇava, Rasahrdaya and Raseśvara-

sena as important later day treatises—L'Inde Classique § 1670 A special branch of Āyurveda dealing with the nursing of pregnant women and of new-born babies is called Kaumārabhrtyam A very old work of this department is preserved in a MS written in the Newārī script at Vāranasī in the Sanskrit University Library being No 45395. and is being edited for publication]

1 Eggeling, Ind Off Cat V, p 962 ff

2 Sachau Albèrūnī's India I, 188 ff

3 According to P C Ray there is one Rasaratnākara, written by one Nāgārjuna in 7th or 8th century A D; see Jolly, Festschrift Windisch, p 99

sindhānta are cited. This work, therefore, must have been written in about at least 1300 A. D.[1] The Rasārnava, is a comprehensive work of 18 patalas in verses and has been cited also in the Rasaratnākara of Nityanātha and in the Rasendracintāmani of Rāmacandra[2]. The Jaina Merutunga wrote in 1386 a commentary on one Rasādhyāya of Simhagupta, ascribed in several commentaries to Nityanātha or to Aśvinīkumāra[3] too.

Medico-botanical glossaries, that bear the ancient name "Nighaṇṭu[4]", were perhaps existent from a very early period; but the extant dictionaries of this type are not very old. Indeed the Dhanvantarinighantu[5] must be older than the Amarakośa. Since in our text mercury too is mentioned, it has not come down to us in its original form. In 1075 Surceśvara or Surapāla, the court-physician of King Bhīmapāla of Bengal, wrote the Śabdapradīpa, a dictionary of medical botany. In between 1235 and 1250 A D. Kashmirian Narahari wrote his meteria medica, the Rājanighantu or the Nighaṇṭurāja or Abhidhānacūḍāmaṇi[6]. In the year 1374 Madanapāla wrote one Madanavinodanighaṇṭu[7], a comprehensive dictionary — materia medica (enumeration of plants, animals, herbs and remedies of all sorts). To this class of treatises

1 The Rasārnavam or the Ocean of Mercury and other Metals and Minerals ed by P C Ray and P Hariścandra Kaviratna Bibl Ind 1910 Ray considers the work to have been written in the 13th century A D

2 Both the treatises have been published in India.

3 Edited in the ĀnSS 1890, No 19

4 Cf on this complete literature Jolly, Der Stein der Weisen in Festschrift Windisch, p 98 ff [Rasādhyāya or Kankāladyayavārttiks, edited by Rāmakṛṣna Śarmā, Chowkhamba SS 1930]

5 Cf Zachariae, The Indischen Worterbucher, p 38 f, Jolly, Medicin, p 13 f, Eggeling, Ind off Cat V, p 973 ff Published in the ĀnSS, No 33, [1896]

6 Published at Vārānasī in 1883 and in the ĀnSS, No 33 The chapter XIII, devoted to the Minerals, has been edited and translated into German by R Garbe, Die indischen Mineralien, Leipzig 1882 [Rājanighaṇṭu or Nighaṇṭurāja, edited in the ĀnSS 1896 and by Ashubodh Bhaṭṭachārya and Nityabodh Bhaṭṭāchārya, Calcutta]

7. Published at Vārānasī in 1869 and 1875. Cf Eggeling, ibid 978 ff, Roth, Ind Stud 14, 398 ff, Aufrecht, ZDMG 41, 487.

belong the dietical dictionaries like the Pathyāpathya-nighantu of Trimalla and medicinal books on cookery. All the medical dictionaries are composed in verses. Further in the 19th century quite a large number of works on materia medica in Sanskrit as well as in English have come to light[1]. [The Hrdayaprıyā of Parameśvara[2] is also an important work that may be mentioned here.]

[We may make a mention here of some of the authors of medical treatises who are considered to be Buddhists, although in their treatment of the subject they follow the line of the Brāhmana authors. Such are Nāgārjuna and Vāgbhata. The Bhesajjamañjūsā, "Basket of Remedies", is a work written in Pāli, that is still in use in Ceylon and conforms strictly to the teachings of Āyurveda.

[Although in the most ancient Buddhist schools practice in medicine was prohibited for the monks, later they were permitted to study it and they practised it at least in their own circles. The Mahāvagga-Pāli contains a chapter on medicines, remedies and hygiene. Besides there exist certain works in Chinese and Tibetan translations only.

Like the Buddhist texts, the Jaina-texts too contain allusions to medicine and treatment of diseases. A work like Kalyānakāraka, "Doer of Good", of an unknown date written by one Ugrāditya, who was a Jaina, is based on Āyurveda, but it prohibits completely use of all the animal products on religious grounds[3].]

The similarities between Indian and Greek medicines are very numerous, and at least some of these similarities are necessarily to be explained on the basis of borrowings of Greek teachings, although there can be no doubt that the origin of the Indian medical science is to be searched for only in the indigenous region. This must particularly have been the case with Surgery[4]. Many remedies, like opium and mercury, the

1. Excellent is Udoy Chand Dutt, The Materia Medica of the Hindus, compiled from Sanskrit Medical works, Calcutta 1877.

2. [Edited by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri, Trivendrum TSS 111, 1931.)

3 Jinadas Parshwanath Fadkule

4 For references see Jolly, Medicin, p 18 f, Hoernle, Osteology, p III ff The contempt with which E Haas (ZDMG 31, 1877, 647 f) speaks about the Indian medicinal science is as much unjustified as his hypothesis that it is wholly dependent upon the Greek system.

Indian learnt from Persians and Arabians, to whom they also owe their knowledge of the diagnostic of pulse-feeling On the other hand Indian treatises were translated early into Persian and Arabic[1]. The medical system of Tibet, Ceylon and of the East Indies are dependent upon the Indian system

[Some of the texts on Āyurveda are found to certain materials that were probably taken from Arabic Generally opium is considered to have been introduced into Āyurvedic Pharmacopea by the Arabs, and possibly its name *aphena* "without foam" or *ahiphena*, 'foam of a snake' is an adaptation of Arabic *afyun* (Greek--ὀπιον) The word *arka*, "essence", although in Sanskrit means the "sun" too, is an adaptation of Arabic *arak* The word *phirangaroga*, for syphilis, appears to have been introduced into Sanskrit in the 16th century A. D and the Arabic system of medicine is called *yūnānī* "Greek" in Northern India[2] .]

Astronomy, Astrology and Mathematics

Astrology and Mathematics have, in India, been cultivated almost only in connection with Astronomy. Astrology is most unscientific and Mathematics most scientific as branches of Astronomy. The chief treatises of Astronomy contain sections on Mathematics and those of Astrology have topics on Astronomy. It also happens that the same authors have often written treatises both on Astronomy and Astrology[3].

1 cf Jolly ibid, p 17 f, E Haas, ZDMG 30, 1876, p 617 ff; Sachau, Alberūni's India, I, pp XXXVII f, XL, 159, 162, 382 f

[2 Written on the basis of Filliozat, L'Inde Classique §1673]

3 The chief work on these subjects that has been followed essentially in the present volume, of course with regard to the literature that had come out upto the time of its publication, is G Thibaut, Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik (in the Grundriss III, 9), Strassburg 1899. On European researches in the sphere of Indian Astronomy and Mathematics see the same p. 1 ff Cf also Thibaut in Indian Thought, Vol I, 1907, Weber, LG 264 ff, Burnell, Tanjore, p 75 ff, Eggeling, Ind Off Cat V, pp 991 till 1128, Haraprasād, Report II, 6 f On the primary works of H T Colebrooke on Indian Astronomy and Mathematics see Windisch, Geschichte der Sanskrit Philologie (Grundriss 1, 1), p 29 ff On the condition of astronomical and mathematical literature of India in about 1030 we have a copious report from Alberūnī, the experienced Arabian scholar (see Alberūnī's India English Edition by E C Sachau, London 1910) He had himself translated several works into Arabic, furnished fine information about others and knew many works that we know no more. [The latest comprehensive work on the subject is the History of Hindu Mathematics, Parts I & II by Bibhuti Bhusan Datta and Avadesh Narayan Singh, published jointly, Lahore 1935. Unfortunately

The beginning of the Indian Astronomy is lost in the mythical and cosmological phantasies of the hymns and Brāhmanas of the Vedas. - The Vedic singers always emphasise the arrangement and confirmity to law of appearance of the light in the sky, and sometimes we find traces of a more natural scientific observations regarding the course of the planets[1]. The performers of Vedic sacrifices were obliged to know in detail about the calculation of time in which observations regarding variations in the phases of the moon, of the movement of the sun, of the seasons and in particular about the 27 or 28 Zodiacal signs, called Naksatras, played a great part[2]. The attempt to cast a calender for the purposes of [calculation of appropriate time for the performance of] rituals and sacrifices had gone high up in the Vedic age[3]; but there is no real Astronomical work found within the Vedic literature. Necessity of knowledge about the seasons, rains, cold, etc. for guidance in agricultural programmes too contributed to the origin of Astronomy.

As a single remnant of a certainly not inconsiderable Astronomical Vedānga literature has come down to us a small work bearing the title Jyotisa-Vedāṅga[4] [C. 1200

the published parts contain only the account of the numeral notations of Arithmetic and of Algebra, and the promised part III on Geometry has not yet come out Other works on the history of Astronomy are . Bhāratīya Jyautisa by Shankar Balakrishna Dīksita in Marāthi, translated into Hindī by Shivanath Jhārkhandī, Lucknow 1957 and Bhāratīya Jyautisakā Itihāsa by Gorakh Prasad, Lucknow 1956, Founders of Sciences in Ancient India—Satya Prakash, Delhi. 1965]

1 Thus for example the Aitareya-Brāhmana 3, 44, where it is said that the sun actually neither rises nor sets, but through his revolution round the earth he causes the varying day and night Cf Thibaut, Astronomie etc. p 6 and J S Speyer, JRAS, 1906, 723 ff [It is significant that in the Śukla-Yujurveda 30, 10 there is the mention of *naksatradarśa* (astronomer) and in the Chāndogya Upanisad 7, 1, 2 etc *nakṣatravidyā* (Astronomy) is mentioned —cf Gorakh Prasād, (ibid p 1) and P.V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol V, chapters on Naksatras]

2 The hypothesis about the origin of this Zodiac, that we find also among the Chinese and Arabian people, has always been disputed, see Thibaut, ibid, p 12 ff and in addition the literature mentioned there at p 15 f, see also Oldenberg, NGGW 1909, p 544 ff

3 Cf R Shamashastry, The Vedic Calender, in the Ind. Ant. 41, 1912, 26 ff, 45 ff 77, 117, ff, who has in particular utilised the editions of the Lātyāyanasrautasūtra and the Nidānasūtra belonging to the Sāmaveda

4 Edited by A Weber, Über den Vedakalender, namens Jyotisham, ABA 1862; Yājusha-Jyautisha with the Bhāshyas of Somākara Śesha and Sudhākra Dvivedin and Ārsha-Jyautisha with the Bhāshya of S Dvivedin and Muralidhara Jhā's explanatory notes, ed by Sudhākara Dvivedin in the Pandit, N S , Vol 29, Benares 1918, cf Thibaut, JASB, Vol 46, 1877 On the ...ter-clock in Jyautisa, see Fleet, JRAS 1914, 173 f [Vedāngajyotiṣa (Ed.

B.C.] [About the time-calculations in the Vedānga Jyautisa, R. Shamashastry is of the opinion that they refers to the period from 1400 B C to 850 B C.] It is a short treatise composed in Ślokas, and has 43 [44 according to R. Shamashastry], stanzas in the Yajurveda- and 36 stanzas in the Ṛgveda recension, that are exclusively devoted to calculation of time. The work, that likewise on account of the sūtra-like brevity and also on account of mutilation of the text, is just partly intelligible, describes mainly the so called quinquinial Yuga, i e. the cycle of 5 years, each of 366, days as well as the movement of the moon and of the sun in respect of solstices and in that of the new-and full-moon in the sphere of the Naksatras.

The Jyoṭisa-Vedānga stands on the boundary-line in between the Vedic and the "middle period", so called by T h i b a u t, of Indian Astronomy, but belongs still more to the latter. To the same period belong the following too the G ā r g ī - S a m h i t ā of G a r g a, that is known to us only from quotations and has always been considered as enjoying high authority in Astronomy[1]. the V r d d h a-G a r g a-S a m h i t ā that has come down to us, that deals with Astrology mainly, and contains also Astronomical topics, a fragment of P u s k a r a s ā d i n[2]; the N a k s a t r a-k a l p a and others, in particular indeed the Astrological pariśiṣtas to the Atharvaveda[3],

with a Sanskrit commentary and English translation by S h a m a S h a s t r y, Mysore, 1936 The author of this work is said to be one L a g a d h a M a h ā t m a n, as is evident from *kālajñānam pravakṣyāmi lagadhasya mahātmanah* According to some the name of the author was Ś u c i cf Gorakha P r a s ā d, Bharatīya Jyautiṣa kā Itihāsa, Lucknow, 1956, p 45-46]

1 According to the Mahābharata 9, 37, 14 f there was a holy place Gargasrotas, "Garga's Stream" on the Sarasvatī, named after the venerable ascetic Garga, who was famous for his knowledge of the time and of the course of the planets In the Mahābhārata 12, 210, 21 Gārgya is mentioned as the first teacher of the D e v a r s i c a r i t a, "the movement of the divine seers" by which, with H K e r n (JRAS 1870, p 431 note), we are to understand "the movements of the stars" The fragments of the Gārgīsamhitā in W e b e r, ABA 1862 , p 33 ff, 40 ff and Ind Stud 9, 460, ff and later also in Somākara's commentary on the Jyotisa, Pandit, N S , vol 29 (Ed. with Eng trans. by R. Shamasastry, Mysore 1936)

2 It is contained in a fragment of "Weber Manuskripte", see H o e r n l e, JASB, Vol 62, 9 ff On these manuscripts-fragments, see above p 455

3 The pariśiṣtas of the Atharvaveda ed by G M B o l l i n g and J v N a g e l e i n, Leipzig 1909 f, I, pp 1 ff, 344 ff (pariśistas, I, L-LXV) Garga is mentioned as a teacher of astrological pariśistas LI, LXII, and LXIV.

the Paitāmaha-Siddhānta, that is known to us only through the presentation of its contents in the Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira; and in particular the voluminous Astronomical Upānga of the Jainas, the Sūriyapannatti[1]. The Astronomico-cosmological sections of the Mahābhārata, of the Purānas and of the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra too belong to this category However, the work of this "middle age" too do not still show any influence of Greek Astronomy. In them we find for the first time a mention regarding the colossally great time-units, the yugas consisting of 4,32,000 years, and the kalpas consisting of 1000 yugas, whilst a "great yuga" (mahāyuga), divided into four yugas, Krta-, Tretā-, Dvāpara-,and Kaliyuga, in which each of the preceding once surpasses the following one in respect of excellence.

The works of the wholly post-Christian extensive third period of Indian Astronomy are distinguished from all the hitherto known treatises on account of their manifestly scientific and not mere purely Indian character. In the system of Astronomy, that had developed in these treatises, as it is almost universally admitted, the familiarity with Greek Astronomy is presupposed. Now there are four classes of scientific Astronomical works . (1) Siddhāntas, manuals in which a complete system of astronomy is presented, (2) the Karanas, works that are meant to serve as introductions to most practical and convenient Astronomical calculations; (3) works with Astronomical tables, that simplify calculations, (4) the numerous commentaries on the earlier works that often contain valuable quotations from works that are now lost.

The oldest and most important of the treatise of this period that has come down to us is the Sūryasiddhānta[2],

1. See above II, 307 f, trans p 457 (Its astronomical ideas are in agreement with those of the Vedānga-Jyautisa—cf Gorakh Prasad Bhāratiya Jyotisa kā Itihāsa, p 79)

2 Edited by F E. Hall and Bāpu Deva Śāstrin in the Bibl. Ind. 1854-1858, translated from the latter in the Bibl Ind—1860-1862 A new edition by Sudhākara Dvivedī with a commentary (Sudhāvarsinī)by the editor was published in the Bibl Ind 1909-1911. The translation, with valuable notes by E Burgess and W. D Whitney in the JAOS, Vol 6, 1860, pp 141-498, is a most scientific work, and about it Thibaut says · a careful study of this work provides an indispensable introduction for those who want to make themselves familiar with Indian Astronomy Cf.

that consists of 14 chapters written in Ślokas in the form it has come down to us Alberūnī calls Lāta to be the author of this work[1], that is attributed to divine origin by Indians themselves. According to the introductory verses Sūrya, the Sun-god, disclosed it to Asura Maya in the city of Romaka In case this Romaka is the ordinarily understood Rome or Alaxendria[2], we find here an allusion to the teachings of the Greek, on which was based the Sūryasiddhānta Of course, the form in which the work has come down to us is not original, since the account of the subject-matter of the Sūryasiddhānta as given by Varāhamihira in his Pañcasiddhāntikā is different from that of our work at several points The main teachings of the Sūryasiddhānta are those of Greek Astronomy The work maintains throughout its specifically Indian character by acceptance of the monstrous time-units, the Kalpa and the Mahāyuga, through observations like those on the Meru mountain, situated in the North Pole, through the assumption of traditional basic ideas regarding the conjunction of planets with the Naksatras, etc. The author was interested "in retaining in it so much of ancient notions" as he could assimilate with the more modern theories by adapting the latter as far as possible to the ancient methods and types of calculation and by admitting as much of the modern ideas as was necessary for calculations regarding the positions and aspects of the heavenly bodies in which the elders had already taken interest"[3].

The Sūrya-Siddhānta is one of the five old Siddhāntas, about the contents of which Varāhamihira, the famous

Thibaut, Astronomie, etc p 2, 31 ff On the commentary of the Sūryasiddhānta, see Eggeling, Ind Off Cat V, p 996 ff (English trans of Burgess, printed again, Calcutta, 1935 Edited by Mahavīra Prasāda Śrīvāstava, Allahabad 1940, Edited with the Sanskrit commentary of Parameśvara (?) by Krpāśankara Śukla 1956, ed with the commentary of Ranganātha by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1891 : Bengali Translation by Bimala Prasada Siddhāntasarasvatī)

1 Sachau, Alberūnī,s India, I, 153. Probably Lāṭa had written a commentary on the Sūryasiddhānta, as according to Varāhamihira he wrote commentaries on Pauliśa-and Romaka- Siddhāntas, S B Dīkshit, Ind Ant 19, 1890, p 52 On the Sūryasiddhānta and the Pañcasiddhāntikā, see Dikshit, ebenda, p 45 ff

2 Cf H G Rawlinson, Intercourse between India and the Western World, Cambridge 1916, p 172 ff It is not probable that in the word Assura-Maya may have been concealed the name Ptolemy, as suggested by A Weber

3. Thibaut, ibid, p 39.

astronomer and astrologer, in his Pañcasiddhāntikā[1], provides us with information. In particular he presents here in this work the teaching of the five standard Siddhāntas of his age in the Karana-form. This work too belongs to the category of Karanas. In works of this type it is usual that the calculations regarding the year in which the work is written or the point of time approximate to it is deducible from this. Since now the calculations of the Pañcasiddhāntikā begin with the year 427 of the Śaka-era, i e 505 A. D., the work must have been written in about this very age[2]. It is, therefore, a work that is dated in a comparatively more accurate manner. The statements made in this work are full of worth for the original texts of the four Siddhāntas that are no more available to us : Paitāmaha-Siddhānta, Vāśistha-Siddhānta, Pauliśa-Siddhānta and the Romaka-Siddhānta[3].

The Paitāmaha-Siddhānta, as already mentioned, belongs further to the "middle period." The Vāśiṣṭha-Siddhānta-, in respect of the knowledge of the revolution of the heavenly bodies, is somewhat further advanced. The Pauliśa-Siddhānta stands closely to it as we know it in the Pañcasiddhāntikā. From quotations in Bhattotpala's commentary on Varāhamihira we know about the existence of one Paulisa-Siddhānta too. The quotations are in the Āryā-metre, whilst at one place we find a quotation in a Śloka from the Mahā-Paulisa-Siddhānta. Therefore, there

1 Edited with Sanskrit commentary and English translation by G Thibaut and Sudhākara Dvivedī, Benares 1889 On the interpretation of the badly preserved text cf M P. Kharegat, JBRAS 19, 1895-1896, p 109 ff

2 So also Alberūnī, see Sachau, Alberūnī's India II, 51 According to Kern (Brhatsamhitā, Ed , Preface, p 2f) the date of birth of Varāhamihira would be 505 A D This could be admitted in case the often assumed year of his death as 587 A D had been well established Since that is not the case, we must be satisfied by assuming that Varāhamihira had written this work in the first half of the 6th century A D [According to Gorakh Prasad, Bharatīya Jyautisakā Itihāsa, p 153, the Sūrya-siddhānta, that is available to us, was written in about 500 A D]

3. With this old Vāsistha-Samhitā, that is mentioned by Varāhamihira, the Laghu-Vāsistha-Siddhānta, printed at Vārānasī 1881, a much later and unimportant production, has nothing in common. Eggeling, Ind Off. Cat V, p 991 f describes a manuscript of the Vrddha-Vāsiṣṭha-Ṣiddhānta, known also as Viśvaprakāśa. Brahmagupta criticises one Visnucandra's adaptation of the Vāsistha-Siddhānta, see Thibaut, Astronomie etc p 57 Alberūnī too calls Visnucandra to be the author of Vās Siddh , see Sachau, ibid I, 153.

must have existed different recensions of this work Albērūnī, who cites unusually frequently "Paulisa" and "Paulisa-Siddhānta", says that the Paulisa-Siddhānta was so called after the Greek Paulisa of the city of Saintra, that he believes to be Alexanderia[1]. In fact the word Paulisa does not sound to be Indian, and appears to suggest Paulus Alexandrinus. But as we know of only one Astrological book by him, whilst all the redactions of the Paulisa-Siddhānta are Astronomical, Thibaut considers the association to be unlikely. Brahmagupta refutes the teachings of the Paulisa-Siddhānta. The Romaka-Siddhānta, that is known to us only from the Pañcasiddhāntikā, shows clear traces of Greek influence. The duration of the year is calculated so accurately as Hipparch, and following him Ptolemy had calculated the length of the tropical year He takes a yuga to be of 2850 solar years and in this respect he differs wholly from the ancient yuga tradition The name of the work too is undoubtedly associated with "Rome". It is different from the old Romaka-Siddhānta, that according to Varāhamihira was first of all redacted by Śrīsena, and perhaps it is about this ostensibly improved Romaka-Siddhānta that Brahmagupta says that it is so much dependent on Lāta, Āryabhata and others that the entire work "takes the appearance of a rather repaired garment"[2]. Although the teachings of the ancient Romaka-Siddhānta are so firmly Greek, it differs still on essential points from Greek Astronomy. Still more remarkable is the fact that the Romaka-Siddhānta differs considerably from the Sūryasiddhānta that too shows Greek influence. Therefore, the two Siddhāntas must have sprung up from different sources. Since the Sūrya-Siddhānta, in spite of many agreements with the Astronomy of Ptolemy (140 A. D), differs widely from it, the question when and through whom Greek Astronomy influenced the Indian science cannot be answered with certainty[3]. All the less this is the

1 Sachau, ibid

2 Thibaut, ibid p 57 Alberūnī (see Sachau, ibid) speaks about the Romaka-Siddhānta as a work of Śrīsena On the title of the book cf also S Ch Vidyābhūsana, Romaka, or the city of Rome, as mentioned in the Ancient Pāli and Sanskrit works JASB 2, 1906, p 1 ff.

3 On the question of Greek influence on Indian Astronomy, see Thibaut, ibid p 43 [According to Burgess the Greek had borrowed Astronomy from the Hindus and according to Whitney the latter had taken it from the Greek (AOS, 1860 edition of the English translation of the

case, since about the age of the five Siddhāntas, we know nothing except about Varāhamihira that already in the first half of the 6th century A D. his works were considered to be highly authoritative texts. Hence only this much follows that they must have originated in the early centuries of the Christian era. But, as we already have seen, these texts have several times been redacted and actually only the text of the Sūrya-siddhānta has come down to us, the problem of their dating becomes still more difficult [1]

In addition to the Siddhāntas that Varāhamihira mentions in the Pañcasiddhāntikā, he names some ancient astronomers too: Lāta, Simha, Pradyumna, Vijayanandin and Ā r y a - b h a t a. It is only of the last one that we possess a work that is equally important for a history of Mathematics and Astronomy[2]. It is the Ā r y a b h a t ī y a[3] or the L a g h v ā r y a b h a t ī y a, also called the Ārya-Siddhānta. The work consists of four parts of which the last three are considered to form also an independent work under the title Ā r y ā s t a ś a t a. The first part, the D a ś a g ī t i k ā s ū t r a, explains the special system of writing the numerals[4] that was introduced by Āryabhata alone and gives the basic elements of the system. The second part, the Ganitapāda[5], consists of 33 Āryā-stanzas—it is in this metre that the entire work is written—giving a small anthology of mathematical teachings of Āryabhata The third part, the Kālakriyāpāda, in 25 verses, contains the basic principles

Sūryasiddhānta An elaborate discussion on the subject is found in Gorakh Prasād, Bhāratīya Jyautisakā Itihāsa, p 165 ff]

1. R G B h a n d a r k a r (JBRAS 1900, p 405) believes that all the Siddhāntas were written in about the 4th century A D or still earlier

2 On Āryabhata, see T h i b a u t, ibid, p 54 f, K e r n, Brhat-Samhitā, Preface 54 ff, G R K a y e, JASB N S 4, 1908, III ff T Rāmalingam P i l l a i, Āryabhata, or the Newton of Indian Astronomy, Madras, 1905 (see Thibaut in the Indian Thought I, 1907, 213 ff)

3 With the commentary Bhatadīpikā of Paramādīśvara, ed by H K e r n Leiden 1874 [with the commentary of Gārgyakerala Nīlakantha, ed by K S Śāstri, Trivendrum 1936, English translations by P C S e n g u p t a, Calcutta, Journal of the Department of Letters, 1927 and W E C l a r k e, Chicago 1930, Hindī translation by Udaya Narayana S i m h a, Etawa, 1906 See also Notes on Indian Mathematics, No 2—Āryabhata,—G R K a y e, JASB, N S 4 (1908) 111-141 (translation of Ganitapāda)]

4 On this system cf Léon R o d e t, JA 1880, s 7, t XV, 440 ff, and F l e e t, JRAS 1911, 109 ff

5. Translated by L. R o d e t, JA 1879, s 7, t XIII, 393 ff and by K a y e, ibid 116 ff

of astronomical time-calculation, whilst the fourth part, the Golapāda, in 50 stanzas, deals with the celestial sphere. Āryabhata is perhaps the first or one of the first scholars to put together in a neat form the system that had developed in the Siddhāntas and improved some of its parts He stands on the whole on the same stand-point as the author of the Sūryasiddhānta He was original to the extent that he declared the daily revolution of the celestial sphere only as apparent and assumed the revolution of the earth about its axis as real It cannot be proved that he had borrowed this theory from the Greek. Even if this were the case, his hypothesis was adventurous and later Indian astronomers did not accept it. Varāhamihira and Brahmagupta refute it in the same manner as the Greek theory was for a long time refuted in Europe According to his own statement Āryabhata wrote his work in Kusumapur (Pāṭaliputra) and in fact in the 3600 the year of the Kaliyuga, when he was 23 years old Accordingly the work was written in 499 A. D, and Āryabhaṭa was born in 746 A. D. Āryabhaṭa had written also other works that have not come down to us Albērūnī regrets that he could not procure the works of Āryabhata

Under the title Ārya-Siddhānta[1] has come down to us a voluminous treatise on Astronomy, of which one Āryabhaṭa is said to be the author, but who lived later. Albērūnī too knew one old and another young Āryabhaṭa Bhāskara too was familiar with this Āryabhata As a disciple of the older Āryabhaṭa is often mentioned Lalla[2], from whom we possess a work the Śisyadhīvṛddhidatantra[3], "the book that serves to increase the intelligence of the students" On this Bhāskara has written a commentary.

1 Called also Āryabhata-Siddhānta, Mahārya-Siddhānta and Laghvārya-Siddhānta S B Dikṣit presumes the work to have been written in about 950 A D See Fleet, JRAS 1911, 788 ff and 1912, 495 ff) on the special calculation of time of this work that differs wholly from that of the old Āryabhaṭa [The work is called also Mahāsidhānta, according to the edition of Sudhākara Dvivedī with his own commentary, Benares 1910]

2 Kern, Āryabhatīya, p VI According to S B Dīkṣit Āryabhata should have been living later than Brahmagupta, a thing that Thibaut, ibid p 56 too, considers probable

[3 Edited by Sudhākara Dvivedi, Benares, Medical Hall Press, 1916]

Among the astronomers who lived after Varāhamihira, the most famous are Bhāskaracārya, and Brahmagupta. Brahmagupta, according to his own statement, wrote his Brāhma-Sphuṭa-Siddhānta[1] in the year 268 A. D. when he was 30 years old. According to later day commentaries this work is based on the Paitāmaha-Siddhānta, belonging to the Visnudharmottara-Purāna. However, it is more probable that this short prose text is an extract from Brahmagupta's work[2]. The Brāhma-Sphuta-Siddhānta generally is in accord with its predecessors and its system differs from that of the Sūrya-Siddhānta only in respect of details. Brahmagupta, however, treats the entire stuff more elaborately and more methodically than does his predecessor. Of particular interest is the chapter 11 that is exclusively devoted to criticism of earlier authors, particularly of Āryabhata[3]. Some of the chapters are devoted to solution of astronomical problems. As a mathematician Brahmagupta is of the first rank. He is the writer of a Karana-treatise as well, that bears the title Khandakhādyaka[4], and he begins his calculation from the year 587 of the Śaka era (664 A. D.). This Karana is based not on the Sphuṭa-Siddhānta of Brahmagupta himself, but on a lost work of Āryabhata[5] that is closely connected with the Sūrya-Siddhānta.

The last famous astronomer is Bhāskarācārya[6], born in 1114 A D., who enjoys high reputation as a mathematician. In 1150 A D. he wrote the Siddhānta-śiromani[7], that till the recent days has remained the most

1 The work, published in the Pandit, N S, vols 23, 24, is called simply Sphuta-Siddhānta or Brāhma-Siddhānta, too but it is wholly different from the Brāhma-Siddhānta belonging to the Śākalya-Samhitā, see Eggeling Ind Off Cat V, p 998 ff [Chapters 12 and 18 translated into English by H T Colebrooke, London, 1817, text included in the Jyautisa-Siddhānta-Samgraha of Vindhyeśvarī Prasād Dvivedin, Benaras, 1912, 1917 under the title Brāhmasiddhānta]

2 Thibaut ibid p 58 This text has nothing to do with the old Paitāmaha-Siddhanta (see above p 646)

3 Alberūnī accuses Brahmagupta that he criticised in a crude and wrong manner his predecessor Āryabhata, see Sachau, Alberūnī's India I, 376.

[4 Edited with the Vāsanābhāsya of Āmarājā by Babuā Miśra, Calcutta University, 1925, and with the commentary of Prthūdaka by P. C Sengupta, Calcutta University 1941; English translation by the same editor, Calcutta 1934]

5 Cf Thibaut, ibid p 59

6 On him and his works, see Bāpu Deva Śāstrī, JASB 62, 1893, 223 ff

7. Edited by L Wilkinson, Calcutta 1842, by Bāpu Deva

esteemed work on Astronomy after the Sūrya-Siddhānta. The fame of this work is due only to the circumstance that it presents the ancient system more completely and more clearly than did the earlier works and that Bhāskara has himself provided in his work written in verses in the Āryā-metre a commentary, in which he has elucidated and proved the rules that generally are written briefly. Bhāskara has taught nothing new and he is wholly dependent upon Brahmagupta His work (Sūryasiddhānta) is divided into four parts, of which the first two, the Līlāvatī and the Bījagaṇita constitute the mathematical introduction, whilst the last two the Grahagaṇitādhyāya and the Golādhyāya are devoted to Astronomy proper. Like Brahmagupta's work, the Golādhyāya contains a section, in which difficult astronomico-mathematical problems are posed and solved; further there is a chapter on astronomical instruments and a poetical description of the seasons. The Karaṇakutūhala[1], the second work of Bhāskara, was written in 1178 A. D.

There are few astronomical works of the age intervening between Brahmagupta and Bhāskara. One is Rājamṛgāṅka[2], a Karaṇa-work, attributed to King Bhoja and written in 1042 A. D., and another is Śatānanda's Karaṇa Bhāsvatī,[3] that in its calculations starts from 1099 A. D.,

Śāstrī, Benares, 1860; published with commentaries, by Muralidhara Jhā in the Pandit, N S Vols 30-33 The Golādhyāya, translated into English by L Wilkinson and Bāpu Deva Śāstrī, Calcutta 1861-1862 On the MSS and commentaries of this work, see Eggeling, Ind Off Cat V,p 1014 ff In the year 1206 A D Gangadeva, a grandson of Bhāskara, founded a school for the study the Siddhāntaśiromani, see Kielhorn, Ep Ind I, 3338 ff; VII, App. No 337 [Edited with the commentary of Gaṇeśa Daivajña by B D Apte, Poona 1943 Translated into Hindi by Girijā Prasāda Dvivedī, Lucknow 1926 and 1911]

1 Edited by Sudhākara Dvivedī, Benares 1881 [and with the commentary of Sumati-Harsa by Mādhava Śāstrī, Bombay, 1901]

[2 Edited by Mādhavakrsna Śarmā, Adyar 1940.]

3. Edited with commentaries by S Dvivedī and Lattara Śarmā, Benares 1883 [Edited with a commentary by M P. Pāndeya Benares 1917 [The great astronomer who flourished after Brahmagupta was Vaṭeśvara He wrote his work the Vaṭeśvarasiddhānta, called also Sphutasiddhānta at a place Ānandapur, probably in the Panjab, at the age of 24 in 826 Śakābda, i e 904 A D Vaṭeśvara made certain improvements on the teachings of Brahmagupta, whom he criticises at several places The work has been edited by Rāmasvarūpa Śarmā and Mukunda Miśra and published by Indian Institute of Astronomical and Sanskrit Research, Delhi 1962

Another important treatise that has recently come to be known is the Śiddhāntaśekhara of Śrīpati, who was born in 921 Śakābda, i e 999 A D , hence he lived in the 11th century The work is divided into 20

has several versions and has been much commented upon, may be mentioned here. With the conquest of India by the Mussalmans, the Perso-Arabic Astronomy began its influence on the Indian. Still this influence was not strong enough to effect change in the traditional Astronomy.

The Tithyādipatra consisting of tables of, Makaranda[1], written at Vārāṇasī in the year 1478 A.D., may be mentioned here from among the later astronomical works as an example The work is still popular in India and is utilized by astronomers and astrologers. A still much used Karana-work is the Grahalāghava[2] or the Siddhāntarahasya of Ganeśa, son of Keśava, written in 1520 A.D. The last important work of really Indian Astronomy is the Siddhāntatattavaviveka[3] of Kamalākara, who indeed knew Perso-Arabic Astronomy and had thence borrowed much. It is a work that has developed from a system depending essentially on the Sūrya-Siddhānta, and in it the author has advanced arguments against Bhāskara. Under an order of King Jayasimha of Jaypur Arabic works were translated into Sanskrit in the 17th century. But the ancient Indian works of Astronomy have not completely been divested of their authority, not even after familiarity with the European science[4].

[Among the ancient and recently written important astronomical works we may just mention the following ones :—

Mahābhāskarīyam of Bhāskara I[5] (629 A.D.);

chapters and introduces correction in earlier theories Śrīpati often refers to Lalla and Brahmagupta and also to the works of Varāhamihira, without mentioning him by name. This work has been unknown, although several of his other works were often referred to here and there Śrīpati is the last known famous predecessor of Bhāskara The Siddhāntaśekhara has been published with a commentary in two volumes by Babuāji Miśra, Calcutta University, 1932 and 1947]

1. Text and commentary have appeared in India in lithographic editions, cf Eggeling, Ind. Off Cat V,p 1047 ff. [It is said to have been translated into English by Bentley.

2 Published with commentary, Benares 1864 Cf Eggeling, ibid, p 1041 ff [Edited with the commentary of Mallāri by L Wilkinson, Calcutta Baptist Mission Press, 1843]

3 Edited by S Dvivedī, in BenSS 1885 [Ed with a Sanskrit commentary, Part I, Lucknow 1928, Part II, Bhagalpur 1935, Part III Vārānasī 1935]

4 In a supplement to the Jyautisa-Vedānga, published in Pandit,Vol. 29, 1907 Muralīdhara Jhā tries to prove that this ancient work provides more knowledge than the European science does

[5 Edited and published by Kuppanna Śastrī, Madras 1957]

Laghubhāskarīyam of Bhāskara II[1], (629. A.D); Laghumānasa of Mañjula[2]; Yantrarāja of Mahendrasūrī[3]; Goladīpikā of Parameśvara[4]; Rāśigolasphuṭā Nīti[5] of Acyuta; Siddhāntadarpana[6]; of Nīlakantha Somayājin Siddhāntasārvabhauma[7]; Grahācāranibandhana[8]; Ketakī[9], Bījaganita[10] of Nārāyana and the Hayat, being the Sanskrit rendering of an Arabic Astronomical work with the commentary of Nayanasukhopādhyāya in which the technical terms of Astronomy are retained in Arabic.

Of these the full name of Mahābhāskarīya is Brhad Bhāskarīya and the author had wanted its name to be Karmanibandha This Mahābhāskarīya is an exposition of the astronomical part of the Āryabhatīya The author, as stated above, was Bhāskara I who according to the editor of the work flourished between 550 A D.—628 A D. as particularly the calculations in this work refer to the year 574 A.D. The author of the above mentioned Laghubhāskarīya is said to have flourished in 522 A.D

In India Astronomy is closely associated with Astrology. The belief in the importance of celestial phenomena as good and evil omens and in the possibility of the positions of heavenly bodies affecting the destiny of man and in that of predicting future occurrences has in India been primitively old[11]. In the Grhyasūtras as also in the Brāhmanas, we hear about the stars that they are "auspicious (śubhagraha) or "inauspicious (aśubhagraha)" for marriages and other ceremonies. According to the Dharmaśāstras, the astrologers are as much indispensable as court-priests, (Purohitas). On the other

[1 Edited and published with the commentary of Parameśvara by V D Apte, Poona, and with the commentary of Śankaranārāyāna, Trivendrum, 1949]

[2 Edited by V D Apte, ĀnSS, Poona 1952]

[3 Edited by Kṛsnaśankara Raikva, Surat 1936]

[4 Edited in the TSS No XLIX, 1916]

[5 Edited and published by K V. Sharma, Adyar 1955)

[6 Edited and published by K V Sharma, Adyar 1955)

(7 Edited by Muralidhara Thakkura, Benares, 1932-1935.)

[8 Edited by K V Sharma, Madras 1954]

[9 Edited and published by Āryabhūsana Press, Poona, 1910]

10 Edited under the title of Bījaganitāvatamsa in the Sārasvatīsuṣamā by Shri Candra Bhanu Pandeya, Vārānasī 1953-55]

11 Gautama 11, 15, Visnu 3, 75

hand like magic and witchcraft, the practice of Astrology is considered to be "profane", i. e. tabu[1]. The Buddhist monks were prohibited from having anything to do with Astrology, prediction, etc. According to the Arthaśāstra astrologers and fortune-tellers, with court bards and Purohita's attendants, are included among the inferior classes of court-employees. They are, however, indispensable, for example in the beginning of a battle for encouraging the fighters and for terrifying the enemies as well as for the discovery of auspicious moments and time[2]. Since there were astrologers in ancient times, there must have existed text-books on Astrology. However, the older works on Astrology are almost wholly lost, since they were, supplemented with the authority of Varāhamihira, who had attained the highest fame as a teacher of Astrology. Varāhamihira quotes many of his predecessors like Garga, Vrddha-Garga, Asita, Devala, Parāśara, Nārada, and others. Only one of the older works has come down to us: it is the Vṛddha Garga-Samhitā[3] (or Vrddha-Gārgīya), and it is questionable if this work has come down to us in its original form. In it we find stanzas in which dependence of Indian Astronomy on that of Greece is recognized : "the Greek are barbarians, but science is firmly established among them; they are on this account honoured equally as sages; what to speak of a Brāhmana, who is a scholar of Astrology".

mlecchā hi yavanāsteṣu samyak śāstramidaṁ sthitam ।
ṛṣivattepi pūjyante kiṁpunardaivavidvijah ॥

According to Varāhamihira, there are three branches (skandhas) of learning that belong to the Jyotihśāstra, i.e. stellar science, comprising of Astronomy and Astrology. These three branches are :—

1. Tantra, i. e. the astronomico-mathematical branch, that is devoted to the calculative Astronomy;

2. the branch called Horā, that is devoted to casting of horoscopes;

3. and the branch called Śākhā or Samhitā, i. e. the one that teaches the so-called natural Astrology;

1. Cf Bloomfield, SBE, Vol 42, p L.
2. Kautilīya-Arthaśāstra V, 3 (p 247); X, 3 (p 368)
3. On a manuscript of the work see Kern, Brhat-Samhitā Ed., Preface p. 33 ff On account of the bad condition of the text, it is doubtful, if with Kern, the work as it stands, can be considered to have been written in the first century A D.

the discipline about forecasts, that are deducible from incidents that take place in nature mainly and particularly from celestial phenomena.

Varāhamihira, with whom we are already familiar as an astronomer, has treated all the branches of Astrology as well. His opus magnum as well the naturally most of important work on Astrology is the Brhatsamhitā,[1] that must be considered to be one of the most important books of Indian literature. Since natural Astrology is of importance for different spheres of life, in this work there occur discourses on the different aspects of public and private life, so much so that it has partly an encyclopaedic character and very often it comes in contact with other sciences. The work is of great importance from the point of view of the history of the religion, and as yet it has not been analysed sufficiently. Lastly this manual of Astrology, although it may sound strange, is not an insignificant work of Indian ornate poetry, in many parts its style attains a remarkable sublimity through its poetical language. Out of the abundant amount of materials provided in this work only a few of them may here be referred to :

An astrologer is required to possess all possible noble quantities and a comprehensive knowledge of Astronomy Mathematics and Astrology[2] He is indispensable for the king. "As a night is without a lamp or as the sky is without the sun, so is a king without an astrologer who errs like a blind on the way (II, 9). But one must guard against false and ill-informed astrologers. The first chapters are devoted to omens that are associated with the course of the sun, with the changes in the phases of the moon and with the conjunctions of the moon with the planets as well as to the eclipses. Then follow the chapters on certain constellations and their influence on the destiny of man, particularly on that of kings The chapter XIV contains a complete geography of India[3]. This ends with a list of the countries, the people and

1 Ed by H Kern, Bibl Ind 1865 Published with Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary by Suddhākara Dvivedī in VizSS, Vol X, Benares 1895 ff A major portion translated by Kern in JRAS 1870 till 1875. Thibaut, Astronomie, etc p 66 mentions a complete translation by Chidambaram Iyer, Madura 1884

2 As from a physician, so also from an astrologer, high discipline is required, although both of them apparently have an inferior social status

3 Cf Fleet, Ind Ant 22, 169 ff

the things that are under the overlordship of particular planets, and it is pointed out how the conflict between the planets and fighting among the kings stand in close relationship on on the earth. 'Even the different years are under the overlordship of different planets, and it depends upon the planets whether a particular year will be auspicious or inauspicious. Here, for example, in a lofty kāvya-style it is said how in a year that is under the overlordship of the Venus (Sita), the earth, as a result of heavy rains, is covered with rice and sugar-cane, and shines forth majestically, like a beautiful woman decorated with new ornaments."

"In such a year the autumn-moon, having drunk much of honey, feels sleepy, enchanting songs are sung according to the tune and flute, there are banquets in the company of guests, friends and relations and the god of love extends his rejoicements as a result of his triumph in the year of Sita" (chap. XIX, 16-18.)

Other chapters are devoted to meteorology from the point of view of Astrology, where throughout the discussion about the clouds is like that about a fickle women. Some of chapters are devoted to predictions, not only about harvests, but also about the rise and fall of prices. In chapter XLIII, the feast of the banner of Indra (*Indradhvaja*) is described in detail. This and the following chapters might likewise be included in a manual of rituals.

An astrologer is of great importance in the matter of building of a new house, in sinking of wells, excavation of tanks and laying out of gardens as well as on the occasions of installation of images of gods. Hence the chapter LIII is devoted also to Architecture, to investigation into the Soil according to the ingredients of water, and to laying out of gardens and tanks and the chapters LVIII ff. are devoted to installation of images of gods.

Animals and human-beings, men and women have signs that promise good luck or indicate bad luck. The chapter LX is devoted to the distinctive marks of women. The chapters LXXIV-LXXVIII form together a section on the "reflection about women" (*antaḥpuracintā*). The chapter LXXIV is a poetical "praise of women", that

could likewise be included in a collection of love-songs. Some of the chapters show points of contact with Kāmaśāstra[1] : the chapters on the precious stones[2] have points of contact with Arthaśāstra. The chapters LXXXVI-XCVI, form a separate book, called *śakuna* ("Omens").

Although two chapters (C and CIII) of this work are devoted to marriage, Varāhamihir a has written also an independent work, the Brhadvivāhapatala and another Svalpavivāhapaṭala dealing with auspicious moments for marriages. Varāhamihira has written an independent work also on omens in respect of a king's march into a battle, and in fact under the title Yogayātrā, "March under an auspicious constellation[3]". This work too is written in a perfect kāvya-style in verses composed in ornate metres, partly with a poetical swing. The first part of the work is a kind of introduction in which the relation of the king in respect of Astrology is described. There it is explained that calculations based upon the positions of the planets and the stars alone cannot be decisive—but the king should himself be an astrologer, and in addition he should himself do what is necessary. This portion of the work reads like a section of Arthaśāstra.

Whilst the section of Jyotihśāstra, that is devoted to Natural Astrology, is in the greatest measure a genuine production of Indian pseudo-science, the branch of Astrology that is devoted to casting of horoscopes and is called Jātaka, i. e. "nativity", what is called Horā too, according to the Greek, is wholly under the influence of Greek Astrology The subject-matter of the treatises, that are full of Greek technical terms, completely agrees with that of the Greek books on the subject. On this branch of stellar science Varāhamihira has written a great work, the Brh-

1. LXXVIII, 1 Vidūratha killed his first queen with a dagger kept in a flute . with a foot-ring besmeared with poison, the queen, whose love had cooled down, "killed the king of Vārānasī" So also the Kauṭilīya I, 20, p 41 and Nītisāra VII, 53 f

2 The chapters LXXX-XXXIII have been edited and translated by L Finot, Les Lapidaires indiens, p 59 ff

3 Edited and translated by H Kern, Ind Stud 10, 161 ff and 14, 312 ff Of this work too there is a bigger recension as well as a smaller one

a j j ā t a k a[1] and a small one, the L a g h u j ā t a k a[2], of which the first one is most popular and studied widely. These works are devoted to the method of calculation regarding a man's destiny on the basis of the positions of the heavenly bodies at the time of his birth. Probably this "science" is of Babylonian origin and was communicated by the Greek to the people of other countries. The age when it came from Greece to India is not wholly definite. J a c o b i has tried to prove that Indian Astrology, as we find it in the works of Varāhamihira, corresponds with Greek Astrology that we find in Firmicus Maternus in about the 4th century A. D.[3] On the other hand Varāhamihira, according his own statement, has utilized the text, that he mentions as having originated from old rsis and thereby points to a still higher antiquity of this science in India. And H a r a p r a s ā d Ś ā s t r ī[4] has found in Nepal a manuscript of the Y a v a n a j ā t a k a that was translated from Greek by Greek Y a v a n e ś v a r a in 169 A. D. and was probably reproduced in verses by S p h ū r j i d h v a j a, a century later.

A son of Varāhamihira was P r t h u y a ś a s. He wrote an astrological work the H o r ā s a ṭ p a ñ c ā ś i k ā[5]. B h a ṭ ṭ o t p a l a commented upon this work as also on all the works of Varāhamihira. The commentaries of Bhattotpala (or

1. Printed several times in India (also under the title Horāśāstra) usually with the commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala An English translation (not available to W) by N Ch A i y a r was published by the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras 1905 A commentary of Anantadeva was written in 1222 A D , see Ep Ind 3, 111

2 Printed in India Text and Translation of chapters I and II by A W e b e r, Ind Stud II, of chapters III-XII by H J a c o b i, De astrologiae Indicae "Horā" appellatae originibus, accedunt Laghu-Jātaki Capita inedita III-XII, Diss , Bonnae 1872 Alberūnī cites the Brhajjātaka as also the Laghujātaka

3 J a c o b i, ibid, p 12 f. So also F l e e t, JRAS 1912, p 1039 ff , assumes that the Indians had borrowed Astronomy in about the same age, and indeed only as an appendix to Astrology, from the Greek.

4. Report ibid, p 8 f The date is not wholly definite Bhaṭṭotpala cites one Yavaneśvara Sphūrjidhvaja as o n e person Cf. also Ch L a s s e n, Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes, IV, (Bonn 1842), p 334 f K e r n Brhatsamhitā Ed , Preface p 51 f believes that Yavaneśvara is younger than Varāhamihira One Vrddha-Yavana-Jātaka in 4000 stanzas and another in 8000 stanzas, that might have been translated from Greek, are available in MSS, see Haraprasād, Report II, 64 f It is attributed to one Mīnarāja Yavanācārya, see Eggeling, Ind Off Catal V, p 1096 Mīnarāja has been supposed by scholars to be Greek Minos (see B r o c k h a u s, BSGW 1852, p 18 f) Varāhamihira cites also one Manitthācārya, there exists one of his works and he has been identified as Greek M a n e t h o Cf W e b e r, LG, 278, A u f r e c h t, CC 420, Haraprasād, ibid.

5. Published with a commentary and Bengali translation, Calcutta 1875.

Utpala Bhaṭṭa), that were written in the 10th century A D., are important on account of citations from older treatises contained in them He is himself the author of one Horā-śāstra in 75 stanzas.

We may mention here only a few of the vast astrological literature of the later-day period. The Vrddha-Vāsiṣtha Samhitā, that is attributed to Vasiṣṭha, is an old work comprising of the entire sphere of Astrology A Jaina manual of Astrology is the Jyotisasārioddhāra of Harsakīrti Sūri[1]. Of some importance is the Jyotirvidābharana[2], "Ornament of Astrologers", of which the author calls himself Kālidāsa and it is in this book that the well-known stanza about the "Nine Jewels of the Court of King Vikramāditya' occurs The work consists of 22 chapters and has 1435 stanzas that are written in different metres In view of the fact that there are allusions to Arabic Astrology in it, it may be very old. Apparently it was written in the 16th century. In the year 1661 it has been cited in a commentary. It must have enjoyed some reputation, since in the year 1772 Jaina Bhāvaratna wrote a commentary on it[3]

A special branch of Astrology, that originated after Varāhamihira, consists of works known under the name of Muhūrta, that are writings devoted to determination of auspicious moments (*muhūrta*[4]), probably for religious ceremonies, household rites and feasts, such as marriages, etc. as also for travels and other undertakings of daily life Since the beginning of the Muhammadan rule the influence of Perso-Arabic Astrology makes itself visible on Indian Astronomy and this has led to development of a special class of works, called Tājika, that go back to Arabic sources[5].

1 Cf Kern, ibid, p 61 Bhaṭṭotapala's commentary on the Brhajjātaka was written 966 A D , see Eggeling Ind Off Cat V, 1094,

2 Eggeling, p 1060 f 1063 f

3 A Weber, Über das Jyotirvidābharanam, ZDMG 22. 1868, 708 ff, 24, 1870, 393 ff [Edited by Krsna Sitarama Jhambhekar, Bombay 1908] A comprehensive work of Nrsimha is the Jātakasāradipa, bing a collection of text from several works It was written in between 1471-1571 A D , according it editor's preface, p 3, edited by P P Laksminārāyanopādhyāya, Madras, 1951

4 A muhūrta is = 1/30th part of a day or a period of 48'

5 Cf Weber, Ind Stud II, 236 ff and ABA, 1887, I, S 8 Tājika is the same as the Persian word tāji for "Arabic", see Weber, LG

Of the unendingly numerous works on omina and protenta, as on all sorts of predictions, interpretation of dreams etc. we may mention only the Adbhutasāgara, "Ocean of Wonders." a manual on Omina and Protenta, that was begun by King Ballālasena of Bengal in 1168, i. e. a year before his death and was continued by his son Laksmanasena[1]; the Sāmudratilaka, a work on predictions that Durlabharāja, son of Narasiṁha, wrote in the year 1160 under King Kumārapāla of Gujarat, that was completed by his son Jagaddeva[2]; and the Svapnacintāmani, the Jewel of wish of Dream[3]", a manual of interpretation of dreams, by the same Jagaddeva; it is of interest not only for history of religion, but also for that of literature. Jagaddeva, as he himself says, has much used medical literature, and the dreams mentioned by him often show a striking correspondence with tale motives[4].

Most closely associated with Astronomy in India has developed also Mathematics[5]. Arithmetic and Algebra form parts of the astronomical works of Āryabhaṭa, Brahmagupta and Bhāskara. In both the branches of Mathematics the Indians have elevated our knowledge to a considerable height, and in all probability independently. Thibaut[6] has rightly pointed

281 note; Windisch, Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie—I, p 329. One Tājikakaumudī, consisting of Samjñātantra and Varsatantra written by Nīlakaṇṭha of Benares 1587, has also been commented upon and printed in India several times (under the title Tājikanīlakanthī). Cf. Eggeling, ibid, p 1084 ff

1 Cf Bhandarkar, Report 1887-91, p. LXXXII ff.

2 Cf C Bendall, JRAS 1898, p 230.

3. Text and Translation by J. von Negelein, Der Traumschlussel des Jagaddeva, ein Beitrag zur indischen Mantik, Giessen 1912; cf. Winternitz, WZKM 26, 1912, p 403 ff

4. On other works on Mantics see Eggeling, ibid, p 1107 ff

5 Cf Thibaut, Astronomie, etc p 69 ff, Colebrooke, Misc Essays II, 417 ff (Dissertation on the Algebra of the Hindus); H. Hankel, Zur Geschichte der Mathematik in Altertum und Mittel-alter, Leipzig, 1874, 172 ff, M Cantor, Vorlesung über Geschichte der Mathematik I, Leipzig 1880, p 505 ff 505 ff, Karl Haas, Die Mathematik der Inder (Vortrag) in the Journal "Oesterreichische Mittelschule" 18, 1904 ff., p. 1 ff

6 Ibid, p 70. In the Veda there occur quite simple examples of enumeration, but in the Pingalasūtra there is already a discourse on the calculation of squares and of square roots, see Weber, Ind stud 8, 323 ff [In case we believe His Holiness Śankarācārya, there were certain formulas, numbering only 16, that could enable one to solve the most difficult problems of Arithmetic through very simple and short processes—Vedic Mathematics,

to the astonishing simplicity with which the Indians of the ancient times handled the big numeral figures as well as the diminishing numeral fractions, so there they have single expressions for higher powers from 10 upto 100000 billions, from which we can conclude about the "sharpness of their vision and intellect in the system of enumeration." So we are able to understand that the Indians, earlier than other nations, became familiar with the system of place-value of numerals, according to which the place, of a numeral figure indicates its value in a group, as well as their decimal value It was on this account that people came to say that the European system of enumeration is of Indian origin, and this statement still has much probability, although the objections raised against it require re-examination of the question[1].

The most important texts for Mathematics are the first part of the Āryabhaṭīya[2], the Ganitādhyāya and the Kuṭṭakādhyāya in the Brāhma-Sphuṭa-Siddhānta of Brahmagupta and the Līlāvatī (on Arithmetic and the Bījaganita (on Algebra) in the Siddhāntaśiromaṇi of Bhāskara[3]. The latter at the end of the Bījaganita says

Published by the Banaras Hindu University 1965 But the translator, who has reason to feel that he possesses a knowledge of elementary Mathematics, has not been able to understand anything about the processes that are claimed to have been presented from the Vedas The rules—sūtras are there, but we do not know the texts whence they might have been quoted and how they are interpreted in the manner of His Holiness]

1. Thibaut, ibid p 71 says "There cannot be any doubt that the modern system of numerals used by all the civilized nations is of Indian origin" Against G R Kaye, JASB 1907, p 475 ff, 1908, p 293 ff has argued with all earnestness and conclusion against the originality of Indians in this regard, as generally in the sphere of Mathemetics N Bubnow, Arithmetische Selbstandigkeit der europäischen Kultur, Berlin 1914 (in particular p, 1 ff, 60 ff, 249 ff) refutes the theory that the Indians had invented the system of numerals and the system of place-value, but he believes that the Indians were the pioneers in respect of the method of written counting after they had learnt from the Greeks the method of counting by balls earlier (ibid p 258.)

2 Cf L Rodet, JA p 7, XIII, 1879, 393 ff

3 The mathematical chapters of Brahmagupta and of Bhāskara with complete translation of Bhāskara's Līlāvatī and Bījaganita, see in the primary work of H T Colebrooke, Algebra with Arithmetic and Mensuration from the Sanskrit of Brahmagupta and Bhāskara, London 1817, Colebrooke's Translation of the Līlāvatī with notes by H Ch Banerji, Calcutta 1893 Cf Brockhaus, Über die Algebra des Bhāskara, BSGW 1852, p 1-46, Eggeling, ibid, pp 1102 ff, 1009 ff

that his work has been compiled from the very voluminious treatises of Brahmagupta, Śridhara and Padmanābha. Padmanābha's work on Algebra has not come down to us. Of Śrīdhara we possess an Arithmetic, the Ganitasāra called Triśatī[1]. It appears that in the Līlāvatī Bhāskara has closely followed the work of Śridhara This Mathematics had gone ahead of Bhāskara also in the matter of providing exercises in verses.

In Śrīdhara we find the following exercises :—

In sport a lover broke a garland of pearls into pieces; $\frac{1}{6}$ of the pearls fell on the floor, $\frac{1}{5}$ remained on the bed; $\frac{1}{6}$ remained with the beautiful lady; the lover picked up $\frac{1}{10}$, there remained 6 pearls in the string, say the number of pearls that were in the garland.

Exercises of the same type occur also in the Līlāvatī—the title means "the charming lady"—of Bhāskara, who for example has posed the following exercise on the equation of the first degree

Of a swarm of bees $\frac{1}{5}$ remained within the *kadamba*—flowers, $\frac{1}{3}$ on a *śilīndhra*-bud, some bees, that in number were three times of these of the two flocks, went in search of *kuṭaja*-blossoms, a single bee remained behind that in the wind remained wavering and at same time continued rejoicing the scent of jasmine and of a pandanus, tell me; O beloved, tell me the number of bees."

In the works of Brahmagupta and Bhāskara the attainments of the Indians in the sphere of Mathematics are in their highest developed form. In simple Arithmetic they devote themselves with "eight operations" : addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, finding out the squares, determination of cubes, square roots, cube roots. The methods are similar to those of the people of the West. They are followed by rules on fractions, on zero and on practical application of Arithmetic, rule of three, calculation of interest etc. Algebra too is highly developed in Indian Mathematics. They had familiar with practical methods, algebraic expressions

1 Cf Colebrooke, Misc. Essays II, 422, Eggeling ibid p. 1000 f, N Rāmānujācārya, The Triśatikā of Śrīdharācārya, in Bibliotheca mathematica, 1913, p 203 ff

and formulas. Brahmagupta and Bhāskara treat of a large number of equations of the first degree; they solve problems of equations with more than one unknown quantity and of some equations of higher degrees. "In all these respects, Indian Algebra stands higher up than that of Diophant Geleistete". They have attained analytic importance and they knew lastly—what is presented as their highest attainment—a method for solution of an indeterminate equation of the second degree. Henkel calls this method the finest, that was known about Arithmetic before Lagrange.[1]

Not much of the mathematical literature merit to be mentioned beside Āryabhata, Brahmagupta and Bhāskara. A fragment of a mathematical sūtra work is preserved in a manuscript on the birch-bark, that was found at Bakhshāli in Peshawar, and, therefore, has been named as the Rechnenbuch von Bakhshāli "Book of Arithmetic of Bakhshāli. It contains rules in a sūtra-form and examples (from daily life) in Ślokas, besides explanations and solutions in prose. The Gāthā-dialect, in which the fragment is written, points to its high antiquity. The title and the author are not known[2]. In the age intervening in between Brahmagupta and Bhāskara was written the South Indian work Ganitasāra—Saṁgraha[3] of the Jaina Mahāvīrācārya, who lived during the period of reign of the Rāshtrakūta-ruler Amoghavarsa, therefore, in the middle of the 9th century A. D. He knew the Brāhma-Sphuta-Siddhānta After a poetical introduction, in which the importance of Arithmetic for all other sciences—Kāmatantra, Arthaśāstra, Music, Drama, art of Cooking, Medicine, Architecture, Prosody, Logic, Grammar etc.—is emphasised, there is a section on terminology, in which one after another the eight operations in rules and examples, the fraction, the rule of three mixed problem, the particularly difficult 'devil's problems" (paiśācika), the measurement of

1. Thibaut, ibid, p 73

2 A F. R Hoernle, who speaks about the Bakhshali—Manuscript in OC VII, Wien 1886, I, 128 ff and Ind Ant 17, 1888, 33 ff, assigns the manuscript to the 8th or 9th century, A D, but the work itself to the 3rd or 4th century A D Against this Kaye, JASB, 1907, 498 ff, and 1912, 349 ff, considers the work to be of the 12th century A D

3 Published with an English translation, by M Rangacārya, Madras 1912.

depths and shadows are handled. In examples and exercises we find the same poetical language as in Bhāskara.

So far as it relates to Geometry, its beginning goes to a very high antiquity, since a considerable amount of knowledge is already posited in the Śulva-sūtras, "the string-rules[1]." These sūtras form a part of the Kalpasūtras and give rules on the planning and measurements of the sacrificial sites and its sections, of the sacrificial altars, etc. as they are laid down for some great sacrifices. The construction of the sacrificial site, with its most important constituent parts, made the drawing of right angles, of quadrilaterals and circles as well as the re-levelling necessary. We are aware[2] of the importance that the Brāhmanical India attached to sacrifices and of the significance that they have had in the Vedic age, and it was necessary to execute all the minute requirements of the sacrifices accurately according to the rules. Therefore, it was of the greatest importance from the standpoint of the sacrificial architect that the measurement of the sacrificial sites was accurately taken according to the prescription by means of strings (*sulba* or *sulva*) held between the posts. Through this practical necessity, the Indians attained a certain standard of knowledge of Geometry, particularly upto the knowledge of the so called "Pythagorian Theorem" They knew to convert the quadrilaterals into squares, and the squares into circles. That this geometrical knowledge based of experiments and observations probably reaches back to the Vedic age has been proved by A. Burk[3]. What the Indians have produced later in the field of Geometry remains far behind the standard attained by the Greek. The "see", that is written beside the geometrical figures, points to the least importance that the Indians attached to the proof and to the fact that visual observation alone was

1. see above I, 236, trans p. 275. The Śulvasūtra of Baudhāyana has been published with commentary and translation by G. Thibaut, in Pandit, Vols IX and X and N S. Vol 1, the Kātiyam Śulbapariśiṣṭam, ibid, N S Vol 4 The Āpastamba-Śulbasūtra has been edited and published by Albert Bürk, ZDMG 55, 1901, 543 ff; 56, 327 ff. [Cf. B. B Datta The Science of Śulba, Calcutta, 1932]

2 See above I, 171 ff; trans p. 196.

3. ZDMG 55, 1901, 543 ff Oldenberg, Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft, die Weltanschauung der Brāhmana . . Texte. Göttingen, 1919, p. 233 A., considers the argumentation of Burk in support of his statement that the Pythogorian theorem had already become known in the Brāhmanic age of the Brāhmanas as "simply conclusive" and refers to "the prudent performance" of H. Vogt, Bibliotheca mathematica, 1906, p. 6 ff.

sufficient for them. Trigonometry is known only through its application in respect of astronomical calculations and it has to be assumed that the Indians received its knowledge along with that of Astronomy from the Greek. On the other hand the probability is that the geometrical knowledge that we find in the Śulvasūtras developed independently, although the points of agreements between Heron and the Indians cannot be refuted[1].

A Sanskrit translation of the elements of Euclid, from Arabic is the Rekhāgaṇita[2] that Jayasimha, the king of Jaipur, got prepared through Jagannātha Samrāṭ in the beginning of 18th century A. D.

APPENDIX

A view on the Modern Indian Literature

The literature, that has been treated mainly in the present work is the literature of the Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākrit languages that is not exclusively of ancient India[3]. We have seen that this literature has been continued and cultured down to the most recent days. But a history of Indian Literature would remain incomplete in case we are not reminded even in short in it of the fact that there exists a vast amount of literature in different Modern Indian Popular Languages. Giving a complete history of this literature is hindered not only by consideration of the compass of the present work, but

1. Cf Thibaut, ibid p 76 ff, and Weber, SBA 1890, p 922 on the entire question Kaye, JRAS 1910, 749 ff, here too, speaks against the Indians being original The American professor of Mathematics D E Smith (in the introduction to Rangācārya's edition of the Ganitasārasamgraha, pp XXI, XIII) says that Greek Algebra had not exercised any remarkable influence on the Indian Algebra and that the Geometry of the Indians appears more Babilonian than Greek.

2 Edited by H H Dhruva and K P. Trivedi in the BSS, No 61 and 62, 1901 and 1902 Cf Brockhaus, BSGW 1952, p 11

[3 The correct position is there have been in India writers in Sanskrit during all these centuries, and books and articles in Sanskrit continue to be written even today After the publication in 1922 of the work of Winternitz there has developed in the modern languages of India vast amount of literature Fourteen of them have been recognised as national languages and these fourteen languages are receiving special encouragement for their literary advancement from the Governments of the States and the Union of India In addition to these fourteen languages there are notably Maithilī, Sindhī and Nepālī languages, that are all Aryan and have received recognition as literary languages by Universities and other academic bodies These too have sufficiently advanced literature Almost each of them needs several volumes for presentation of its literature and it is almost impossible to do justice to any one of them within the limited compass of the present volume by additional notes]

also by that of the competence of its writer. In any case here a brief mention will be made of at least of the chief publications of this literature[1].

The great and imperishable strength of the Indian mind is proved by the fact that neither Alexander the Great and the Greek empire, nor the powerful monarchy of the Great Mughals and of Islam, nor the deep-drawing influence of the British rule and Western Christian philosophy of life has been able either to suppress or to displace the originality of Indian thought and sentiment, but there have taken place merely significant reciprocal influences The Greeks, the Muhammadans and the English have just made their contributions towards expansion of the fame of Indian ideas and poetry in the World.

It is only the Hindusthānī-literature that originated under Muhammedan influence, and alone follows wholly the Persian model[2]. In fact the literature in all other modern Indian languages has indeed been influenced by Arabic and Persian and more recently by English literature in many ways. But much strongly important was furthermore the influence of the old Sanskrit literature in the development of literature in the different modern Indian languages. The great epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, have through their translations in modern Indian languages become the common property of the whole of India. Likewise the Pañcatantra and other narrative pieces have continued to live forth in all popular languages through translations and adaptations. It is further noteworthy that as in Sanskrit literature the religious and ethical constituents are dominant, so in the literatures of modern Indian languages too such constituents taken likewise from Brāhmaṇism and Hinduism as well as from Buddhism and Jainism occupy more space.

The vernacular-literatures are divided, like the modern Indian languages, into two major groups, those found in the

[1. For a brief account of literature of the fourteen national languages, see Literatures in Modern Indian languages, ed. V. K Godak, Publications Division, Delhi 1957, see also Indo-Aryan Literature and Culture (Origins)—Nagendranath Ghose, Vārānasī 1965]

2. Sindhī literature too is more Muhammadanical and Persian than Indian [Recently attempt is being made to to print Sindhī books in Devanāgarī script in lieu of the Persian script as has been the case hitherto.]

Indo-Aryan languages in the North and those in the Dravidian languages in the South[1]. The latter ones go back to an earlier age. As a matter of fact the Dravidian languages and their literatures too have been permeated by elements taken from the Sanskrit language and literature But the basic difference of these languages from Sanskrit led to the development of independent literature earlier in the South than in the North, where Sanskrit literature dominated the intellectual life for a longer period in such a great measure that there was no scope for a literature in the popular languages.

It is particularly assumed that the blossoming period of Tamil Literature fell in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D. The most famous work in Tamil, that might probably be going back to this old age, is the Kurral of the Weaver Tiruvaḷḷuvar[2], a collection of 1330 short epigrams on the three objectives of life (dharma, artha and kāma). Tiruvallur is not a name but an epithet for the teacher of religion of the Pariahs of South India and Kurral merely means "short stanza", so in fact we know neither the name of its writer nor the title of this famous anthology. The epigrams are throughout of the type of the common Indian wisdom—epigrams and do not belong to any particular sect Actually the Buddhists and the Jainas, the Vaisnavas and Śaivas, who dominated one after the other in South India, raise their claim likewise on the Tiruvalluvar[3] as having belonged to one of their own

1. see above I, p 45 f, Trans p 49 and Grierson, BSOS 1918,47ff.

2 So S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Ancient India, London and Madras 1911, p 336 ff, with whom V A Smith agrees in the preliminary introduction, p XIII, to this work and later R W Fraser, JRAS 1915, 172 ff and ERE VIII, 1915, 9f, too agrees, although earlier (Literary History of India, p 325) he held the 8th century A D to be the age of the Kurral On literatures in the Dravidian languages see also A Baumgartner, Geschichte der Weltlitteratur II, 337 ff

3. Cf E Ariel, JA 1848, s 4, t XII, 416 ff, G U Pope, Ind Ant 7, 1878, 220 ff, 8, 305 ff, 9, 196 ff, 10, 352 ff, M J Walhouse, Ind. Ant 9, 71 ff, R C Temple, Ind Ant 15, 242 f, R W Fraser, Literary History of India 315 ff German translation of the Kurral by A F Cämmerer, Nurnberg 1803, and by Karl Graul, Bibliotheca Tamulica, vol III, Leipzig 1856, he has published also the old Tamil text with a translation in current Tamil and another in Latin (Bibliotheca Tamulica, t IV, 1865) and has succeeded in reproducing a selection in German verses (Indische Sinnpflanzen und Blumen 1865) A number of stanzas have been rendered into German by Fr Ruckert in the year 1847 (see Rückert—Nachlese II, 346 f) Probably G U Pope, The Sacred Kurral of Tiruvalluva Nāyanar London 1886, is the most appreciated translation of the Tamil poet

people. The poet, however, stands above all races, castes and creeds and teaches common human morals and wordly wisdom. The epigrams of the Kurral have found many admirers since long in Europe too. People value not only the ethical contents of this work, but they admire also the art with which Tiruvaḷḷuvar has handled the difficult metre and has given an artistic form to the epigrams. Some examples after the German translation of K. Graul are given below :—

Thou sayth :—"Sweet is the flute,
Sweet is the lute,
Because there is no little son babbling to thee.
Pleasing it is to give with an open heart;
But more pleasing, more agreeable,
It is to speak with an affectionate eye."

"Offer something sweet to the foe,
Who has offered something that is sour.
Thereby he will himself get ashamed,
This is the way to bring him right."

"What does a man send to his neighbours
Early in the forenoon,
The same he gets back at his home
Late in the afternoon."

"Please note ! All are born
Equally in the same manner,
But it is only work,
That causes distinction in rank."

Another famous anthology of epigrams in Tamil is the Nāladiyar[1]. This anthology, consisting of 400 stanzas, contains teachings on rebirth, karman and emancipation, on dharma, artha and kāma, as they are usually in Indian epigrams. Probably the author was a Jaina, since here it is said: once upon a time there was a famine, when 8000 Jainas came to stay with a king of the Pāndya—empire. When the famine was over the king wanted them to stay in his kingdom still further. But they disappeared away, each one of them leaving one of the stanzas composed by him. The king was very much irritated at this and in rage threw down all these stanzas into

1. The Nāladiyār, or the Four Hundred Quatrains in Tamil with Introd Trans. and Notes by G U Pope, Oxford 1893, cf Fraser, ibid 312 ff.

water. Then to his astonishment he noticed 400 stanzas floating on the surface of the stream. On account of this miracle they were collected up and these constitute the collection that we have. The stanzas, however, are not Jainistic and on the whole they are not religious.

The Tiruvāśakam or "the Sacred Word[1]" of Mānikka-Vāśagar, the third classical Tamil work, contains religious lyrics The author was an enthusiastic devotee of Śiva and a fanatic opponent of the Jainas and of Buddhists. His father was a Brāhmana in the court of Pāndya ruler Arimarttana (rather Arimarddana) and he himself was a minister of the king, who probably was ruling in Madura in the 8th or the 9th century A D.[2] In the whole of the Tamil-land songs from the Tiruvāśakam are sung in the temples of Śiva[3]. The Tamilians say :

"He whose heart does not melt through Tiruvāśakam has a heart made of stone" and the Christian Missionary G. U. Pope admires the deep religiousness of these songs and compares the poet with Apostle Paul and Franz von Assisi. Śiva for Mānikka-vāśagar is a personal god, but he sings about him with an admixture of theistic and pantheistic ideas that are so frequent in India .

"Thou art the first; thou art the last;
Thou art this whole; thou art All."

Another famous Śaiva poet whose portrait is still now worshipped in the temples of South India, is Tiru Nāna Sambandha[4].

To the same age of the poetry as that of the Śaivas belong also the poems of the Vaisnava writers of South India. There is a Vaisnava-Prabandha, a religious book of the devotees of Visnu of the Tamil country with 4000 stanzas of twelve Ālvars or saints, who were also singers about the love

1. The Tiruvāśagam or 'Sacret Utterances' of the Tamil Poet, Saint and Sage Mānikka—Vāśagar The Tamil text of 51 poems with English translation by G U Pope, Oxford, 1900 Fraser, ibid 318 ff and Carpenter, Theism in Medieval India 356 ff

2 Cf R Sewell, JRAS 1901, 346 ff

3 H. W Schomerus "(Der neue Orient V, 1919, 198 ff) has translated into German a morning-song with which Indian temple-girls greet Śiva at the time of sun-rise

4. Cf P S Pillai, Ind Ant, 25, 113 ff, 149 ff; Fraser, ibid, 323 ff.

of god at the same time[1]. The author of a large number of these stanzas was Tirumangai, who might have probably been living in the first half of the 8th century A D.[2] Among these Ālvars, there is a lady too, Saint Aṇḍāl to whom 107 of these songs are ascribed She sang about Krsna and dreamt about her marriage with God according to the manner of the female saints of the Christian Middle Age.

One of the important personalities among the followers of Rāmānuja was Pillai Lokācārya (born 1213 A. D.) who, in a popular form of Tamil, strongly mixed with Sanskrit, composed the 18 so called Rahasyas, "Secret Texts", that were translated into Sanskrit too[3].

We have some epics written in Tamil by Jainas as well. Of them we may mention in particular the Sindāmani (Cintāmani) and its imitation Sūḷāmani (Cūḷāmani) that contain versified Jainistic legends[4].

It is evident that the old epics have been translated into Tamil. Famous is the adaptation of the Rāmāyana by poet Kampan, who might have lived in the 11th century A. D[5] The Tamil adaptations of the Mahābhārata are of later ages There is also a historical poem[6] in Tamil and a copious scientific literature, essentially on Vedānta-philosophy. A Vedāntic poem is the Kaivalyanavanīta[7].

Less important than the Tamil-literature is that in the Telugu[8], Malayalam[9] and Kanarese[10] languages.

1 On this writer cf Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism, etc 49 ff and Carpenter, ibid 377 ff

2 So according to S E Aiyangar, Ind Ant 35, 1906, 228 ff

3 One of these religio-philosophical poems is the Arthapañcaka that was translated into Sanskrit by Nārāyana Yati Sanskrit translations have been published by G A Grierson, JRAS 1910, 565 ff, and it has been translated into German by R Otto, Visnu Nārāyana, p 102 ff

4. Cf J Vinson, Révue de linguistique t 22, 1889, 1 ff, 107 ff t 34, 1901, 305 ff

5 A piece has been translated from it by Hugo Schanz, ZDMG 27, 703 ff

6 Cf V. K Pillai, Ind Ant 18, 1889, 258 ff, 19, 329 ff, 413 ff

7 Graul, Bibliotheca Tamulica I, II, Leipzig and London, 1854 f

8 Cf G R Subramiah Pantulu, Ind Ant 27, 1898, 244 ff, 275 ff, 31, 1902, 401 ff Probably in about 1150 A D Nannayabhatta translated the Mahābhārata into Telugu, see Hultzsch, Ep Ind 5, p 31

9 T K Krishna Menon, JRAS 1900, 763 ff

10. Cf F Kittel, Ind. Ant. 4, 15 ff, B L. Rice, JRAS 1890,

In all the modern Indian languages, both Dravidian and Aryan, there exists extensive literature in lyrics and narratives. But it is not always easy to draw a line of demarcation between popular poetry and ornate poetry. Thus for example we have, in Dravidian languages, many popular poems, that we have come to know about through E Ch Gover[1] of which there are several that may be outright called folk-poems. Likewise there are several collections of folk-tales and stories[2], known much earlier from Sanskrit literature[2].

R. C Temple[3] has shown the vastness of the realm of popular poetry in the Panjab that has existed till today We see how in these popular ballads the primitive poetical themes like the lyrics of Nala or the tale of the fight of Śiśupāla with Krsna have survived down upto the present day and have been freely sung and heard like the lyrics that are related to the events of the 19th century. Fully instructive is the essay of Temple[4] in regard to the singers of these ballads. In the Panjab of to-day there are singers who sing in the courts of native rulers the

245 ff On a Kanarese Jaimini-Bhārata, see H F Mögling, ZDMG 24, 309 ff, 25, 22 ff, 27, 364 ff On the Kanarese poet Ṣadaksari Devar see Barnett, BSOS 1918, p 4 f On the Kavirājamārga, a manual of poetics by Kavīsvara, see Fleet, Ind Ant 33, 1904, 258 ff

1 The Folk-Songs of Southern India, Madras 1871 Some of these lyrics have been translated into German from English by W Gallenkamp (Globus 82, 1902, 62 ff, 79 ff) Popular ballads from Telugu have been communicated by J A Boyle, Ind Ant 3, 1874, 1 ff, Fleet, Ind Ant 14, 1885, 293 ff has given a selection from Kanarese ballads, some South-Indian lyrics have been published by Natesa Sastri, Ind Ant 17, 1888, 253 ff A Graeter has translated lyrics from the Kurg-dialect in the ZDMG 32, 1878, 665 ff

2 Here names of only a few of these collections are being given M Frere, Old Deccan Days, or Fairy Legends, Current in Southern India, London 1868, G R S Pantulu, Folk-lore of the Telugus, Madras (reprinted from the Ind Ant) S M Natesa Sastri, Tales of Tennalirama, Madras 1900 The same scholar in the volumes of the Ind Ant communicated several South Indian stories (A reprint is the folklore of Southern India, Bombay 1884) H Kingscote and N Sastri, Tales of the Sun, or Folklore of Southern India, London, 1890 Several fool's stories, well known in Europe, are contained in the popular Tamil book of Guru Paramārtan, see H Oesterley in Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte 1, 1887, p 48 ff P D H Wadia and W Crooke (in Ind Ant 21 and other volumes) have communicaetd stories from Western India and Hindustan For Bengal see Lal Behari Day, Folk-Tales of Bengal, London 1883, for Kashmir J H Knowles, Folk-Tales of Kashmir, London 1888

3 The Legends of Panjāb, 3 vols, Bombay-London 1893-1901 See also C F Usborne, Panjab Lyrics and Proverbs, Translations in verse and Prose, Lahore 1905

4 Legends of the Panjāb I, p VIII f.

warlike deeds of former ages, preserve the genealogies and family stories of the rulers concerned and often arrange them even arbitrarily. Then there are spiritual singers who stage a sort of dramas, Swāngas[1] and wandering sages who sing religious songs and who by doing this collect alms. Further there are professional singers of ballads who are accompanied by dancing girls and sing songs in marriages and on other festive occasions Even the people of lowly castes have their own singers and narrators who have a wonderful memory and can recite hundreds of verses. And lastly in villages there are many persons who make themselves known for their poetical talents and recite the best of their poems in the circles of friends and neighbours. As in the Panjab, so it is also in other parts of India, and it was certainly so in ancient India. The Indians have always been music-lovers. Singing labourers and peasants[2] too are popular in India and they are as indispensable as in other countries.

The earliest literatures in the popular Indo-Aryan dialects of North-India are contained in the poetical chronicles of Rajaputana, in which the heroic strifes of the Indian Rajputs against the Muhammadan invaders are sung by contemporary bards.[3] The oldest of these chronicles are of the 12th century A. D. But they had utilized several earlier sources of which go back to the 9th century A. D. and they are the striking proofs against the already above-refuted (pp. 88-89) hypothesis that the Indians wholly lacked in taste for history. These chronicles are of a high poetical value : they sometimes remind us of the heroic poetry of the Mahābhārata—a thing that becomes evident from the specimens furnished by James

1. See above p 183, note 1

2 Grierson (JRAS 1884 and 1886) has listed a number of grinding wheel-songs (called lagani), that are sung by women while they are turning the corns-grinding wheels, that are current in Bihar The same researcher had collected and translated other folk-songs of Bihar (ZDMG 39, 1885, 617 ff, Ind Ant 14, 1885, 182 ff) Cf also K Bucher, Arbeit und Rhythmus, 5 Aufl., Leipzig 1919, p 75 ff, 194 ff, 202 ff

3. See on this Garcin de Tassy, Histoire de la littérature Hindouie et Hindustanie (1847), 2nd edn, Paris 1870-71, G A Grierson, The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan, Calcutta 1889, The Popular Literature of Northern India in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, Institution, Vol 1, Part III, 1920, 87 ff; Djam Sunde Dai, The Hindi Literature in OC XI, Paris 1897, I, 45 ff, F E Keay, A History of Hindi Literature, London 1920, A Baumgartner, Geschichte der Weltliteratur II, 257 ff.

Tod in the "Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān" (new edition,. Oxford 1920). The most famous of these poetical chronicles is the epic Pṛithī Rāj Rāṣo[1] of Cand Bardāī. In this work the heroic battles of Pṛithī Rāj has been sung by his friend court-poet Cand Baṛdāī. Both the king and the bard were killed in the battle against the Muhammadans in 1193 A D. This bard-poetry has been cultivated in Rajaputana down upto the most recent days

Widely copious is the religious literature in Hindī that begins with the 14th century A D. In the same way as the prophets in Israel were not only religious leaders, but also inspired poets, so in India too the founders of sects and creeds have mostly been poets and singers. But in spite of all the existing differences, all of these poets were inspired by bhakti, that is devotion to God.

At the end of the 14th century and in the beginning of the 15th century[2], Rāmānanda, a follower of Rāmānuja, founded a new sect, that taught the Bhaktimārga, that is the path to emancipation through devotion (to God) He begins to explain with complete determination that there is no distinction based on the caste-system among the devotees of God A successor of Rāmānanda was Kabīra[3], the famous weaver of Vārānasī, who decried not only the barriers of castes, but also of religions and sects. To him it meant the same whether God was called Allāh or Rāma. He called himself a child of both "Allāh and Rāma" A Muhammadan by birth, he became an ardent believer in devotion to God in the form of Rāmabhakti Separatism and ceremonies of the Hindus and Muhamadans he decried equally. He was neither a Fakīr nor a Yogin nor even an ascetic, but a simple manual worker and family-man, who searched for God in his home Thus he sings

1 J Beames, A F R Hoernle and F S Growse in the Ind Ant I, 1872, 269 ff, 3, 1874, 17 ff, 174 ff have translated many from them

2 So according to Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism, Śaivism, etc 66 f J N. Farquhar (JRAS 1920, 185 ff) tries to prove that his age was between 1430 and 1470 A D

3 Cf Fraser, Literary History of India, 345 f, Bhandarkar, ibid 67 ff, N Macnicol, Indian Theism, Oxford 1915, 135 ff, Carpenter, Theism in Medieval India 456 ff The age of Kabīr is not wholly definite, although 1518 A D is said to be the year of his death According to Farquhar, ibid, his activity falls in between 1470-1518 A D Poet Rabindranath Tagore has translated into English 100 poems of Kabīr (London 1915).

"There is nothing like water of the holy bathing places,
And I know they are useless after I have bathed in there.
The idols are all devoid of life.
They cannot speak : I know this, because I have in a high voice invoked him, That he does not appear to have heard."
The Purānas and Korānas are empty words :
I have raised up the curtain
And seen (them what they are)."
Kabīra utters these words from experience,
And he knows
All others are untrue."
"It is not self-mortification,
That deadens the flesh,
By which the Lord gets pleased :
When you have taken off your dress
And have mortified your thought,
Take it He is not happy with you."
"He who is noble and is of nice character,
He is averse to things of this world;
And he considers all the creations of the earth
As his own-self.
He attains the Imperishable Being
That has the real God always in Him.[1]"

According to the legends, after Kabīr's death the Hindus and Muhammadans quarrelled as to the manner of showing their last respects to him by claiming him to be one of their own. Then Kabīr appeared in person in the midst of the contestants and ordered them to take off the coffin that covered his corpse. When they did it, they found under the cover nothing but a small heap of flowers. One half of the flowers was burnt at Vārāṇasī and the ashes were preserved as relics; the other half was engraved by the Muhammadans under a tomb. Kabīr's followers number only 8000-9000 in North and Central India. But his teachings have continued to exercise great influence among many other sects, in particular in the religion of the

1 [Translated from the German rendering of the English version] according to Rabindranath Tagore, One Hundred poems of Kabīr, pp. 49 f 69.

Sikhs, that was found by Nānaka, the most famous successor of Kabīr.

Nānaka (1469-1538) tried further, more than his master Kabīr[1], for amalgamation of the Indian and Muhammadan ideas about God His poems and those of his followers, of later-day sages and Gurus were collected together during the time of Guru Arjuna (1581-1606) in the Ādi-Granth[2], the scripture of the Sikhs Even the hymns of Kabīr have been included in this book, that for the Sikhs is a prayer-book, a book of hymns and a manual of theology at the same time. The hymns are composed mostly in Hindī with a mixture of Panjābī Guru Govind Singh (1675-1708), the tenth Guru, formed a mighty military organisation of the Sikhs. His hymns were added first in 1731 (after his death) to the Ādi Granth

The Muhammadan Faqīr Malik Muhammad [Jāyasī] too was greatly influenced by the teachings of Kabīr. He composed a famous romantic and semihistorical epic Padumāvatī, [called generally Padamāvata], in about 1540 A. D. At the end of the work the poet himself discloses the allegory of the religio-philosophical meaning of his poem.

The Mahārāstra-land had produced some famous singers of devotional songs[3] Here lived in Pandharpur an incarnation of Visnu under the name Vithobā or Vitthala, and the singing of short songs, called Abhang, played a part in the cult of this god. The oldest of the Marāthā singers is Jñāneśvara, who completed his opus magnum, the Jñāneśvarī in 1290 A D It is a free paraphrase of the Bhagvadgītā in Marāṭhī verses Whilst Jñaneśvara was a Brāhmana, his friend Nāmadeva (1270-1350) had been a tailor. Still he devoted himself wholly to the service of Vithobā as a singer of Abhangs. The following specimen may give an idea about the character of his songs

1 Cf Fraser, ibid 374 ff, Macnicol ibid 146 ff, Carpenter, ibid 470 ff

2 The Ādi Granth has been translated by E Trumpp (London 1877) and in the great work of M A Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, Oxford 1909, 6 vols It had a large number of editions

3 Cf N Macnicol, Psalms of Marāthā-Saints, One Hundred and Eight Hymns translated from the Marathi, London 1919, Indian Theism 121 ff and Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism etc 87 ff

"The one penetrates into everything; therein rests even the vision. Overpowered by Māyā—Image, can anybody hardly understand Him? All is Govinda, there is nothing that is without Him. He is the One, like the garland, that has in it a hundred-thousand diamonds strung into it. Seas and waves, foam and bubble, none of these is different from water, and the entire world is not different from the image of Brahma; mayest thou know this[1]".

It is noteworthy that these Marāthī singers, in order to express their devotion to God in more sincere words, very often conceive their God as belonging to the female sex. So Nāmadeva calls his God "Mother Pāndurang" when he says :—

"Thou art my Mother, I am Thy suckling child;
Feed me with love, my Pāṇḍurang, I call upon Thee[2]".

The following song of Janabāī, a Śūdra female slave, a devotee and maidservant of Nāmadeva and God Viṭhobā, describes the experience of complete unison with God, a purely mystical devotion to God :

"From God, I make my food and drink,
God is the bed on which I lie down:
Whatever I give or take,
All that is God.
God is my constant companion;
Since God is here and He is there,
By Him is filled every spot.
Oh, Mistress Viṭhā,
I feel (with self) up to the brim the entire world.[2]"

But the most famous of the Marāṭhā singers is Tukārām.[3] He was born (probably in the year 1608) in a village in the vicinity of Poona and, as the legend goes, was taken into the heaven of Viṣṇu in 1649 A. D. He had earlier learnt by heart the poems of Nāmadeva and felt the urge to supple-

1 From the German translation by H. v Glasenapp, De neue Orient VII, 35 f.

2. Reproduced from the German translation of the English translation by Macnicol.

3 A complete Collection of the Poems of Tukārām, ed by V P Shāstrī Pandit, under the supervision of Śankar P Pandit, Vol I, to which is prefixed a life of the poet in English by J Sukhārām Gādgil, Bombay 1869. Cf J Murray Mitchell, Ind Ant 11, 1882, 57 ff, Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism etc 94 ff; F. E Edwards in ERE XII, 1921, 466 ff and Macnicol, etc

ment his work. Not less than 4621 Abhaṅgs ascribed to him[1] have been in circulation. He was much accustomed to praise his God in verses that he spoke almost in metrical sentences. His songs are in the mouth of everybody The peasants of the Deccan, people of all castes and creeds, sing his verses during the day in the field and in the evening when they sit together under the light of a lamp.

Tukārām too decries the external forms of castes and of religious life, since without bhakti all this is useless. God cannot be attained either through yoga, or through sacrifices or through asceticism, but only through sincere love. Happiness is to be found only in the vision of God. His songs are expressive of burning eagerness for the presence of God

"In the manner in which a bride gazes back,
In the direction of her mother's home,
And with staggering steps moves away from it;
So does my soul stare towards Thee
And yearns to meet Thee
Like a child crying about in grief,
That in agony cannot see its mother,
Like a fish taken out of water,
Says Tukā, is the condition of his mind.
Like a beggar standing at the door of God,
He begs for alms :
Love from Thy affectionate hand."

Sometimes he too describes God as "Mother Pāndurang."

"Ah, Pāṇḍurang, since Thou art an ocean of love,
What prevents Thee so long
To draw me to Thy breasts"
"I call Thee, like a lamb that cries
And wails behind,
Starving and thirsty,
Not finding its mother anywhere about."
"Let me drink Thy milk of love
From Thy breasts that are always full.
O Mother, hasten.
It is only near Thee,
Near Thee that my sad heart finds rest"[2].

1. An uncritical edition as contains many as 8441 songs.
2 After Macnicol, p 62

It is evident that among the devotees of Kṛṣna are found inexperienced singers. In Bihar, in about 1400 A. D. Vidyāpati Ṭhākur sang in the Maithilī[1] language about the yearning of the soul for God in the form of allegory of love between Rāḍhā and Krsna[2]

This mythical devotional poetry found the most tender expression in the songs of Mīrābāī[3], the female singer of Mewār in the west of Hindustān. She wrote a commentary on the Gītagovinda and the songs, that are sung widely in her homeland. She was a princess and was married to a king. But she had completely resigned herself to the service of Kṛsna, and as the legend goes, one day when she was singing before a portrait of God Krsna and was eagerly beseeching his affection, the picture opened itself and covered her body and thereafter she disappeared from the earth

In the court of Akbar the Great there lived the blind singer of Agra, Sūr Dās[4] (born 1483 A.D.) who translated the Bhāgavata into the popular Brajabhākhā dialect, and the collection of the hymns composed by him is said to contain 60,000 stanzas. About these and several other poets and saints belonging to the Krsna-cult we have an abundant amount of information in the Bhakta-Mālā, a collection of religious legend by Nābhādās[5], who lived in the beginning of the 17th century A D. The main seat of the Krsṇa-cult is in the region round about Mathurā, the Braj-Land, where Krsna, according to tradition, had had his sports, etc, and the spoken languoge of this locality is Braj-Bhāsā, (Bhākhā) a dialect of Western Hindī. In this dialect, in which Mirā Bāī too had sung, wrote Bihārī-Lāl (about 1603-1663 A D.) the Sat'saī[6], a collection of 700

(1 On this Language, see Subhadra Jhā, Formation of the Maithilī Language, London, 1958)

2 Cf Grierson, Ind Ant 14, 1885, 182 ff Several of his songs were made famous in their Bengali version by Caitanya On Vidyāpati as a Sanskrit poet, see also above page 386 [Further Literature on Vidyāpati, see Subhadra Jhā, Songs of Vidyāpati, Introduction, Vārānasi 1954]

[3 On Mīrābāī, see in particular Dr Prabhāt, Mirābhāi, Hindi Grantha Ratnakar, Bombay, 1965]

[4 On Sūradāsa, see in particular Vrajeśvara Varma—Sūradāsa, Hindi Parisad, Prayāga, 1950]

5 Cf Grierson, JRAS 1909, 607, ff [and in particular on Brajbhāsa, see Dhirendra Varmā, La Langue Braja, Paris 1900 and Brajabhāsā Vyākarana, Allahabad 1937]

6 See above, p 135, [edited with an exhaustive commentary by Jagannāthadāsa Ratnākara, and by others]

stanzas, most of which describe the love between Rādhā and Krsṇa and serve simultaneously as examples of figures of rhetorics. The Braj-Bhāsā translation of the tenth chapter of the Bhāgavata-Purāna executed towards the beginning of the 19th century by Lallūjī Lāl under the title the Prem Sāgar[1], the "Ocean of Love" was carried into Hindī prose and this has created a new literary dialect The work was started in 1806 A D. and got printed in 1809 A D. under the guidance of Gilchrist[2].

Without doubt, however, the greatest master poet of North India is Tulsī Dās (1532-1624), the writer of the Rāmcarit-mānas ("Lake of the deeds of Rāma) or of the Hindī Rāmāyana[3]. His work that was begun in 1574 is not a translation of Vālmīki's Rāmāyana, but an independent work, for which the epic of Vālmīki is one of its large number of source-books[4]. Tulsī Dās is not the founder of any sect, but he merely preaches that Rāma, like a kind father, lives in the heaven and that all men are brothers. But his influence in respect of religion and ethics cannot be overestimated too high. The Eastern Hindi dialect[5], in which the epic is written is understood in a major part of India. Since the work is the Bible for 90[by now 200]millions of Hindus living between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas, from Bengal to the

1. Translated into English by F Pincott, Westminster 1897

[2 Cf in particular the edition of Vrajaratna Dās, Nagarī Pracārinī-Sabha Vāranasi 1979 samvat]

3 Translated by F S Growse, Allahabad 1877 Translation of the Second Book by Adalut Khan Calcutta 1871 Cf Grierson, Ind Ant 22, 1893, JRAS 1903, 447 ff, ERE XII, 1921, 469 ff, Fraser, ibid 365 ff On the religious teachings of Tulasī Dās see Bhandarkar, Vaiṣnavism etc 74 ff and Farquhar, JRAS 1922, 373 ff There are innumerable editions of the Rāmāyana of Tulasīdās A few important ones are those by (1) Mātā Prasād Gupta, Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, (2) Śyama Sundar Dās, Nagarī Pracārinī Sabhā, Vārānāsī, 1980 samvat (3) Vijayānanda Tripāṭhī, with the commentary Tilaka, (4) Visvānātha Prasād Miśra, Vārānasī 1963.)

4 Other sources are the Adhyātmarāmāyana, the Yogavāsisṭha and the Prasannarāghava On the relationship of the Rām-Carit-Mānas with Vālmīki's Rāmāyana, see L P. Tessitori, GSAI vol 24, 1911 (English the Ind Ant 41 and 42); Grierson, JRAS 1912, 794 ff, 1913, 133 ff; 1913, 133 ff, Sītā Rām, JRAS 1914, 416 ff, Baumgartner, Das Rāmāyana, p 134 ff [See in particular C Vaudeville, Etudes sur les Sources de la composition du Rāmāyana de Tulsidās Pondicherry, 1959 where she has discussed in detail the question of the sources of Tulasī Dās and has proved that the Śiva-purāna was his main source]

[5 On this Language see Babu Ram Saksena, Evolution of Awadhī, Allahabad, 1937]

Panjab, Grierson[1] says :— there may be pandits, who may talk about the Vedas and the Upanisads, a few ones may have even studied them; others may say that they believe in the Purānas, but for the great majority of the people of Hindusthān, educated or uneducated, is the so called Tulsī-krt-Rāmāyana the single norm in respect of moral conduct." But the work is studied not only on account of its contents being moralic, but it is also a perfect kāvya, that is advantageously distinguished from other works of Indian ornate poetry particularly on account of its splendid descriptions of nature that have been taken not only from the manuals of poetics, but they are based also on the observations of the poet as well.

The Kashmirian Śaivism too had its own poets. The Lallā-Vākyāni, the "Discourse of Lallā", has been well-known. Lallā was a lady-ascetic of the Śaiva-cult and in the 14th century A. D. She sang the oldest religious song in the Kashmiri dialect that have enjoyed great popularity for a long time. Lal Dĕd ("dear grandmother Lal"), as she is called, is still remembered in Kashmir as a lady prophet of Śaivism[2].

Little of the rich literature of the Jainas in the Gujarātī language is still known. Hertel has published the Pañcakhyānavārttika in old Gujarātī, that belongs to the Pañcatantra-literature, after he had earlier already given an analysis of the work[3]. Today Gujarātī is the language of the Parsees, the followers of Zoroaster, who have

1 The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan, p. 43 Tulasī Dās wrote a large number of other works as well; in the Gītāvalī he has described the childhood of Rāma in the form of songs Religious songs of Sūr Dās, Tulsī Dās, Kabīr, Mīrā Bāī and other unknown poets, as they are sung by the people with devotion have been described by and translated into English by W Crooke in the Ind Ant 39, 1910, 268 ff., 321 ff. [On all these writers, who exclusively on political grounds are considered to be Hindi poets, see in particular—Miśrabandhu-Vinoda by Miśrabandhu, Khandwa and Prayāg 1970 Sam; Hindī Navaratna by the same: Rāmachandra Śukla, Hindī Sāhitya kā Itihāsa, Benares 1963 and 2020 Samvat etc

2 Lallā-Vākyāni or the sayings of Lal Dèd, by Sir G.A Grierson and L D Barnett, London, 1920, see JRAS 1920, 662 ff, R. C. Temple, Ind Ant 49, 1920, 194 ff and Anand Koul, in the same periodical 50, 1921, 302 ff, 309 ff [On Kashmīr Śaivism, see J C. Chatterji, Kashmir Shaivism, Srinagar, 1914]

3 Das Pañcatantra, p 122 ff The text forms No 3 of the writings published by Hertel in the Indian section of the Forschung institutes fur Indogermanistik, Leipzig 1922 [On the Gujarāti literature, see in particular see K M Munshi—Gujarāt and its Literature, Bombay 1959 and J.H Dave—Gujarāti Sāhitya kā Itihāsa, Lucknow 1965]

exercised great influence in the development of journalism in particular in India. The first monthly published in Gujarātī was founded by a Parsī[1]. Parsī Behramji M. Malabari (born 1853) has earned a good name as a poet and writer in Gujarātī and in English language and still more as a valiant fighter for social reforms

In Bengal[2] in the 11th centuries there were ballads that were very much sung in praise of the kings of the Pāla-dynasty. For centuries stories from the Epics and Purāṇas have been reproduced in Bengali versions and have become the common heritage of the people. These can hardly be called translations. The redacted works—in particular the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata, the Bhāgavata Purāna, the Candī from the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna and the fascinating legends of Hariścandra and sage Viśvāmitra, taken from the same Purāna, are partly read and partly used for dialogues in semi-dramatic recitations by professional singers, the Mangal Gāyakas, a thing that has contributed to a great extent towards their circulation. We find till this day such "performances", as they may be called, taking place in villages in Bengal. Eleven or twelve such Mangal-Gāyakas form a group, that is headed by the Gāyan as its leader or soloist. The recitation takes place either in an open court or in some free space. The Gāyan, often with a crown on his head and anklets in his feet, stands in the middle, while the other members of his party stand about him in a semi-circle and form a chor. He begins to narrate the story in which he sings the verses with actor-like movements, whilst the anklets are tinkling. Here and there the discourse is interrupted by moral and religious elaborations. This ends in music played in chorus. One such "show" continues for a hundred or a

1. Cf Dosabai Framji Karaka, History of Parsis, London 1884, I, 330 ff The Parsis have written also scholarly essays on their religion in Gujarātī

2. On Bengali Literature, see Romesh Chander Dutt, Literature of Bengal, Calcutta 1895, Dinesh Chandra Sen, History of the Bengali Language and Literature, Calcutta 1911. Cf also Nisikant Chattopadhyaya, Indische Essays, p 19 ff, and Hara Prasād Śāstrī, Notices of Sanskrit MSS, vol 11, 1895, p 17 ff [On the Bengali Language see in particular Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Origin and Development of Bengali Language, Calcutta, 1926, and Bengali Literature in the 19th century—S K De, Calcutta 1962, and Bengali Literature—J C Ghosh, Oxford, 1948]

thousand evenings and often for several months[1]. The Kathakas too narrate the Epics and Purānas in the popular language. Whilst doing this, they have to insert in appropriate contexts, certain hackneyed literary phrases, poetical descriptions of gods (Śiva, Laksmī, Krsna etc.), of a city, of a field of battle, of the morning, of the night, etc. that are often poetical, that they have learnt by heart. These cliches that in fact are composed in ornate prose are sung nevertheless by the Kathakas[2]. Since the 14th century the Bengali translation by Krttivāsa (born 1346 A. D.) of the Rāmāyana has been among the most popular books of Bengali. The oldest of the Bengali versions of the Mahābhārata by Sañjaya may have been written in the same age. But the most famous Bengali translation of the Mahābhārata is that by Kāśīrāma (about 1645 A. D.). In about 1473 and 1480 A. D. the Bhāgavata-Purāna was rendered into Bengali by Mālādhara Vasu.

But in Bengal as well, since the beginning of 15th century, religious poetry has been cultivated. A contemporary of Vidyāpati Thākur was Bengali Candī Dās, who composed nearly one thousand lyrics, in which he depicted together the spiritual and mundane love in devotion to the divine pair Rādhā and Krsna[3]. One of the greatest poets of Bengali was Mukundarāma Kavikankan, who in his poem the Candīmangala[4], completed in 1589, praised the goddess Candī (Durgā). Although the scene of this poem, lies to a great measure in the heaven of Śiva, the poet describes life in Bengal faithfully in accordance with the actuality.

A visionary, ecstatic, ardent devotee of Krsna has been Caitanya, who belongs more to religious history than to literary history and who exercised profound influence on the spiritual life of Bengal[5]. He was born at Navadvīpa in the year

1. D Ch Sen, ibid 162 f, cf above, pp 181 f, 272.

2 D Ch Sen, ibid, 585 ff, cf the Varnakas in the Jaina and Buddhist texts, above II, 304 f transl p 450 f.

3 Cf J Beames, Ind Ant 1, 1872, 323 ff

4. Cowell has translated into English a major portion of the poem in the JASB 71, 1902, Extra Number.

5. Cf J Beames, Ind Ant 2, 1873, p 1 ff, Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism etc 82 ff, Carpenter, Theism in Medieval India 437 ff; Macnicol, Indian Theism 129 ff

1486. His real name was Bisambhar (Viśvambhara). In the year 1509 he became a Sannyāsin and assumed the name Caitanya-deva as such He travelled widely and secured a large number of followers Already during his life-time he was respected by the people as an incarnation of God Krsna and his portrait is even till this day worshipped by Vaisnavas in Bengal and Orissa He himself repulsed the idea of anybody according a divine worship to his person Only in the state of ecstasy he would sometimes say : "I am He" He died in 1534.

The biographies of Caitanya from an essential constituent element of Bengali literature The Architect Govinda, who had accompanied the Master in his travel, drew the first sketch He describes Caitanya as an ecstatic devotee of God, who began to shed streams of tears the moment he heard somebody uttering "Krsna, Krsna", The Caitanyabhāgavata of Vrndāvan Dās (1507-1589), and the Caitanya Caritāmrta of Krsna Dās (born 1516) etc are partly poetical and partly real descriptions of life[1].

Saint and poet Rām Prasād (1718-1775), the writer of hymns on Durgā and other religious songs too enjoys high esteem in Bengal D C Sen says . in Bengal there is no villager, no elderly man and woman, who has not found comfort and devotion in the poems of Rām Prasād".

In the 19th century A D. English literature exercised a great influence in the development of Bengali literature[2], particularly in prose But dramatic poetry, that in the modern Indian languages, was just having a pitiable existence[3], revived in Bengal in the beginning of 19th century. Individual poets,

1 Cf Otto Stursberg, Das Caitanyacaritāmrta des Krsnadāsa Kavirāja, Diss Leipzig 1907, Caitanya's Pilgrimage and Teachings, translated into English by Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta 1913

2 On Indian Literature under the influence of the English , cf Fraser, Literary History of India, p 391 ff

3 Cf S Levi, Théatre Indian, 393 ff , Grierson, Vernacular Literature, 154 ff , Schuyler, Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama, 98 ff ; H H Dhruva in OC IX London, I, 297 ff , J C Oman, Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India, London 1908, 190 ff The drama Indarsabhā, (see above, p 146, note 2) written in Urdu by the Muhammadan poet Amānat is only a half Indian poetry prepared on the Persian model On the Nepali song play Harisćandrānrtyam, see above p 279, note 4

like Krsna Kamala (1810-1888) in the Svapna-vilāsa, have tried to bring in refinement in old popular yātrās, whilst other poets have written dramas with political tendencies. The first Bengali drama that was staged in the year 1856 is the Kulīnakulasarvasva[1] of Rāma Nārāyana Tarkaratna, that is directed against the Kulīna Brāhmaṇas who had made marrying their profession. In the year 1860 Dina Bandhu Mitra wrote the Nīl Darpan, in which he has criticised severely the exploitation of the indigo industry by the English[2].

Towards the development of Bengali prose, the social and religious reformers like Rāmmohun Roy (1774-1833), who was famous equally as a scholar and author, had made great contributions[3]. Born and brought up in a high class Brāhmana family, Rammohun Roy had been familiar with the Brāhmanical religion and its sacred books, since his childhood. Later he studied in his early years Persian and Arabic and utilized his knowledge of languages in the study of the Korān, and he learnt not only the Islamic monotheism, but studied also the mysticism of the Iranian Sūfīs. Later he became conversant with Buddhism in Tibet and learnt about Christianity from Christian missionaries. He was able to learn the Old and New Testaments in the original text and worked hard to learn even Greek and Hebrew. He was not content with Indian polytheism and there was nothing that for him was without interest in the study of all religions of the world for the purpose of extracting from all of them the best things and for combining them into the one and most refined faith in God. Lastly he believed to find the sum-total of all wisdom in the monism of the Upanisads. On the basis of his study of the holy texts of other religions on one side and of the ancient sacred indigenous Upaniṣads, several of which he published and translated, he wanted to reform the old Brāhmanical religion, and he became the founder of the Brāhma-Samāj, the

1. Wrongly mentioned above (p 291, note 3) as a Sanskrit drama

2 Cf Nisikānta Chattopadhyāya, Indische Essays, p 3 ff; Dutt, Lit of Bengal, 183 ff, D Ch Sen, ibid, 724 ff, Fraser, ibid 414 ff; W W Hunter, The Imperial Gazetteer of India, 2nd ed, London 1886, VI, 127 In the year 1877 were staged in India 102 dramas and in the year 1882 there were staged 245 dramas

3. See above, I, p. 18 f,, trans p 20

"Society of Believers in God". He did not claim to have founded a new religion or a new church, but to have simply freed the ancient national Indian religion from all that was false. He considered, the caste-system to be among such false things and he fought in word and in action against the custom of burning of widows When in 1830 he visited Europe, he was greeted by Jeremy Bentham as "a respected and beloved associate in the service of humanity" As a writer too, Rāmmohun Roy was not without importance He published in the year 1790 his writing on the worship of idols of gods in India this was the first work in Bengali prose In 1815 he published a synopsis of the Vedānta-philosophy He wrote essays also on the burning of the widows and on other social reforms, both in English and Bengali languages. He was not only a first rate prose-writer but also a poet of songs that are still sung in Bengal.

He was followed by the prose writers and essayists on the subject social reforms Akkhay Kumār Datta (1820-1886) and Ishwar Chandra Vidyāsāgar (1820-(1891) The first important novel-writer in Bengali was Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838-1894)[1], who was inspired by Sir Walter Scott, and on this account probably he is called "Indian Walter Scott".

Romesh Chunder Dutt[2], who is famous as a learned writer and politician, wrote a number of novels. One of the most favourite Bengali poets of the 19th century, according to many the greatest poet of the modern times, is Michael Madhu Sūdan, a Christian convert.

Dwārakānāth Tagore[3] was a sincere friend and follower and promoter of the work of noble Rāmmohun Roy. His son Devendranāth Tagore (1818-1905) associated himself with the Brāhma-Samāj and became its first

1. His novel The Kopāl-Kundalā has been translated into German by Curt Klemm, Leipzig, 1886.

2 He wrote also "A History of Civilization in Ancient India" and other scientific treatises Even women strongly influenced by English novel-literature, have written novels, so Svarna Kumari Devi Ghosal, the sister of Rabindranath Tagore; one of her novels ("An Unfinished Song", London, Werner Laurie) has been published in English too

3. "Tagore is the Anglicised form of "Thākur" of Bengali adopted by him.

organiser. In the year 1848 he compiled a compendium from the texts of the Upanisads, the Manusmṛti, the Mahābhārata and some other books, that could serve as the basic work for knowledge of the religion of the Brāhma-Samāj. This knowledge of religion consists of faith in Brahman, as the single, real, perfect God, the creator of the world; through worshipping Him alone one can attain happiness in this as well as in the other world, a worship that consists of "Love for God" and in "execution of the work that God likes" This faith is, therefore, rooted in the real Indian compromise between the monism of the Upanisads, and the theism of the Bhagvadgītā and in opposition to the more radical branch of the Brāhma-Samāj, that originated under the leadership of Keshub Chunder Sen, therefore, conservative and national. Although Devendra nāth Tagore did not consider the Upanisads to be revealed, as the orthodox Brāhmanas do, he described them as sacred holy books, in which the basis of all wisdom was to be sought for.

One of the sons of this Devandranath Tagore was Rabindranath Tagore, born in the year 1861[1]. In the year 1895, Romes Chunder Dutt[2] wrote: "and lastly Ravindra Nath Tagore, the youngest son of Maharṣi Devendranath Tagore, has distinguished himself in" poetry, in dramas and in novels, and his incomparable songs are sung in every cultured home in Bengal." The poet had been famous in India, long before 1912, when appeared the English translation of his small poem "Gītāñjali[3], that attracted the attention of the people of Europe, and a year later it won for him in the autumn of 1913 the award of the Nobel prize for literature. His poems, dramas, stories, novels and prose writings

1 Winternitz at the time of writing this had before him, of the rich literature on this poet, only P Cremer, Rabindra Nath Tagore (Sunday edition of the Vossischen Zeitung" of January 8, 1914), E Engelhardt, Rabindranath Tagore als Mensch, Dichter und Philosoph, Berlin 1921, H Meyer-Benfey, Rabindranath Tagore, Berlin (Die Literatur, Sammlung Brandus, Vol 39) The poet himself has said much about himself in his reminiscences (My Reminiscences 1917) and in the essay Personality, 1917 (German Personlichkeit, 1921)

2 Literature of Bengal, p 218

3 Likewise the anthologies "The Crescent Moon" and "The Gardener" are English translations of his poems by the poet himself All the works translated into English have been published by Macmillan and Co, London Many of these works have been translated from English into German too by Kurt Wolff and published at Munich.

have become known all over the world through their English and German translations.

And today Rabindranath Tagore is one of those greatest poets of world-literature in whose works pure humanity speaks so strongly to us that even the one that is apparently strangest automatically comes to bear its own witness to us Still he stands far away from being a neutral cosmopolitan poet. He is out and out an Indian; his outlook is purely Indian; the Indian spirit permeates his poetry wholly; his stories describe real Indian life; and in his religio-mystical poems and religic-philosophical discourses we find again the primitive Indian wisdom On the whole his father's ideas about the world and his own conception about the life as well as the spirit of the Brāhma-Samāj are those that we find in these expositions and that have found a complete expression in his poems

In the father's house of Ravindranath, the Upanisad-texts were used for the worship of God and the basic ideas of the poet are wholly rooted in the soil of the Upanisads and their teachings about oneness of all beings and of all the events of the world. He repeats all along to all his assurance that our real existence is in God and in the Universe and that God, Soul and Universe in essance are one. The highest aspiration for the Soul is realisation of its own oneness with Brahman But we cannot realise this with the ordinary organs that we have There is no sensuous nerve with which we may be able to realise our oneness with God. The human soul is incapable of realising its oneness with God, it can simply resign itself with joy to Him; it can affectionately embrace Him so much so that it may become complete God. And as in Kabīr and in other poets the mystical love for God unites, so in Tagore too the teaching of oneness of the Upanisads is combined with the theism and the bhakti of the Bhagvadgītā[1] In his poems the poet compares his soul with a vessel, that is perpetually being filled with new life by God, with a flute in which He continues to breathe new tunes, or as he sings about it, as "the same

1 We can know about the cosmic theory of Tagore the best from his book Sādhanā (London 1913), now available also in the overseas edition, German by Helene Meyer-Frank, 1921 Cf Winternitz, Ravindranath Tagore als Dichter und als Religionsphilosoph in the Geisteswissenschaften" I, 840 ff, 868 ff.

stream of life that runs though my veins day and night, runs through the world and dances in a rhythmic measure, and as this very life too shoots in joy through the dust of the earth in numberless blades of grass and breaks into tumultuous waves of leaves and flowers"[1]. This feeling of oneness with the entire universe finds the most thrilling expression in his several wonderful nursery songs. Profound and delicate is the answer to the question of the child "where have I come from and where did you pick me up ?"

The mother answers half weeping, half laughing, and embracing the baby to her bosom :—

"You were hidden in my heart, as its desire, my darling;
You were in the dolls of the games of my childhood.
And when with clay I made the image of my God every morning,
I made and unmade you then.
You were enshrined with our household deity,
In his worship I worshipped you.
In all my hopes and in my loves, in my life,
In the life of my mother you have lived.
Your tender softness bloomed in my youthful limbs,
Like a glow in the sky before the sunrise.
Heaven's first darling, twin-born with the morning-light,
You have floated down the stream of the world's life,
And at last you have stranded on my heart.
As I gaze on your face, mystery overwhelms me;
You who belong to all, have become mine."

In another of these poems, the mother consoles the little child that is lying down:

"I shall become a delicate draught of the air and caress you
I shall be ripples in the water when you bathe,
And kiss you and kiss you again.
In the gusty night, when the rain patters on the leaves,
You will hear my whisper in your bed,
And my daughter will flash with the lightening
Through the open window into your room."

"If you lie awake, thinking of your baby

1. Gītāñjali, No 1, 69

Till late into the night,
I shall sing to you from the star,"
"Sleep, mother, sleep".
On the straying moonbeams
I shall steal over your bed,
And lie upon your bosom,
While you are asleep".[1]

But like his father and like Kabīr, who lived several centuries brfore him, Rabindranath Tagore too is a free thinker who does not accept blindly each and everything of the ancient teachings The ancient sages of India had taught that the highest goal, the salvation, was to be found in renunciation of the world, that only a Sannyāsin, renouncer, could reach God. Tagore himself has denounced this ideal with complete determination. God cannot be attained either through renouncing the world or through Yoga or through ceremonies, but he searches for God in his ownself and finds Him in his work.

"Leave this chanting and singing and counting of beads !
Whom do you worship in this lonely dark corner of a temple with doors all shut ?
Open your eyes and see your God is not before you
He is there, where the tiller is tilling the hard ground
And where the path-maker is breaking stones
He is with them, in the sun and in shower,
And his garment is covered with dust.
Put off your holy mantle and even like him come down on the dusty soil.
And as God is among those who work with their sweating faces,
So He is also in the poorest and the lowliest.
Here is your footstool and there rest your feet,
Where live the poorest, and the lowliest, and the lost
When I try to bow to you,
My obeisance cannot reach down
To the depth where your feet rest
Among the poorest,
And the lowliest and the lost."

1 The Crescent Moon, p 15 f (The Beginning), p 66 f (The End)

2 Gītāñjali, No 10, 11.
Winternitz vol III, 45.

His nursery rhymes[1] and lyrics, in which he, as a young poet of world-literature, conceives the idea of submerging himself into the soul of the child and into the soul of the woman, go to show that he lives in the world and that he takes interest in humanity as a whole and in life on earth in general and its activities. His novels and stories in which he accurately describes Indian life of modern India, delineates women and men according to the mode of their life and describes the conflict of the soul[2], show how a poet alone can feel them who lives in this world of the big and the small," as is narrated in his poem:—

"Let myriads of human being living on this ball of earth,
Enter into my heart in order to find real joy.
In the company of each-other,
Lovingly there enters the vision of each-other in to the eye;
The children stand and laugh and their cheeks glow like the spring."

"My heart is full to the brim;
It is full of sublime joy, And I do not find a single soul on the earth
That may probably be different from me.
There into my heart enter all souls
With the intention of taking their abode[3] "

In the Citrā, a lyrical work written in his earlier days, the poet exhibits deep understanding of the problems of female life. From a crude adage in the Mahābhārata, he has composed a dramatic poem, in which the sublime institution of marriage is interpreted as a real participation in life, that is based not on transitory beauty but on complete truth, and that presents a higher ideal of marriage than what is presented by most of the other Indian poets.

Tagore has none of the contemptuous expressions for women and family-life that we so often find in ancient Indian

1. Translated into German by H Effenberger; Der zunehmende Mond, 1913 "Das Postamt" (1918) is an interesting drama, that has been played on the German stage too, it is a pendant to this nursery rhyme

2 Hungry Stones and other Stories, 1916 (German by A V. Puttkammer, Erzahlungen, 1918), Mashi and other stories 1918 (German by H Meyer-Franck, 1921), The Home and the World, 1919 (German by the same translator · Das Heim und die Welt, 1920), The Wreck 1921) German by the same Der Schiffbruch, 1921) The last two available also in the Tauchnitz-edition

3. Reproduced from the German translation by P Cremer, ibid.

ascetic poetry, particularly in the Buddhist monastic-songs [1] One of his serious poems contains a sharp criticism of the ancient ascetic ideal, in which God himself is presented to an approaching ascetic as an opponent of asceticism that is unfriendly to life, and one of his brilliant poems begins with the words :—

"No, my friend, I shall never become an ascetic, that you may like[2]".

In the drama "Sannyāsī" or the "Ascetic" too the ascetic in the last act says.—

"Away with my vow of a samnyāsin ? I break my staff.
The world, the splendid ship on the ocean of time,
It shall again carry me across;
I shall once again unite with the pilgrims,
Fie the fool who is anxious to find safety by swimming all alone;
He who scorns the light of the sun and of the stars,
And seeks, to like the glow-worm to find His way in his own light .. .
I am free, I am free from the incorporeal hands of negation.
I am free also in the world of matter and form and aim !
The end is really endless and love knows the endlessness of this truth[3]."

In the same way as we find in Rabindranath Tagore the union of ancient Indian philosophy and modern advanced ideas, we find him facing the great problems that confront the world of our age as well and that not with the spirit of an Indian yogin. In the drama "Sacrifice" he deals with the problem of the war and in the drama Mālinī he tackles the problems of religion. In his novel "The home and the World", as well as in the collection of his writings bearing the title "Nationalism" he dives deep into the national problems[4] In the latter work as well as in his subsequently appearing book "Creative Unity" (1922) he has spoken about the relationship between India and the West.

1. See above II, p 82, trans p 104
2 The Gardener No 75 and 43
3 Das opfer und andere Dramen (translated into German by H Meyer-Franck and H Meyer-Benfey, 1920, p 78
4 Nationalism 1917, German by H Meyer Franck (Der Neue Geist Verlag Leipzig 1919)

Tagore is likewise free both from over-estimation as well as from under-estimation of the culture of the West and its ideals. Clearly and appropriately he says : "First when we really know Europe, that is well and good; but when we effectively come to know about Europe, that is vulgar and covetous. He acknowledges that "through the smoke of the canon and through the capture of markets", Europe has brought to the East" the ideal of moral freedom, freedom of conscience, freedom of thought and profession, the freedom for its ideals in art and literature." As against this, he characterises as deadly position, against which he tries to warn the East, the worship of power, the unlimited desire for conquest, and unscrupulous greed for wealth, that characterise Europe. He fully appreciates national feelings and the necessity of preserving the national peculiarities, but he condemns every national uprising and every kind of hatred for human-beings, and he places humanity above nationhood.

Rabindranath Tagore would not be an Indian, in case his poems did not many a time rise to the regions of mysticism, in which a common mortal would hardly be able to follow him. But even he who is wholly opposed to all mysticism, will admire the moral elevation to which the mystical vision of God and the feeling of oneness with the Divinity are capable to raise up, as our poet shows us in the following solemn promise :—

"Life, my life ! I shall always try to keep my body pure,
And give me forms so that I may extent my force in thy will in love".

We have left behind a long way from the Vedic hymns, and have travelled as far as at least three thousand years and come down upto the pages of Rabindranath Tagore's poetry, full of feelings and ideas, of our own times. Our journey has carried us over many drought-breaths and over many deserts. But we always see new meadows sprouting and new buds breaking fresh spiritual life. And when we look behind the long line of poets and thinkers from the Vedic ṛṣis, the singers of the hymns to Agni and to Indra, to Uṣas and to Varuṇa and of the

1. Gitāñjali, No 4, 36.
2. Buddhist Monastic Songs.

poet-philosophers of the Upanisads down upto Vālmīki and the poets of the Mahābhārata—when we see the great poets of Sanskrit literature, like Aśvaghosa, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Dandin, Bhavabhūti—several centuries later followed again by a Jayadeva, and that further later poets by like Kabīr and Tulsī Dās, who are joined in our days by a great poet like Rabindranath Tagore, we need not be afraid about many more of us wishing the future of India to be a nation of the highest spiritual culture.

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